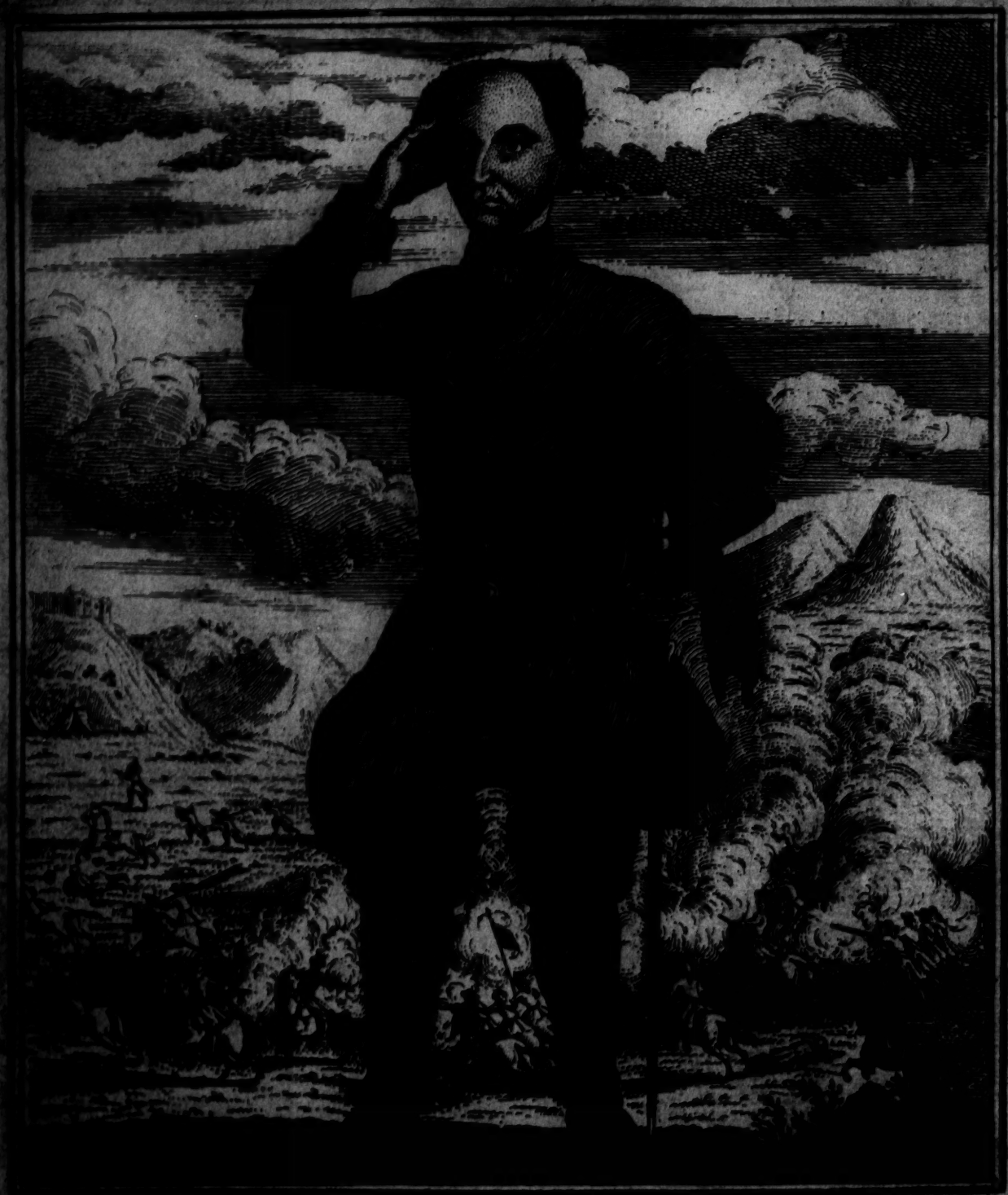


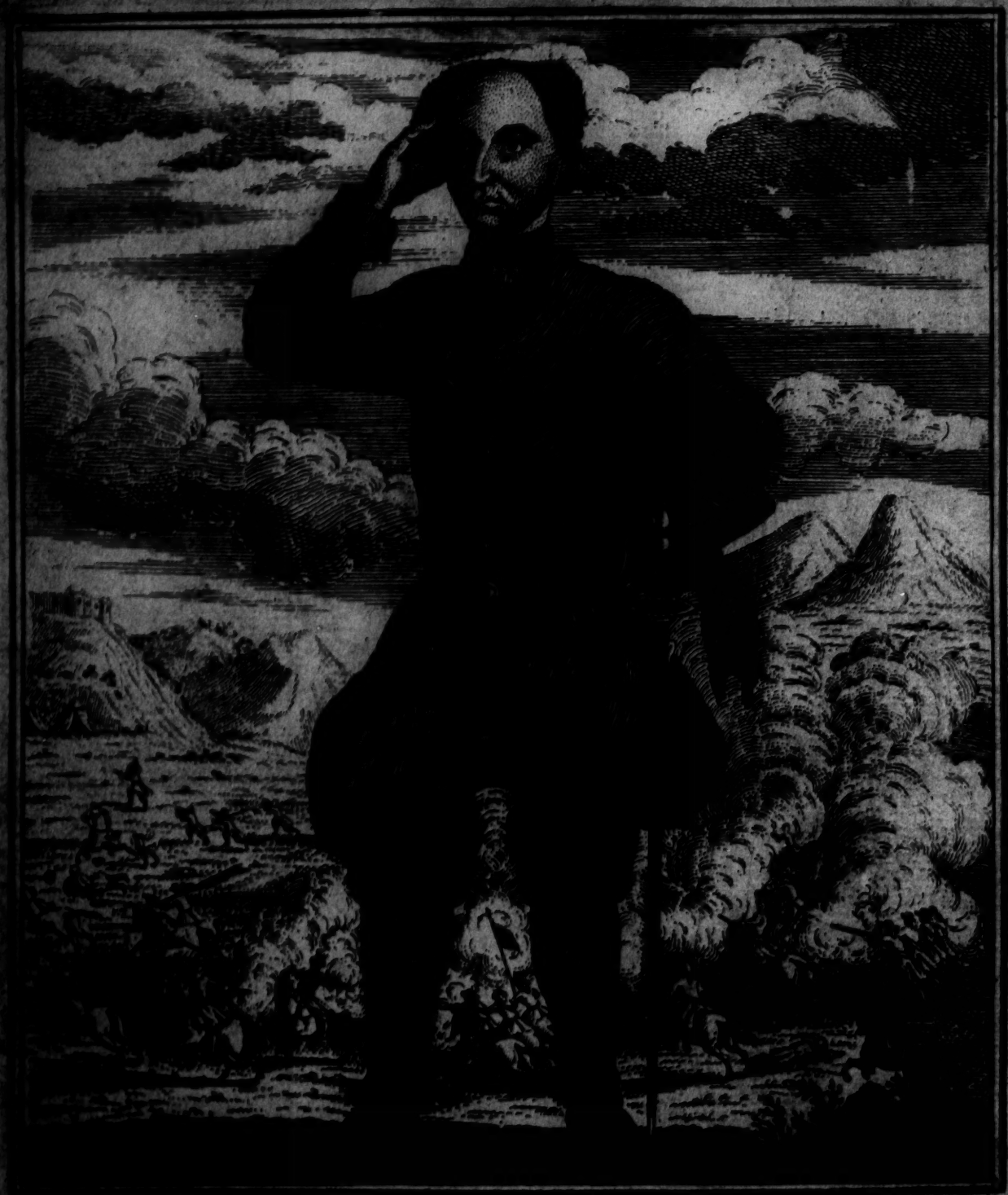


Charles the 12th King of Sweden.

B. Cole sculp.

Thus this Great Conqueror his conquering Trophies bore
And spread his doublets from shore to shore.
Thus bravely he led when fond of War
He conquer'd from the Ungaishid Czars
And the World's admires
His Martial Genius and Undaunted Fire
His bold and daring his destined Course
And in the end by Victory or Force.

Mov'd by no Passion to no Place a Slave.
His Pride was to be Honest, Just & Brave.
In vain did Beauty Charm or Love invite
War was his only Study and Delight
The fairest Price by him neglected stood
While Ardour plung'd him into seas of Blood
Still to the last he Dread and Fear defy'd
And in y^e dauntless Irons he laid he died.



Charles the 12th King of Sweden.

B. Cole sculp.

Thus this Great Conqueror his conquering Trophies bore
And spread his doublets from shore to shore.
Thus bravely he led when fond of War
He conquer'd from us the Unconquered Car.
Thus he was the Terror of the World admires
His Martial Genius and Undaunted Fire
Thus he led his chosen band his destined Course
To the last he died by Victory or Force.

Mov'd by no Passion to no Place a Slave.
His Pride was to be Honest, Just & Brave.
In vain did Beauty Charm or Love invite
War was his only Study and Delight.
The fairest Price by him neglected stood
While Ardour plung'd him into seas of Blood
Still to the last he Dread and Fear defy'd
And in y^e dauntless Irons he laid he died.

THE
GENUINE HISTORY
OF
CHARLES XII. King of SWEDEN:

CONTAINING
All his MILITARY ACTIONS;

WITH

A more particular Account of the Battle of *Pultowa*, and of his Majesty's Retreat to *Bender* in *Turkey*, than was ever yet published.

WRITTEN BY
M. GUSTAVUS ADLERFELD,
Chamberlain to the King, and by his Majesty's express Order:

And now translated into *English*,

By JAMES FORD, *Esq*;

Illustrated with the Effigies of the King, and several Plans of the Battles and Sieges.

L O N D O N:
Printed and Sold by the Bookfellers in Town and Country.
M DCC XLII.





P R E F A C E



THE Author of these Memoirs, GUSTAVUS ADLERFELD, was the eldest Son of Charles Adlerfeld, Treasurer or Controller of the Accounts to the Court of Sweden, and was born at a Seat of his Father's near Stockholm, in the Year 1671: (His Grandfather had been Governor or Stadtholder of Revel in Livonia:.) And, as he discover'd, even in his Infancy, an extraordinary Genius, the utmost Care was taken to give him the best Education.

Our young Gustavus did not in the least deceive the Expectations of his Friends; but by the rapid Progress which he made in Learning, he made it appear, that he was soon qualified to be sent to the University of Upsal; where, with the greatest Assiduity and Success, he applied himself to all the Sciences that could adorn a Gentleman. History and

Languages, both ancient and modern, were his peculiar Delight, the last of which he made his chief Study. To these he joined the Study of Heraldry and Genealogy, as believing the Knowledge of them absolutely necessary. He was also of Opinion, and very justly too, that the Law of Nature and Nations was another principal Accomplishment; and therefore was particularly solicitous to render himself a Master of both: In all which elegant Studies he made so quick and early a Progress, that in his twenty-second Year, he gave the Publick the most convincing Proofs of his great Capacity, and his Improvements in Literature, by a Latin Harangue on the Birth-Day of Charles XII. then but Hair apparent; which did him great Honour, and was thought worthy of being printed.

In the Year 1693, he likewise maintained, with Abundance of Applause, the Rational Theses on the Orders of Knighthood, according to the Manner of

the North; a little Work, scarce, and much in Request among the Learned, because 'tis there only that a Description of the antient Military Orders of Sweden are to be found; it affords, beside, a grand Collection of Examples, to which is added the Plate, engraved by the famous Antiquary Elie Brenner.

Gustavus Adlerfeld, having now finished his academick Studies at Home, began to think of extending his Knowledge by Travel; for which End he set out from Stockholm, August 1. 1696. and, after having seen the Court of Denmark at Copenhagen, and that of Gottorp, then residing at Kiel, he repaired to Hamburg, from thence to the shining Court of Berlin, which he visited en passant, and proceeded on to Hall in Saxony, to study under the celebrated Thomassius, where having resided above a Twelve-month, he set out for the Hague, towards the End of the Year 1697.

The Treaty of Ryswick was then negotiating between the Allies and France, under the Mediation of Sweden: And our Author waiting upon Mr. de Lilleroth, the Ambassador of that Crown, met with a most gracious Reception, and was afterwards employed by him, with Success, in many secret and delicate Negotiations, as appears by the Memoirs left by Mr. Adlerfeld, now in the Hands of his Son.

Our Author, having now visited the principal Cities in the Seven Provinces, and observed every thing that could excite the Curiosity of a Traveller, set out for Paris, where he arrived June 28. 1698. and continued till the 18th of October, from which Time he passed thro' Orleans, Blois, and Tours, in his Way to Angers, there to go through his

Exercises; and from whence he did not return to Paris till the 15th of February, 1699.

Being now desirous to make a Visit to England, he left Paris a second Time, July 3, to embark at Havre, and arrived at London the 20th, where having staid little more than a Month, he returned, by the Way of Ostend, to Paris the first of September following; where he resided till July the 12th, 1700, and then took leave of that Capital, in order to repair to Aix la Chapelle.

Here having resolved on returning to his own Country, he took the Rout of Cologne, Hamburg, and Wismar, and arrived, at last, at Strahlsund, where he embarked on-board the same Yacht with his late Serene Highness, then Duke-Regnant of Schleswig-Holstein, Brother-in-law of Charles XII. and Generalissimo of the Swedish Armies in Germany, and with whom he landed at Tzelleborg the 4th of October.

The 10th, the Duke being arrived at Carlshaven, when the King was on the Point of marching through that Place with his Army into Livonia, Mr. Adlerfeld had leave to wait upon his Serene Highness, who introduced him himself to his Majesty. The King honoured him with a most gracious Reception, declared him immediately to be his Gentleman, and ordered him, at the same Time, to follow the Court: But, as he had many Affairs to adjust, and the King's Departure was too precipitate, he obtained his Majesty's Permission to repair first to Stockholm, where he arrived the 26th, after an Absence of four Years and some Months.

Having now adjusted his Affairs, he prepared to follow the Army, but was prevented by Sickness, till the following Year

The P R E F A C E.

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Year 1701, a little after the Battle of Duna. In which Interval, as he was at all Times an Enemy to Sloth and Idleness, he thought he could not employ himself better than in returning to his favourite Studies, of History and Genealogies. It was then, likewise, that he formed his Design of writing an exact Journal of the Campaigns of Charles XII. the first of which had been attended with such fortunate and illustrious Success. This Undertaking, though sufficiently laborious, did not, however, interfere with the Researches he had already begun into the History of the ancient and eminent Families of Sweden; of which his Son has still preserved very ample Collections, drawn from the Originals themselves, and the most authentic Authorities.

In Courland, our Author joined the Army of the King, who immediately received him into his good Graces; and afterwards, when he was apprized of his Design to compile the Journal above mentioned, and which he had already begun, his Majesty had the Goodness not only to honour the Plan of the Work with his Approbation, and encourage the Author to proceed with it, but likewise to order his Council to furnish Mr. Adlerfeld with all the necessary Memoirs, State-Papers, &c. and his commanding Officers to communicate to him all their Relations of Combats, Marches, Sieges, and Attacks by Sea and Land, that the Series of his Undertaking might be preserved, and the whole rendered as perfect as possible.

In the Year 1704, the King, having for a while suspended the rapid Progress of his Victories, and being inclined to indulge his Army with an Interval of Repose, gave Leave to his Ministers

and Generals to invite their Ladies to Hielberg in Prussia; of which our Author likewise took Advantage, and, during his Residence at that City, married Mademoiselle de Steben, who came there to meet him, and to whom he was contracted at Wismar in the Year 1700.

When the King left Saxony, in order to return into Poland, Mr. Adlerfeld never quitted his Majesty, whose Favour he had now the Honour to possess entirely; all which Time he continued his Journal on the same Plan he first began with; and with so rigid an Exactness, that it appears from the Manuscript he even worked upon it the very Night before the fatal Battle of Pultowa, where he was killed with a Cannon-ball by the Side of his Majesty's Litter.

Never Work run a greater Risque of being lost than this, it being preserved by little less than a Miracle, in the Manner following. In the Month of March, 1703, Prince Maximilian Emanuel de Wirtemberg repaired to Charles XII. at Warsaw, in order to enter into his Service. He was accompanied by the Baron de Voit, Privy-Counsellor to the Margrave of Anspach, and, after the Departure of that Minister, the King conferred the Care of the Person and Affairs of this young Hero on our Author.

Mr. Adlerfeld was still in the Service of the Prince of Wirtemberg, when he was killed at the Battle of Pultowa. The Prince himself had the Misfortune to be taken Prisoner that fatal Day; all his Baggage likewise fell into the Hands of the Enemy, together with a Part of Mr. Adlerfeld's; among which was this very Manuscript, from that Time believed to be lost; but happily, the Prince of Wirtemberg

was set at Liberty by Order of the Czar, and all his Baggage restored, to which was added what belonged to our Author. Upon the Death of that Prince the Manuscript was sent to Stutgard, and, some Time after, put into the Custody of Mr. Charles Adlerfeld, who dying in 1722, it was given to our Author's only Son.

Nor could the Work fall into better Hands; Mr. Adlerfeld gladly undertaking to translate it into French from the Swedish Original; and it may be safely affirmed, he has acquitted himself with all possible Fidelity and Exactness. Without doubt he might have rendered it more entertaining to the Reader, if he had contented himself with selecting

the most curious and alarming Passages, according to the Example of Mr. de Voltaire, in the History of his Hero: But then he had forfeited his Character of a Translator, and consequently omitted a great Number of instructive Narrations and interesting Particulars, which Abundance of Persons will always read with Pleasure.

As to the Style, the Editor has made but a very few Alterations, and those of very little Importance, as being persuaded, that a Work of this Nature, which is purely instructive, and wholly in the Manner of a Journal, had no Need of the usual Ornaments bestowed on more florid Discourses.

* This Hero, worthy of a longer Life, died of a Burning Fever in the Flower of his Age at Dubno in Poland, Ann. 1709. upon his Return from Russia.





T H E
GENUINE HISTORY
 O F
CHARLES XII. King of SWEDEN.

FEW Princes Lives have abounded with more extraordinary Events, than that of **CHARLES THE TWELFTH**. Every thing is striking in the History of this Hero; whether we consider his Actions in private Life, or those which he performed at the Head of Armies.

We have here undertaken to give a Representation of the Campaigns of this Prince, and with that View have omitted no Circumstance of any Consequence. There are two Things which we imagine will recommend this Work, namely, that it was writ by the Order of his Majesty, and composed from the most authentick Relations of the Generals who serv'd under him.

In order to give the World the most perfect Comprehension of whatever concerns this Prince, we think ourselves obliged to go back to his Birth, to say something of his Education, and of what passed during his Minority, together with the Manner in which he first ascended the Throne.

Charles XI. King of Sweden, married, in 1680, *Ulric Eleonora*, Daughter of *Frederick III. King of Denmark*. Of this Marriage, on the Seventeenth of June, 1682, our Hero, to whom they gave the Name of *Charles*, was born. He was immediately placed under the Care of the Countess of *Bielke*, Widow of the Treasurer of *Sweden*. When he was taken out of her Hands, the Count of *Lindbiold* was made his Governor, to whom succeeded the Count of *Gylensola*. Mr.

de Nordenbielm was fixed upon for his Preceptor. Baron *Stuart*, who was afterwards made a Lieutenant-General, had the Charge assigned him of teaching him the Mathematicks, particularly what belonged to Fortification. All these endeavour'd to emulate each other in improving the Talents of their illustrious Disciple. As soon as his Age permitted him to follow his Father, the King took him every Year to those Reviews of his Troops, which he used to make in several Places about his Capital; and it was on these Occasions, that the very extraordinary Genius of this young Prince for War discover'd itself *.

In 1693 he lost the Queen his Mother, an incomparable Princess, whose Memory is to this Day dear to the whole Nation. M. *De Nordenbielm* died soon after, whose Place was filled up by Count *De Polus*, Counsellor of the Chancery.

The King dying the fifth of April, 1697, the Queen Dowager, Grandmother of the young King, and Widow to *Charles Gustavus*, was declared

Regent of the Kingdom during the Prince's Minority, which Disposition *Charles XI.* had made by his Will. The Regent had five Senators to form her Council, amongst whom the Regulation of Foreign Affairs was allotted to Count *Benedict Oxenstierna*, Chancellor; Count *Gyllenstierna* had the Charge of the Land Army; the Conduct of marine Affairs was given to Count *De Wreed*; the Administration of Justice to Count *Gyllenstolpe*; and Count *Wallenstedt* was made superintendant of the Finances.

The first Cares of the Regency were employed about the making of a Peace in *Europe*. At the Beginning of the Year all the contending Powers had offered to make the late King Mediator. After this Prince's Death, *Denmark* would have stoln this Honour from *Sweden*. It was with this View, that *Christian V.* sent Messieurs *De Plessen* and *De Lente* to the *Hague* in Quality of his Plenipotentiaries. This Endeavour was ineffectual. The late King had already deputed thither Count *De Lillieroth*, his Ambassador,

* M. *Voltaire* gives us the following Account. *Charles XII.* soon learn'd *High Dutch*, which he spoke as perfectly as his Mother-tongue. At seven Years old he could manage his Horse. Tho' he was in his Youth of a gentle Temper, he had an invincible Obstinacy. The only Means to bend him, was, to nettle him with Honour. He had an Aversion for *Latin*; but as soon as he was told, that the Kings of *Poland* and *Denmark* understood it, he learnt it immediately. The same Methods were taken to bring him to understand the *French*. As soon as he had attained some Knowledge in the *Latin*, he was set to translate *Quintus Curtius*, a Book for which he had a greater Relish on Account of the Subject, than the Style. His Preceptor, on explaining this Author, asked him, *What he thought of Alexander?* I think, answered the Prince, *that I should be glad to resemble him.* But, replied the Preceptor, *he lived no longer than to the Age of thirty-two.* Ah! said the Prince, *is not that sufficient, when one has conquer'd Kingdoms?* When the King his Father heard of these Answers, he cried out, *This Boy will not only exceed me, but the great Gustavus himself.* One Day, as he was amusing himself in the King's Apartment with the Plan of a Town of *Hungary*, taken by the *Turks* from the Emperor, and another of *Riga* the Capital of *Livonia*, a Province conquered in the last Age by the *Swedes*, he observed written at the Bottom of the Plan of the *Hungarian* Town these Words, taken from the Book of *Job*: *The Lord gave, the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the Name of the Lord.* The Prince having read these Words, took a Pencil, and wrote at the Bottom of the Plan of *Riga*, *God hath given it me, and the Devil shall not take it away from me,*

who

CHARLES XII. King of SWEDEN. 9

who knew so well how to conduct Affairs, that these Ministers only spent their Money, without having any Share in that important Negotiation.

To assist M. *De Lillieroth*, the Regency thought proper to associate with him the Count *De Bond*, who was not able to set out 'till the End of *August*. At his Arrival at *Hamburg*, he learnt, that the Peace had been concluded at *Ryswick* between *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, the 26th of *September*, 1697. The Conclusion of this Peace was owing to the Industry of M. *De Lillieroth*.

The Peace between the Emperor, *France*, and *Spain* was not yet perfected. As this was to be labour'd by the Count *De Bond*, at his Arrival at the *Hague*, he set all his Engines at Work, in Conjunction with M. *De Lillieroth*, to bring this Affair to a Conclusion. The Peace was soon after made between these Powers, but not to the Satisfaction of the Mediators; who, far from signing it, protested against all that had passed, asserting, that the King their Master could not be guarantee of a Peace so little conformable to that of *Westphalia*, which should have been its Basis.

Whilst *Sweden* was so warmly employed concerning the Pacification of *Europe*, the King of *Denmark* was willing to take Advantage of the Minority of *Charles XII.* to oppress *Frederick*, Duke of *Schleswich Holstein*, who had enter'd into strict Engagements with the Crown of *Sweden*. As the Differences which had so long continued between those two Branches of the House of *Oldenbourg*, the Royalty

of *Denmark*, and the Dutchy of *Holstein*, gave Rise to that War which we are going to treat of, it will not be foreign to our Purpose to give the Reader some small Idea thereof.

The eldest Branch, or the Family Royal, have always disputed with the Dukes of *Holstein* any Acts of Sovereignty in the Dutchy of *Schleswich*, which they imagined belonged to them, especially since the Peace of *Roschild*, 1658; where that Dutchy was fully adjudged to them. This Quarrel nevertheless was renewed in succeeding Times with more Animosity than ever; at last Matters were carried so far, that after the Battle of *Febr bellin*, the Court of *Denmark* caused Duke *Christian Albertus* to be put under Arrest at *Rendsbourg*, a *Danish* Fortress.

This happened in 1675; they then obliged the Duke, by an Act extorted from him, to renounce all the Rights which he had ever enjoy'd; they disarm'd his Troops, and put *Danish* Garrisons into all his Towns and Fortresses. This magnanimous Prince chose rather to abandon his Country, than to lead a disgustful Life at the Discretion of his Enemies: He retired to *Hamburg*, where he remain'd till the Peace of *Fountainbleau*, 1679, by which he was replaced in full Possession of his Estates.

But this Tranquillity was of short Duration; for new Troubles arose in 1684. *Sweden*, *England*, *Holland*, and the Dukes of *Lunenburg* interest-ed themselves in Favour of the Duke. Negotiations were opened in 1687, and two Years after a Peace was concluded at *Altena*. People flatter'd them-

themselves that this Peace would thenceforth have settled all Difficulties, and have put a final End to an unhappy Disunion, which had so long existed between the two illustrious Branches of the House of *Oldenbourg*.

The Duke of *Holstein* obtained by that Peace a perfect Liberty of levying Troops within a certain Number, and of building Places of Force; on Condition that he should raise none to the Prejudice of *Denmark*. The Consequences made it appear, that this Court, stung with the Necessity in which she saw herself reduced to give Way to the Times, hath always taken Advantage of this Clause, when the Situation of Affairs hath been favourable to her Designs, pretending, that the Duke took every Occasion to give her new Matters of Complaint.

But this grew much worse, when *Frederick IV.* Duke of *Holstein* succeeded his Father in 1694; the Affair then began to blaze forth again more than ever. The Powers, who had guaranteed the Execution of the Treaty of *Altena*, took the weaker Part, and prevented the King of *Denmark* from coming to Hostilities. They proposed to him the Method of Negotiation, to which this Prince consented with Reluctance. *Pinnenberg*, a small Town near *Hamburg*, was fixed on for the Conference; to which Place the Ministers of *Denmark* and *Holstein* repaired.

These Conferences were held in 1696, and all that Year passed without their bringing any thing to a Conclusion. *Charles XII.* having succeeded his Father the next Year, furnished the Duke with some Troops, which he wanted, to finish certain

Forts that he had caused to be built to cover his Estates against any Invasion.

Here was the Foundation of this War. King *Christian V.* unwilling to suffer these Barriers, ordered some Troops to attack these Forts, which were just perfected. He soon made himself Master of them, and immediately rased them. All this passed during the Conferences at *Pinnenberg*, which were continued, tho' in a languishing Manner. The Duke was too weak to oppose his Enemy; he therefore resolved to dissemble his Resentment, until *Sweden*, finding herself disencumber'd of the Mediation, wherein she was engaged for the Peace of *Ryswick*, was in a better Condition to support his Interests. As he was to marry the Sister of *Charles XII.* he flatter'd himself, that this Prince would not fail to act in his Favour.

During these Transactions the Regency summoned the Diet at *Stockholm*, as well to assist at the Funeral of the late King, which was to be performed on the Twenty-fourth of *November*, as to deliberate on the Affairs of the King. They proposed immediately to declare the King of Age, on which they were sufficiently divided in Opinion. First, the King was not of the Age prescribed by the Laws; secondly, the late King had ordained a longer Regency by his Will; above all, great Obstacles arose on the Part of the Clergy, who were obstinate in denying their Consent.

Notwithstanding which, there was no Time to lose; the Situation of Affairs demanded a quick Resolution. They resolved accordingly to send Deputies to the Queen and the Counsellors

lors of the Regency to communicate to them the Design they had of advancing the King's Age. After some Deliberation, the Counsellors of the Regency gave their Consent. The Matter being thus settled, the Estates addressed the young Monarch by their Deputies to take into his Hands the Reins of the Government, at a Time when the Storm which threatened at a Distance demanded that he himself should govern his Kingdom. This Proposition was agreeable to the King; he answer'd, *That he was desirous to reign.*

Affairs were in this Situation, when the Funeral Pomp of the late King was ordained. This was performed the Twenty-fourth of *November*, with the usual Ceremonies. We will not here amuse the Reader with a Detail of what passed at this Funeral, nor will we say any thing of the Medals which were struck on that Occasion. The End which we propose in this Work being only to make known the military Exploits of this Hero, we will satisfy ourselves with observing, that two Days after the Funeral of the late King, the Queen Dowager with the Counsellors of the Regency resigned the Government to the young Prince. The King was crown'd at *Stockholm* with much Solemnity, but without any Magnificence. And an universal Joy diffused itself through the whole Kingdom, no Person appearing disinterested in this Affair.

The first Step with which the King began his Administration, was a Renewal of the Alliances contracted with those Powers, who were Friends or Allies with the Crown. He concluded three Treaties; the first with

France, the second with *England*, and the third with *Holland*. The Count *de Bond*, who was then at the *Hague*, was dispatched to *London*, to restore to his *Britannick* Majesty the Order of the Garter, which the late King *Charles* his Father had worn. The Treaty with the *Dutch* concerned the Tranquillity of the North, which was on the Point of being disturbed by the Affair of *Holstein*, in whose Behalf his Majesty appeared to interest himself in a very singular Manner. Care was taken to insert a separate Article, with Design to guarantee anew the Treaty of *Altena*.

All these Precautions were not unnecessary; the Storm was forming on all Sides, and War seem'd inevitable. There were no more Hopes from the Negotiations at *Pinnenberg*, which were just broke off: They endeavoured to renew them, but all that Labour was in vain, it being now too late.

The Court of *Denmark* was resolved to pursue her Point, and appeared determined to push Matters to the last Extremity. She had no Reason to be pleased with the Marriage of *Frederick* Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp* with the Princess Royal *Hedwige-Sophia*, eldest Sister to the King of *Sweden*. The Ceremony of this Marriage was performed at *Carlberg*, a Royal House near *Stockholm*. Mr. *Juel*, the *Danish* Ambassador, did all he could to obstruct it; he even offer'd a Princess of *Denmark* to the young Monarch in the Name of the King his Master. When he found all his Stratagems ineffectual, he took Leave of his *Swedish* Majesty, who received him very coldly.

The Duke of *Holstein* remained not long at *Stockholm* after his Marriage, but soon departed with the Princess his Spouse, after the King had made him General in chief of his Armies in *Germany*. The King, with the Queen Dowager and all the Court, accompany'd them to *Carelscoon*. The Duke passed the Sea under the Escort of many Men of War, commanded by the Count *de Wachtmeister*, Great Admiral, and landed safely in his own Dominions.

Count *Guiscard* arrived this Year at *Stockholm*, where he was to reside in the Quality of Ambassador from the most Christian King. He came in the Place of the Count *d'Avaux*, who was recalled into *France*. He knew immediately how to insinuate himself into the King's Favour, who never failed to make him one of all his Parties of Pleasure; he had the Secret of diverting the King by a thousand Sallies of Vivacity. This Favour was however of no long Duration; for having taken upon him to make Remonstrances to the King, whose real Character he was not sufficiently acquainted with, his Majesty was offended with him, and complained of him to the Court of *France*, who highly blamed the Conduct of the Ambassador. He quitted *Sweden* some Years after, not being able to obtain his Audience of Leave.

In the mean while the King of *Denmark* did not cease to work underhand to oppress the Duke of *Holstein*. Jealous of the Alliance which the Duke had contracted with *Sweden*,

and not doubting but that *Charles XII.* would take Part with his Brother-in-law, he conspired at once the Ruin of this young King, and sought all Opportunities to raise him Enemies. He addressed himself to *Augustus* King of *Poland*, who appeared disposed to enter into his Measures.

Augustus * had brought his *Saxon* Troops into *Poland*; and as they were become chargeable to the Republick, which would bear them no longer, he was charmed with finding an Opportunity of employing them in the Conquest of *Livonia*. The unfortunate *Patkul* first inspired him with the Thought, which his Generals could not fail to approve.

To incite *Augustus* to this Enterprize, they represented to him the Youth of the King of *Sweden*, of which he might make an easy Advantage. They shewed him at the same Time, that a successful Issue of this War would much contribute to reduce the *Polonese*, and dissipate for ever the Factions which had been formed against him. All these Solicitations were well received by King *Augustus*, who was already allured by the Hopes of a Conquest which he thought so easy.

To thicken the Storm which was to break on *Sweden*, they cast their Eyes on the Czar, nor was any thing omitted to bring him into the League. This Prince hesitated at first, because he was then at War with the *Turks*; but presently having made Peace with the *Porte*, he resolved to join his Arms to those of the two allied Kings.

* An Exposition of the unjust Proceedings of King *Augustus*; and Field-Marshal *Flemming's* Apology for the Invasion of *Livonia* by the *Saxons*, will be inserted at the Conclusion of this Work, under the Heads of Number I. and Number II.

This League was formed between the three Princes with all possible Secrecy.

The King of *Sweden*, ignorant of all these Preparations, sent an Embassy into *Muscovy* to communicate to the Czar his Accession to the Throne, and to renew the antient Treaties of Peace and Alliance. This Embassy was composed of Baron *de Bergenhielm*, Chancellor of the Court, of the Baron *de Lindhielm*, and Mr. *de Gofbe*, Brother of Count *de Lillieroth*. They did not arrive at *Moscow* till the Month of *July*, where they met with many Rubs on diverse Occasions.

The Czar was yet employed in the War against the *Turks*, from whom he had taken the City of *Asoph*. He return'd not to *Moscow* till the Month of *September*. The Embassy from the King of *Sweden* gave him great Perplexity; for being already in a Manner engaged in the triple Alliance, he knew not how to bring himself off with Honour. He made the Embassadors wait long for their Audience. This he did as well to gain Time, as to see what Turn Affairs would take in *Turkey*. At last the Embassadors obtained an Audience, and presented the Letter from the King their Master. The Czar, who desired to save Appearances, gave them a most gracious Reception; after which they were not a little surprized at the Arrival of *Carlowitz*, Major-General to the King of *Poland*, at *Moscow*. *Carlowitz* came Post, tho' he was indisposed; this gave the *Swedish* Embassadors room to believe, that he was charg'd with some Commission which required great Haste. *Patkul* came with him, but, to avoid Suspicion, did not appear in publick, but concealed himself

in the House of the *Danish* Minister. He managed Affairs so well, that the Embassadors of *Charles* were not informed of his Arrival at *Moscow* till after their Departure.

During their Stay at *Moscow*, they had many Conferences with the Ministers of that Court, without knowing what was then in Agitation to the Disadvantage of their Master. They brought back with them a Letter from the Czar, by which that Prince promised King *Charles*, that he would inviolably observe the Treaties between the two Crowns, and that he would shortly send a solemn Embassy to *Sweden*. However, he refused to take the Oaths common on the like Occasion. All the Instances which the Embassadors used on this Subject were useless: The Czar alledged for Reason, that he had already taken this Oath at his coming to the Empire, before the Death of *Charles XI.* and that it was very unnecessary to have Recourse to this idle Formality. This Refusal gave the Embassadors reason to believe, that the Czar had a Design to break with the King their Master. They resolved to return into *Sweden*, without being able to get any certain Information on that Head, tho' the Storm was on the Point of bursting forth.

The Proceedings of the King of *Poland* were not less secret than those of the Czar. To remove all Suspicion from *Charles XII.* of what was hatching against him, he sent the Waiwode *Galeski*, a Senator, into *Sweden*, to assure that Prince of an inviolable Friendship. The Embassador, the better to conceal his Play, pretended moreover, that he was charged on the

Part of his Master, 1st, To confirm the Peace of *Oliva*; 2dly, To desire the King to become Mediator between his *Polish* Majesty and the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, to determine the Differences which subsisted between these two Princes on the Subject of the Town of *Elbing*; 3dly, To demand a Reimbursement to the Town of *Thorn*, of the Money which she had formerly advanced to *Sweden*. These Propositions were well received by the Court of *Sweden*, which made no Difficulty of ratifying all these Articles, and of uniting herself to the King of *Poland* by a new Alliance, from which that Crown might draw great Advantages. As the Instructions of King *Augustus's* Ministers were not sufficiently ample, that Court offer'd to send that Treaty ready drawn to Baron *Maurice Welling*, Lieutenant-General, and Embassador of *Sweden* at the Court of *Warsaw*, who had Orders to set the last Hand to it.

This Nobleman, of well-known Ability and most delicate Understanding, had been sent to congratulate *Augustus* immediately on his Accession to the Throne. This Prince received him in the most gracious Manner, at the same Time affecting to distinguish him from all other Ministers. Baron *Flemming*, who hath since made such a Figure in the World, and who feared the Penetration of Mr. *Welling*, bound himself to him in a strict Friendship; and to carry on the Deceit with the greater *finesse*, they affected on both Sides to keep the Affair very secret, and to carry on the Negotiations only by Night: At last, when every thing was regulated and adjusted, the King of *Poland* signed

the Treaty with *Sweden*; and Mr. *Welling*, ravish'd at the imagin'd Success of his Negotiation, immediately dispatched it to the King his Master at *Stockholm*. As to Mr. *Galeski*, he set out for *Denmark*, with a View of settling the Articles and Conditions on the Triple Alliance.

The Preparations for War were carried on in the Midst of all these Negotiations. The Armament, which the King of *Denmark* was fitting out by Sea, at last began to alarm the Duke of *Holstein*; who, seeing himself threaten'd on all Sides, and having no more to hope from the Method of Negotiation, set himself to work to put his Affairs in a Condition of resisting Force. The Fortifications of the Town of *Tonningue*, situated on the *Eyder*, three Leagues from the Ocean, were carried on with the utmost Diligence. As the Garrison of this Place was not strong enough to defend it, they drew about a thousand *Swedish* Troops out of *Wismar*, who enter'd safely into the Town without the *Danes* being able to hinder them.

No one could blame the Duke of *Holstein* for putting himself in a Posture of Defence, in a Time when his Dominions were in immediate Danger of an Invasion. The King of *Denmark* however complain'd highly of this Prince's Conduct. He sent the Count of *Reventlau* to the Court of *Vienna* to complain against the Duke. The Count pass'd through *Dresden*, under Pretence of paying his Compliments to *Augustus* on the Part of the King his Master, where he remained some Days, and employed that Time in putting the last Hand to the secret Articles of the Triple Alliance; which Treaty

was at length concluded. In the Night the Conferences were carried on with *Flemming*, and in the Day they endeavoured to amuse Baron *Welling*, who was so much the Dupe of these two Ministers, that he had not the least Suspicion of what pass'd. Things were in this Situation when the King of *Denmark* order'd his Troops to advance, threatening to attack the Duke, if he did not disarm himself. The Mediators in vain tried a last Effort to allay the Storm. All the Measures were already taken on the Part of the Allies, who had resolved to decide this Quarrel with the Sword.

Frederick IV. who succeeded his Father *Christian V.* push'd on the Affair very briskly, and entered on more vigorous Measures than had hitherto been taken. He sent in *August* a Squadron of twelve Ships, under the Command of Admiral *Stoeken*, who were to cover the Passage of four Regiments of Foot into *Pomerania*. *Stoeken* made a Feint of attacking the *Swedish* Fleet commanded by Admiral *Ankarstierna*, which however he did not attempt; but having seen the Convoy pass and repass, he set Sail for *Copenhagen*. The King of *Sweden*, on the other Side, seeing his Brother-in-law in Danger of being crush'd, was not forgetful of bringing the Guarantees of the Treaty of *Altena* into his Interest; to which Purpose he employed the Count *de Lillieroth* as his Ambassador to the States General, and Baron *de Frisendorff* as his Envoy to the three Branches of the House of *Lunenburg*. The Negotiations of these two Ministers succeeded very happily.

As for the Duke of *Holstein*, he set

out with his Dutcheſs for *Sweden*, after having published a Manifesto explaining the Reasons of his Conduct. The Arrival of this Prince at *Stockholm* caus'd an exceeding great Joy. He remain'd there the rest of the Year, during which the King gave him all Sorts of Diversions and magnificent Entertainments, which were managed by Baron *Tessin*, who had sent for a very good Company of Comedians from *France* for that Purpose. What Person, who had seen this young Monarch so violent in the Pursuit of such Pleasures, would have believed him capable of so sudden a Change of his Sentiments?

We were now informed of the Resolution of the Guarantees of the Treaty of *Altena*. They declared expressly to the King of *Denmark*, who haughtily rejected all Propositions of an Accommodation, that if he ordered his Troops to enter into the Dutchy of *Holstein*, they would look on this Step as a manifest Infringement of the Peace of *Altena*, and consequently would treat him as a common Enemy. These Menaces produced no Effect; his *Danish* Majesty, far from having any Regard to these Representations, recall'd his Ministers from *Hamburg*, and caused some Troops to enter into the ducal Territories. This was an open Signal of the War, and all Hopes of avoiding it were henceforth lost.

The Court of *Sweden* began the Year 1700 with very superb Entertainments and Diversions. No one would have imagined in the Midst of all these Pleasures, that any Thought was had of those Preparations of War which were making in the Neighbourhood. We did not however neglect

to hold ourselves ready against all Events, nor to take necessary Measures in order to assist the Duke. But what drew most the Attention of the King of *Sweden*, was the Step taken by *Augustus* King of *Poland*. This Prince had so well dissembled his true Sentiments; that the Court of *Sweden* thought she had nothing to fear from him. But, on the contrary, Mr. *de Welling* had been scarce sooner assured of the Resolution which he had taken to make a more strict Alliance with the King his Master, than we were informed of *Flemming's* Expedition, whereof *Patkul* had formed the Project. His Design was to surprize *Riga* the Capital of *Livonia*. In order to this Enterprize, he had marched from *Poland* in *Samogitia* (having put some *Saxon* Troops into Winter Quarters in the Neighbourhood) towards *Janiski*, a little Town in the Confines of *Courland*. The Count of *Dalberg*, Velt-Marshal and Governor of *Livonia*, fail'd not to get an early Information. On the first News which he received, he writ to the Court to advise them of what had passed; and to prevent all Surprize, he reinforced the Garrison of *Riga*, mounted the Ramparts with Cannon, and armed the Frontiers with advanced Guards. In the mean Time *Flemming*, to justify the Conduct of King *Augustus*, sent Letters of Protection from *Janiski* to all the Subjects of *Livonia*, in which he supposed that the *Swedes* had attempted to surprize the *Polish* Troops in *Lithuania*, which the King his Master was under a Necessity of preventing, and of entering *Livonia* with an armed Force. After this Declaration he marched to *Riga*. As the

Duna was frozen over, and the Works on the Banks of the River not yet in a complete Posture of Defence, he flattered himself to be able to take the Town at the first Onset; and the better to conceal his march, he surprized an advanced Guard of 30 Men, some of which nevertheless found Means to escape, and give Notice of the Approach of the Enemy. At this News Count *Dalberg* immediately set Fire to the Suburbs, and to spread the Alarm throughout, ordered a double Discharge of all the Cannon from the Ramparts.

The Enemy appeared before the Town the 11th of *February*, with about 4000 Men. *Flemming*, much surprized to find the Place in a Condition to make a vigorous Resistance, and being unable to advance or retreat without Loss of his Honour, resolved to attack Fort *Cobrun*; opposite to *Riga*, in order to be Master of the *Duna*, he commanded 2000 Men to attack it, who carried it Sword in Hand, and made Captain *Bildsein* the Governor Prisoner, with fifty Men. After *Flemming* had taken this Fort, he gave it the Name of *Oranienbaum*, instead of *Cobrun*, by which it had formerly been known. He then writ to the King of *Poland* to inform him of this first Conquest.

While this was doing, *Augustus* had forbid Baron *Welling* the Court, and given Orders at the same Time to fresh Troops to march and join the Body under *Flemming*, having obtained from the Elector of *Brandenburg* Permission for these Troops to pass through his Territories.

The King of *Sweden* was diverting himself with hunting Bears at *Kongsobr*, fourteen

fourteen Leagues from *Stockholm*, when he heard the News of the Irruption of the *Saxon* Troops into *Livonia*. He was not at all moved at this, but said smiling to Count *Guiscard* the *French* Ambassador, *We shall soon oblige them to return back the same Way they came*. This Prince did not leave off his Hunting, which he performed in a very uncommon Manner, exposing himself every Moment to the Danger of his Life. Instead of pursuing the Bears and killing them with a Fusée, as was the ordinary Manner, he endeavoured to take them alive. Every one followed his Example, and armed themselves with forked Sticks, by the Assistance of which they pushed the Bears on all Sides, till those Animals were so spent, that they were to be taken and bound. The King feared not to attack one of a prodigious Size with only a Stick in his Hand. He found himself exposed to the most imminent Danger; the Bear had already torn off his * *Peruke*, and was going to trample on him, when he found Means to escape from his Clutches, and convey himself out of Danger; he did not however abandon his Purpose, but with the Help of the Hunters, who accompanied him, he overcame the Bear, and himself assisted at binding him. They took fourteen alive in this Manner, which were all transported to *Kongsobr*, all fast bound upon Sledges to the Sound of hunting Horns. The King diverted himself with this dangerous Exercise during the Month of *February*, being the Depth of Winter.

This Party of Pleasure did not hinder his Majesty from providing every Thing which was necessary for *Livonia*. Baron *Otto Welling*, General of Horse and Governor of *Narva*, received Orders to cause all the Troops which were in *Livonia* and *Finland* to march. They presently formed a Body of 10,000 Men, to act in Opposition to the *Saxons*. They made likewise other Preparations in *Sweden*, with the View of supporting a long War, which they foresaw would become extremely bloody.

The King of *Denmark* having received Advice of *Flemming's* Irruption, and knowing that the *Czar* was preparing to follow his Example, began to talk in a higher Tone. He rejected all the Propositions of Accommodation made him by the Mediators, and pretended to give Laws to the *Duke*, into whose Estates he ordered *Charles Rudolph Duke of Wurtemberg-Newstadt* his General in Chief, to enter at the Head of 16,000 Men, and after having spread abroad a Manifesto, to justify his Proceedings, he made himself Master of all the flat Country, seizing all the Revenues of his Highness, and exacting great Contributions of the Dutchies of *Schleswich* and *Holstein*.

On the first Motions of the King of *Denmark*, the Mediators made new Remonstrances at the Court of *Copenhagen*, with a View of hindering the Progress of a War, which was becoming general. All their Instances producing no Effect, they renewed their Alliance and the Guarantee of the

* It appears by the first Coin which was struck at the Beginning of this Prince's Reign, that he always wore a *Peruke*, till he came into *Seeland*, where he left off that Fashion, and never afterwards resumed it.

Treaty of *Athena*, promising to give the Duke all the Succours which his Affairs should require. On the other Side, the King of *Poland*, who saw the Affair of *Holstein* very happily begun, caused a large Manifesto to be spread abroad, to justify his Enterprize on *Livonia*. He alledged I know not how many pretended Infringements of the Peace of *Oliva*, committed on the Part of *Sweden*. He said, he could not dispense with the Oath which he had taken at his Accession to the Throne, to regain *Livonia* for the Republick, to which it had formerly belonged. He pretended at last, that he was bound to assist the King of *Denmark* against the Duke of *Holstein*, whom *Sweden* determined to support against all Reason and Justice.

It was not difficult for the Court of *Sweden* to refute such weak Reasons, nor did she fail to answer them, and to demonstrate in an evident Manner, that Interest, Envy, and the Right of Conveniency had had a greater Share in this Violence, than all the other Motives which were alledged without any Foundation.

That we might be able to oppose the Enemy, all the Dispositions which were thought necessary were continued to be carried on on the *Duna*. *Patkul* had taken all Measures to gain the Nobility, and bring them over to a Revolt. All that he did to this Purpose was without Success. The Nobility themselves presented a Writing to the King on this Occasion, by which they assured his Majesty of an inviolable Fidelity.

Flemming undertook to make new Conquests: He formed a Design of attacking Fort *Dunamund*, which is

situated on the Mouth of the *Duna*; and surrounded on one side by the *Bulderaa*, which renders the Access very difficult. He contented himself at first with cannonading it briskly, and throwing some Bombs into it, to intimidate the Garrison. This first Attempt produced not the expected Effect. As Colonel *Budberg*, who commanded in that Fortress, did not appear disposed to surrender it soon, *Flemming* judged, that he had nothing to do but to give an Assault. Every Thing appeared favourable to the Execution of this Design; the *Bulderaa* was frozen over, and there was a Courtin intirely destroyed and very weakly covered with Pallisades, for they were on the Point of building Cazerns. Major General *Carlowitz* (the same as had been so much employed in the Negotiations) commanded the Attack on the Night of the 12th of *March*, having under his Command a Body of 2000 Men: He was repulsed, after a brisk and bloody Fight, which lasted some Hours.

This Attack cost the Enemy dear, whose Loss was very considerable: General *Carlowitz* himself lost his Life therein. The Garrison, tho' not numerous, made a very vigorous Resistance. The Women distinguished themselves in fighting on this Occasion, one of whom was wounded in her Shoulder. As the Fire on both Sides ceased all at once, it was believed at *Riga* that the Enemy had carried the Fort. Old General *Dalberg*, who continued on the Ramparts of the Town during the Attack, caused a Signal to be given by the Discharge of two Cannons, to inform the Governor of the Success of the Enterprize, which

Budberg

Budberg answered by a Return of the same Number, and thereby spread an universal Joy through that City.

This Joy was of no long Duration. In Effect, *Flemming* having two Days afterwards shewn Colonel *Budberg*, that the Darkness of the Night occasioned their missing the weaker Part of that Place, (a Mistake which they would not commit for the future) this Commandant, who wanted both Men and Provisions, saw himself under a Necessity of capitulating. They allowed him four Field-Pieces, and he marched out with all the Honours of War, taking his Rout to *Revel*. Lieutenant-General *Flemming* gave the Name of *August-burg* to the Fort which he had conquered.

In *Holstein*, the *Danes*, who were Masters of the Country, endeavoured to seize on all the Towns and Fortresses. Major-General *Carmaillon* took the Town of *Sleswick*; the Town of *Husum*, and the Fort of *Holmer*, with that likewise of *Husum*, which was not yet quite finished, surrendered themselves without Delay; and *Frederickstadt* was carried Sword in Hand. The Fort of *Ramstedt* had the same Fate; so that there remained only the Fortress of *Tonningen*, which was soon invested with an Army of 8,000 Men, under the Command of the Command of the Duke of *Wurtemberg*. The Castle of *Gottorp* surrendered at the same Time, by Composition, to Colonel *Baligni*.

Baron *Bannier* threw himself into *Tonningen* with 4,000 Men, and defended it with great Valour and Conduct. The Duke of *Wurtemberg* summoned it in vain to surrender, to save the Blood which would be spilt.

The Baron rejected this Proposition with Scorn, and made at the same Time all the necessary Dispositions to sustain a vigorous Siege. The Enemy threw more than 5,000 Bombs into the Place in eight Days, and still continued to bombard it; till a Resolution was taken of besieging it in Form. The Trenches were opened, and they attacked the Counterscarp with much Vigour, which the Garrison defended very gallantly, and repulsed the *Danes*, who, without being dismayed, renewed the Attack the second Time, and carried it.

Affairs were in this Situation, when the Guarantees of the Treaty of *Altena* began to set about executing their Promises. *England* and *Holland* equipt out Fleets, which were to enter the *Sound*. 12,000 Men held themselves ready to march at his Majesty's first Orders. Two Camps were formed on the Side of *Norway*, in order to enter it in case of Necessity: The one was commanded by Major-General *Pagerskiold*, the other by Monsieur *Sebaar*, who was likewise a Major-General and Governor of the Province of *Jemtland*. They drew together likewise another Body near *Gottenburg* under General *Rebbinder*, which was ordered to join the others in case of Need.

In the Midst of all these Preparations, the King of *Sweden* went with the Duke of *Holstein* from *Stockholm* to *Carlsroon*, to press the Equipment of the Fleet. He left the Management of Affairs to the Senators, and formed a Council of Defence, which was to have the Care of the Militia during his Absence. He took with him only two Senators, Count *Piper* and Count *Polus*; the latter was intrusted with fo-

reign Affairs, those of the Kingdom being committed to the Care of the former.

The King of *Sweden*, after a Stay of some Days at *Carlsroon*, proceeded to *Malmoe*, where was the Rendezvous of the Body of 12,000 Men. From *Malmoe* the King went to *Gottenburg*, accompanied by the Duke of *Holstein*, who embarked there to join the Army of his Allies, which were ready to enter into his Estates, in order to drive out the Enemy. Baron *Gyllenstern*, a *Swedish* General, was already arrived with several Regiments of the Country of *Bremen*. General *Lieven*, who was then at *Wisnar*, had also taken Care to send some Troops; these Troops joined those of *Lunenbourg* near *Tollenspicker*, some Leagues from *Hamburg*, where they were all to join. The Elector of *Hanover*, who commanded in chief, was there in Person with the old Duke of *Zell*.

Before they passed the *Elb*, they sent the King of *Denmark* new Propositions of Peace, which were all rejected. He flattered himself that he should carry *Tonningen* in a few Days. He arrived in the Camp before it, and was often present at the Approaches, in order to encourage the Soldiers; all which, far from intimidating the Besieged, animated them the more, and drove them to make a vigorous Resistance: But nothing raised their Courage more than the News which they received at this Time of the Birth of the hereditary Prince *Charles Frederick*, of whom the Dutcheffs of *Holstein* was now delivered at *Stockholm* the 30th of *April*, 1700. The Besieged celebrated the Birth-day with a general Discharge of the Cannon from the Ramparts.

Everything appeared disposed to produce some Action of Importance. The King of *Denmark* having refused to hearken to those Propositions that had been made him of Peace, the Army of the Allies passed the *Elb* in order to raise the Siege of *Tonningen*, and deliver the Duke of *Holstein* from an Enemy, who was so obstinately bent to oppress him. The Army advanced towards *Rheinbeck*, a Ducal Castle, where the Enemy had posted 1500 *Danish* Dragoons, who undertook to dispute this Pass, but were soon repulsed by two *Swedish* Battalions under Lieutenant-Colonel *Beyer*, and some Horse of *Zell* commanded by Monsieur de *Bois-David*. The Army advanced from *Rheinbeck* towards *Vansbeck* and *Altena*. All the Royal Country of *Holstein* was laid under Contribution. General *Dopp*, at the Head of the Troops of the States-General, join'd the Army of the Allies near *Pinnenberg*; after which Conjunction the Army was 14,000 strong. The Duke of *Wurtemberg* then judged it proper to raise the Siege, which had lasted six Weeks, and marched directly to the Allies.

As a bloody Battle, which might draw on very mischievous Consequences, seemed just ready to be fought, the Allies were desirous to renew the Negotiations. The Elector of *Hanover* wished nothing so much as a speedy End of this War. The Elector of *Brandenburg*, who was of the same Sentiments, offered to enter into the Affair in the Quality of a Mediator. This Prince neglected no Means to persuade the Allies to return home; and to give more Weight to his Propositions, he caused an Army to advance

vance to the Frontiers. As to the Duke of *Holstein*, he was inflamed with the Desire of coming to Blows with the Enemy, and at last obtained a Promise from the Allies, that they would determine the Quarrel, at what Price soever it might cost.

As the Presence of the Army of the Allies might contribute to bring the Enemy to Reason, they advanced towards *Oldestrope* to follow the *Danes*. At the same Time Major-General *Dompré* was detached with 700 Horse on the Side of *Segeberg*, to levy Contributions. These meeting with a Body of 300 *Danish* Horse under the Command of Major-general *Lebatt*, attacked them, overthrew them, and took 71 Prisoners. The Army of the Allies encamped at *Segeberg*, in the Sight of that of *Denmark*; yet, tho' there was only a little Rivulet between them, they nevertheless remained quiet enough, and contented themselves with disputing the Forage and the Ground, till the Peace was at length concluded at *Travendab*, as we shall soon see.

To force the King of *Denmark* into more pacifick Measures, the King of *Sweden* at his Return from *Gothenberg* to *Carlsroon*, had so prest the Equipment of the Fleet, that it was ready to sail about the Month of *June*. His Majesty immediately embarked the two Regiments of *Ulpland* and *Calmar*, and then on the next Day the Fleet sailed out of the Port, after having first celebrated divine Service on board the Ships. This Fleet consisted of 38 Men of War, without reckoning the Frigates, five Fire-ships, and a Bomb-ketch. They sailed the 16th, not being able before, on Account of contrary Winds.

The King was on board this Fleet, with Count *Guiscard*, Count *Piper*, and Lieutenant-General *Rhenschild*: There were likewise a great many Men of Quality and Officers of the first Rank. It was generally expected, that the King would attack the *Danish* Fleet, which would have effectually happened, if the Wind had favoured.

After the *Swedish* Fleet, by Means of traverse Sailing, was arrived in the Latitude of *Ystedt*, the King went on Shore, and took the Road of *Malmoe*. He now heard of the Arrival of the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets in the *Sound*; these consisted of 30 Ships, commanded by the Admirals *Rook* and *Almond*, who waited only the Orders of his Majesty to act. This Prince presently sent the Count *de Wreed*, his Chamberlain, to compliment them, and desire them to advance towards *Helsingburg*. The *Danish* Fleet, which then anchor'd under the Cannon of *Cronenberg*, thought itself not secure; scarce were those of *England* and *Holland* seen, when the Fleet retired to the Passage of *Rendela*, between the Islands of *Amack* and *Saltholmen*. To hinder the Conjunction of the two Fleets of their Enemies, the *Danes* took away all the Marks used by the Pilots to pass in Safety that dangerous Coast. Here they ranged themselves in Order of Battle to wait for the *Swedes*, having first planted several Batteries of Cannon on the Islands on both Sides.

The King, not knowing what Step to take, sent for Admiral *Taube*, and Rear-Admiral *Sparre* to *Malmoe* to ask their Opinions, and to know of them in what Manner the Fleet might pass, to go and join those of the Allies: He expressed to them at the same Time a very

very eager Desire to attack the *Danes*; but these being so advantageously posted, it was thought a Matter of too much Risk; and happily another Passage was discovered, named *Flint-
renan*, hitherto little used.

Count *Wachtmeister*, Great Admiral, thought this Passage too dangerous for the Ships to attempt; however, the contrary Advice having prevailed, the Fleet hazarded the Passage, which they very happily executed the 4th of *July*.

The Fleet consisted of forty Sail, without reckoning some large Vessels which returned to *Carlsroon*. The King immediately sent Messieurs *Taube* and *Sparre* to the Admirals of the Allies, who had approached the Island of *Ween*, between *Helsingburg* and *Landsron*, to inform them of what had happened.

These Gentlemen returned with the News, that the King of *Denmark* had requested a Suspension of Arms for six Days, to which the King would not consent; and as he wished for the Conjunction of the two Fleets, it was resolved to attack that of *Denmark*, if this durst oppose itself to them.

At this Time four *Saxon* Regiments took the Road of *Holstein* to join the *Danes*: Count *d'Ablesfeld*, whom the King of *Denmark* had made Governor of the Dutchy of *Schleswick*, went to meet them, to conduct them to his Master's Army. As they committed some Waste in the Dutchy of *Zell*, through which they passed, that Duke marched some Troops against them under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Goor*, who obliged them to return back. Nor were they better received in the Territories of *Brunswick*,

where the Militia of the Country pursued them so briskly, that they dispersed themselves, and were obliged to abandon their Baggage, and their Major-General *Neitsch* and many other Officers, who were made Prisoners.

The Conjunction of the *Swedish* Fleet with that of *England* and *Holland* was happily accomplished on the 7th of *July*; that of *Sweden* took the Right; they remained together two Days at Anchor, and sailed on the 10th, to go and look after the *Danes*. These also weighed Anchor at the Approach of the Fleet of the Allies, and were retired to the Road of *Copenhagen*. The *Danish* Admiral then demanded by an Officer of the *English*, if he came thither as a Friend, or whether they were to regard him as an Enemy? All the Answer which he received from Admiral *Rook* was, That he should know very shortly; and at the same Time threw four Bombs into the *Danish* Fleet, which would not expose itself any farther, and took immediate Measures to shut itself up within its Ports.

This Motion having taken from the Allies all Hopes of drawing them to a Battle, they resolved to bombard the Enemy. This Resolution was executed the same Evening, the *Danes* returning the Compliment from sixteen Mortars, with very little Damage on either Side.

This Manner of making War did not suit with the King's Taste; his Majesty being desirous of conveying a Letter to Mr. *Leyonclo*, the *Swedish* Ambassador at *Copenhagen*, found a Pretence to send a Captain thither with it. This Captain was attended with a Sea-Officer disguised in a Sailor's Dress, and was charged to observe

serve the Disposition of the Enemy, by which Means his Majesty was informed, that he tormented himself to no Purpose, and that it was impossible to attack the Enemy with any Advantage: This News changed the King's Resolution, he then thought of making a Descent into *Seland*; and to hinder the King of *Denmark* from repairing thither, they shut up his Passage with many Vessels which were then in the *Baltick*.

Whilst *Charles XII.* was busy in the Execution of this Project, and the taking necessary Measures to push the War with Vigour, King *Augustus* at length obtained of the Republick of *Poland*, that she would defray the Expence of the War in *Livonia*, to carry on which he had drawn together 15,000 Men on the Frontiers of that Province; the Conquest of which appeared to him infallible, a great Number of *Poles* and *Lithuanians* had already betaken themselves thither with all their Equipages.

We have seen above, that General *Otto Welling* had received Orders to oppose *Flemming* with all the Troops which he could gather together: He acquitted himself very handsomely of this Commission, and repulsed likewise some *Saxon* Troops which would have passed the *Duna*; but was obliged in the End to yield to Numbers, and could not hinder the Enemy from executing the Design which he had formed.

On the 20th of *July*, *Augustus* advanced with all his Army and a great Train of Artillery to attempt the Passage, with which View he fixed on a Place near *Riga*, called *Probstinghoff*. Here was some hilly Ground, commo-

dious for planting his Cannon; Mr. *Welling* hastened hither, but could not hinder a great Part of the Enemy's Foot from intrenching themselves in a Manner impossible to be forced.

King *Augustus*, who had in great Haste made a Bridge of Boats, passed the River with the rest of his Army, and made a Feint of attacking Mr. *Welling*, who, after amusing the Enemy with some Skirmishes, made a very fine Retreat, and posted himself under the Cannon of *Riga*, into which Town he pushed all his Foot, and retired with his Horse farther into the Country, to cover it against the *Saxon* Parties.

Augustus thought not proper to pursue Mr. *Welling*; he invested *Riga*, which he contented himself with blocking up, not having a sufficient Force to attack it in Form; for the Garrison was very numerous, and commanded by old Count *Dalberg*, a very able Engineer, and one of the most experienced Generals of his Age. *Augustus* threw some Bombs into it with little Effect, and put all the Country round under Contribution.

Colonel *Braus* was detached with 600 *Saxon* Horse to invest *Kokenbusen* on the *Duna*, two leagues above *Riga*. The Enemy took these Measures to shut up the Town on all Sides, and consequently to prevent its receiving any Provisions or Troops for its Defence.

This first Progress of the King of *Poland* rendered the King of *Denmark* yet less tractable than he was before. This Prince was so far from hearkening to any Mention of Peace, that he haughtily rejected the Proposition of the Allies, of a short Suspension of Arms.

Arms. The King of Sweden therefore found himself under a Necessity of executing the Project he had formed to make a Descent on *Seeland*.

This Prince caused 12000 Men, which were in *Scania*, to march without Delay towards *Lanscroon*, and himself took the Post of *Malmoe*. At the same Time he embarked his Foot upon a great Number of Shallops and other small Vessels. As the Passage was short, his Majesty ordered it to be covered by a Squadron under the Command of Admiral *Anckerstierna*. As soon as the necessary Preparations were made, Baron *Stuart*, the King's chief Engineer, sailed before with a Yacht to reconnoitre the most proper Place for a Descent. He soon returned, and on the Advice which he brought they weighed Anchor at four in the Afternoon, and stood for *Humblebeck*, the Place designed for the Disembarkation, being situated between *Copenhagen* and *Helsingobr*.

They observed the following Order in their Passage. Seventy one Shallops, in which were embarked 254 Grenadiers, took the Van; between every Shallop there was one filled with *Chevaux de Frise*. They were followed by 34 Boats laden with Shovels and Fascines. Next followed 44 small Vessels, in which were 500 Men to support the Van-guard. These were again followed by many other Ships, containing the Corps of Battle. The King was on the Right, with Count *Wachtmeister*, Great-Admiral; Baron *Knut Posse*, Major-General; Baron *Stuart*, Count *Charles Wrangle*, Chamberlain *Hord*, and several Persons of Distinction.

General *Rhenschild* commanded on

the Left: He had with him the Prince Palatine of *Stegeborg*, Baron *Arwid Horn*, Captain-Lieutenant of Drabans, and Major-General and Colonel *Otto Wrangle*, Lieutenant of Drabans. Ten Men of War full of Foot covered the Attack, which was to be made in the following Manner.

A Battalion of Guards, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Palmquist*, was on the Extent of the right Wing, with Orders to attack a Wind-mill which stood on a rising Ground. The second Battalion of Guards, commanded by Major *Hamers*, formed the Extent of the left Wing, and were to attack the Intrenchment of the Enemy in Flank. The third Battalion of Guards, under the Command of Capt. *Ebrenstein*, were to hold themselves near the first on the right Wing, to support the Attack of the Mill, and then to make themselves Masters of a House which stood on another Piece of rising Ground. A Battalion of the Regiment of *Falshbourg*, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Buchwaldt*, joined the second Battalion on the left Wing. In this Manner the Van-Guard, and the four Battalions immediately disembarked, while the rest of the Troops held themselves on Board the Men of War.

As soon as the King had made this Disposition, the Signal was given by the Discharge of eight Cannon, and by hoisting a red Flag on the Main-mast Head of the Great Admiral's Ship. It was now six in the Evening. The Men of War immediately saluted the *Danes* with a Broad side, who were ranged in order of Battle behind their Intrenchments on the Shore. The *Danes* return'd a very weak Fire from some Field-pieces. As the Water

ter was very low, the Shallops were aground an hundred Paces from the Shore.

The King threw himself first into the Water up to his Arm-pits, with his Sword in his Hand. The King, who had never before heard the Discharge of small Arms charg'd with Ball, ask'd Major *Stuart*, *What that Whistling was which he heard in his Ears? It is the Noise of the Musket-Balls, which they fire at you*, answer'd the Major. *Very well*, says the King, *this shall be my Musick hence forward*. At the same Instant the Major received a Shot in his Shoulder, and a Lieutenant fell dead on the other Side of the King.

All the Troops followed the King's Example. The *Danes* then came out of their Intrenchments, and approached the Banks of the Sea, whence they charged the *Swedes* very vigorously; but these having insensibly gained Ground, after a short Fight obliged the *Danes* to retire, which they did with Precipitation, abandoning their Intrenchments and Cannon, of which the *Swedes* took instant Possession.

The King had also caused the Regiment of *Upland*, commanded by *Baron Lowen*, and that of *Calmar*, under the Command of Colonel *Diurkla*, to disembark during the Action. After it was over, all the Troops began to intrench themselves, which Work they carried on 'till the Arrival of the Horse. As to the *Danes*, they retreated under the Cannon of *Copenhagen*, and abandoned the flat Country, which was now exposed to the Incursions of the *English* and *Dutch* Sailors, who committed great Destruction there.

The *Swedes* lost very few Men in this Action. *Baron Stuart* was wound-

ed in the Thigh, and obliged to repass the Sea. The next Day the King order'd the Horse, with the rest of the Foot which were in *Scania*, to march: He likewise brought up the Artillery, designing to lay Siege to *Copenhagen*. All the Country was put under Contribution.

The *Swedish* Camp was soon provided with every Thing necessary for the Troops; the Inhabitants of *Seeland* brought in Provisions from all Parts, which they sold to the Soldiers. Those of *Helsingobr* having desired the same Liberty, the King granted it them on Condition that they would pay certain Contributions. This Prince at the same Time spread his Letters all through *Seeland*, by which he promised his Protection to the Inhabitants. To hinder any Disorder, he made his Troops observe an exact Discipline. His Camp was under so exact a Regulation, that the Peasants chose rather to sell their Provisions to the *Swedes* their Enemies, than to the *Danes*, who did not pay them so well. The Citizens of *Copenhagen* were obliged more than once to come to the King of *Sweden's* Camp to buy Provisions, of which, for the foregoing Reason, there was great Scarcity in their own Markets. No one had any Reason to complain of the Conduct of this Prince; His Enemies were themselves in the Number of his Admirers, and praised his Clemency and Justice. The Day after the Publication of those Letters, by which his Majesty took these People under his Protection, others appeared on the Part of the King of *Denmark*, forbidding his Subjects on the Pain of Death from any Commerce with the *Swedes*. These Menaces made

little Impression on the People's Minds, seeing that the *Swedes* were every where Masters, and could force them to deliver whatever they wanted.

The *Swedish* Troops, as well Horse as Foot, had then pass'd the Sea, and form'd a Body of about 12000 Men. While they were gathering together, Admiral *Rook* arrived at the Beginning of *August* at the King's Camp, to congratulate him on the Success of his Enterprize. All the Ministers of the foreign Powers, who had followed his Majesty in this Expedition, emulated each other in testifying to this Prince the Pleasure they had in his good Fortune.

The News of this Expedition of the King of *Sweden* entirely changed the Face of Affairs in *Holstein*. The *Danish* Ministers became more tractable, and desired themselves, by Order of the King their Master, to enter into Negotiation with those of the Duke at *Travendahl* in *Holstein*. They instantly desired, on the Behalf of his *Danish* Majesty, that above all Things there might be a Suspension of Arms in *Seeland*. The Mediators immediately dispatched a Courier to the King of *Sweden* to advise him of this, assuring him, that his *Danish* Majesty had engaged to give the Duke of *Holstein* all suitable Satisfaction.

This News was not agreeable to the King; he fear'd, that these Propositions were only made to him with a Design of gaining Time: So, that he might obtain more advantageous Conditions, he marched at the Head of his Army from *Humblebeck* to *Runstad*, about a League and Half from *Copenhagen*, fully resolved to lay Siege to that Town, as soon as his Artillery

was arrived. In the mean Time the Peace was concluded at *Travendahl*, in a very advantageous Manner to the Duke of *Holstein*. Twelve Conferences had been held for this Purpose, in which the Treaty of *Altena* was confirmed in all its Points: They assured to this Prince the Sovereignty of his Estates, the Liberty to build Fortresses, and to keep on Foot a certain Number of Troops.

Charles, who knew nothing of the Conclusion of this Peace, was then employed in making the necessary Preparations for the Siege of *Copenhagen*. The Fleets already blockt up the Town towards the Sea, and he was upon the Point of approaching it nearer, when the News arrived of the Peace concluded at *Holstein*. This News was brought him on the 11th of *August* by a *Danish* Captain, who arrived in his Majesty's Camp with a *Swedish* Ensign, and several Prisoners of War, who had been taken by the *Danes*.

The Count of *Reventlau*, a *Danish* Major-General, arrived likewise the Day following: He was charged on the Behalf of the King his Master, to desire his *Swedish* Majesty to cause a Cessation of Hostilities, not to advance farther into the Country, and to re-establish the antient Friendship and good Understanding, which had reigned between the two Courts, the Duke of *Holstein* having had all the Satisfaction he required. The same was farther confirmed the same Day by Messieurs *de Blohm* and *Dahldorff*, who came to his *Swedish* Majesty on the Part of the Duke of *Holstein*. The King received Count *Reventlau* very graciously, giving him the Place of all

all his Generals, and the Honour to eat at his Table.

The Peace being thus happily concluded, the Troops of the mediatorial Powers returned into their own Country. Admiral *Rook*, before his Departure with his Fleet and that of the *Dutch*, had often the Honour to salute his Majesty at his Camp at *Runstadt*. A great Number of *English* and *Dutch* Officers obtained likewise the same Favour. His *Swedish* Majesty caused all his Army to make the Evolutions in their Presence, which drew a great Crowd from *Copenhagen* to the *Swedish* Camp. The Desire, which all had of seeing the King, brought this great Number of People together.

The Eighteenth of *August* his *Swedish* Majesty drew near to *Copenhagen*, accompanied by all his Generals, and rode round it, in order to make his Observation on the Out-works. The Day following, all the Regiments of Horse as well as Foot were put in Motion to be transported into *Scania*. Before their Departure, the Inhabitant of *Seeland* and *Copenhagen* furnished them with necessary Provisions and a great Number of Boats. The King, impatient to find himself in *Livonia*, passed the Sound at *Helsingburg*, well pleased to have so happily put an End to a War so much to his Glory, and which replaced his Brother-in-law in the full Enjoyment of all his Rights and Prerogatives.

Whilst the Negotiations of Peace were carrying on, the *Czar* prepared to attack *Ingria*, a Frontier Province of *Sweden*. His Design was to act in concert with King *Augustus*, in Consequence of the secret Alliance which he had concluded with that Prince.

The *Czar's* Conduct with Regard to *Sweden* had long given Reason to believe, that he meditated something to the Disadvantage of that Court, in spite of all those Assurances to the contrary, which *Matweof*, his Ambassador at the *Hague*, continually gave to the *Swedish* Minister; whilst that Prince made the same Protestations to the Resident of his *Swedish* Majesty at *Moscow*.

The better to deceive the Court of *Sweden*, and dissipate, if possible, all her Suspicions, the *Czar* sent an Ambassador to *Charles XII.* named *Knees Andrew-Jacobowiz Chilkow*, who arrived in *Seeland* the 29th, and transmitted to the King a Letter from the *Czar*, by which he assured his *Swedish* Majesty of an inviolable Friendship. This Envy, who had travelled in *Italy*, harangued the King in *Italian*, and assured him, that the *Czar* his Master would take the first Opportunity of sending a solemn Embassy, to give him fresh Proofs of his Friendship.

The King gave this Ambassador a very gracious Reception; and as he said, that he had Orders from the *Czar* to attend the Court every where, he accompanied the King to *Christianstadt*, where this Prince was come to press the Transportation into *Livonia*. But Affairs soon began to change their Complexion. As soon as the *Czar's* Troops were ready, he caused them to defile towards the Frontiers of *Ingria*. By Degrees, as these Troops approached thither, the *Czar's* Ministers in foreign Courts began to change their Language: They alledged, above all, I know not what Affront, supposed or true, done partly to the

Person of the Czar himself, and partly to his Ambassadors at *Riga*; on which Subject a Writing was publish'd and dispers'd every where. The King of *England* and the *States General* gave themselves much Trouble to calm the Temper of the Czar: They promised him, that the *Swedish* Court would be very ready to give him all Kind of Satisfaction, as soon as she should precisely know in what she had offended. All these Representations were fruitless: The Czar laid Siege to *Narva* with a Army of 80,000 Men; and without making any other Declaration of War, he put all to Fire and Sword.

This Irruption awakened the Hopes of King *Augustus*, who was much alarmed at the Peace of *Travendahl*, and the Clause therein inserted, by which the King of *Denmark* was engaged not to assist either directly or indirectly the Enemies of the King of *Sweden*.

As *Augustus* could not besiege *Riga*, he contented himself with sending Parties into the Neighbourhood of that Town, to carry off all the Cattle and Forage that they could find. The News of the Czar's Irruption determined him to quit the Neighbourhood of *Riga*, and to content himself with the Conquests which he had already made on the other Side of the River, and endeavour to maintain them, till having drawn together greater Force he was in a Condition to act with more Vigour. To open a Communication between this River and *Livonia*, he caused some Troops to appear at seven in the Morning before *Kokenbussen*, a little Fort on this Side of the *Duna*, where there was a Garrison, consisting of a Major and 200 Men.

Augustus repair'd hither the Day following with the Army, and gave Orders to Veldt-Marshal *Steinau* to summon the Commandant to surrender; which this Commandant refusing to do, he resolved to open the Siege in Form.

The Trenches were opened the same Night, and after some Days Continuance of the Siege, the Commandant, seeing the Enemy at the very Brink of the Mote, and ready to attack the Rampart, found himself obliged to capitulate. The Garrison marched out with all their Baggage, and repaired to *Riga*. The Commandant was instantly put under Arrest, for not having done his utmost in the Defence of the Fort.

The King of *Sweden*, who was repaired from *Christianstadt* to *Carlsbaven*, where was the Rendezvous of the greater Part of the Troops designed for *Livonia*, had yet heard nothing of these first Hostilities of the Czar. Here this Prince's Ambassador had his Audience of Leave from the King, who received him in a very gracious Manner.

The Transports were ready to sail, when his *Swedish* Majesty received the News of the Siege of *Narva*, and of the first Hostilities exercised by the *Muscovites*, who put all to Fire and Sword. He was extremely surprized at hearing it; for, notwithstanding all the Reports which had been spread abroad of the March of the *Russian* Troops, he could not persuade himself, that the Czar had taken a Resolution to declare War against him; nor was he entirely convinced, till after he had an Account of this last Step of his Czarish Majesty.

Charles

Charles was touched to the Quick at the Extremity to which the Town of *Narva* was reduced. The *Russians* having presently summoned the Governor to surrender, threatened to push the Siege with all possible Vigour. On the Refusal of Baron *Horn*, who commanded in the Place, the Trenches were opened.

In this Condition stood the Siege of *Narva*, when his Majesty embark'd at *Carlsbaven*, accompanied by the Duke of *Holstein*, who was arrived from his own Estates three Days before. The Counts *Piper* and *Polus*, and a great Number of Officers and Persons of Distinction, embarked also with his Majesty. The Duke accompanied the King some Leagues at Sea, and thence repaired to *Stockholm*, to see the Dutcheſs his Spouse, who had been delivered of a Prince in *April* this Year. As Troubles were likewise to be apprehended from the Quarter of *Pomerania*, the Duke repaired thither to command the Troops, and at the same Time to put the Town of *Stetin* in a Condition of Defence.

The King arrived happily at *Pernau* with Part of the Transports; his Arrival revived the Courage of the *Livonians*, and inspired them with the greatest Hopes. The University of *Pernau* signalized itself on this Occasion by many Pieces both in Prose and Verse, which they took Care to make publick. The King stopt there near a Week, during which Stay the other Vessels arriv'd with the Troops; he made them disembark, and suffer'd them to repose there some Days to refresh themselves after the Fatigues of the Sea. The first News that the King heard at his Arrival was, that

the Czar had made many Attacks upon the Town of *Narva* without any Success. He afterwards understood, that the Country was entirely laid Waste ten Leagues round; and that this Prince designed to burn the *Swedish* Magazine at *Wesenberg*, and thence intended to march towards *Revel*.

It was to ward off this Blow, that the King went to *Ryen*, where *Welling* had posted himself after his leaving *Riga*. His Majesty, having reviewed the Body of Troops under that General, ordered him to march towards the Enemy, to cover *Wesenberg*, and to provide Quarters of Refreshment for the Army, which was incessantly to follow. At the same Time the Colonels *Schlippenbach* and *Skyyt* were detached towards the Town of *Dorpt*, to observe the Motions of the *Russians* and *Saxons*; the first being encamped opposite to the Lake *Peipus*, and the *Saxons* on the Side of *Kockenbusen*. *Schlippenbach* surprized at *Ismen*, near *Rapin* on the *Piepus*, twelve *Russian* Vessels, which had come thither from the Neighbourhood of *Narva*.

The King, in his Return from *Ryen* to *Pernau*, stopt there again some Days, whence he afterwards marched to *Revel*, where he was received under a Discharge of the Cannon from the Ramparts. The Day of his Arrival, the provincial Colours of *Plescon*, which Colonel *Schlippenbach* had taken at the Battle of *Ismen*, were presented to him. This Ensign is extremely large, on which are Figures very largely painted. When the *Russians* of this Province formerly went to War, they used to carry it with them, and to accompany it with much Respect

spect and Devotion ; their Superstition making them believe, that if ever they lost it, they should be very unfortunate.

The King, at his Departure from *Pernau*, had detached some Regiments to join at *Wesenberg* General *Welling*, who was already arrived without having met any Body of the Enemy's Troops in his March ; but a Lieutenant detached from his Vanguard, was encountered near *Purts* by a Party of 200 Men, whom, tho' he had with him no more than 20 Men, he nevertheless defeated and put to Flight.

General *Welling* having learnt at his Arrival at *Wesenberg* that 3000 *Circassians* were lodged some Leagues off in the Villages, sent a Major, named *Patkul*, with 300 Horse to surprize them ; and Major *Tisenhausen* had Orders to support him with an equal Number. They arrived the same Evening, and having come up with the Enemy, who had not put themselves in a Posture of Defence, attack'd them, and set Fire to their Villages. The greater Part of them perished in the Flames ; most of the others were killed, some few only had the good Fortune to save themselves under Favour of the Night and the Smoke, which concealed them from the *Swedish* Pursuit. The Fugitives repaired afterwards to General *Scheremethoff*, who kept himself at *Pybajoki* with a considerable Body of Horse.

At this News the *Muscovite* General, putting himself at the Head of twenty-one Squadrons, went to deliver the rest of these Troops. He found the *Swedes* yet busy in killing those

whom the Fire had spared. He attacked them on all Sides, and possessed himself of the Pass of *Purts*, to cut off their Retreat.

The *Swedes* seeing themselves hem'd in, undertook to break through the Enemy Sword in Hand ; which succeeded ; they overthrew a great Number, and thoroughly disengaged themselves. General *Scheremethoff's* Son was dangerously wounded in this Action. On the Side of the *Swedes*, Major *Patkul* and a Captain named *Adercass* were made Prisoners by the starting of their Horses, and were delivered some Time afterwards at the Battle of *Nava*.

Charles, who wished nothing more than to come to Blows with the Enemy, stay'd not long at *Revel*. The Count *de Guiscard*, the *French* Ambassador, was arrived from *Stockholm* to make the Campaign ; he endeavoured to persuade the King to wait for the rest of his Army, that he might be more on an equal Foot with the Enemy : But nothing could cool the Courage of this Prince ; and the formidable Forces of the Czar, together with the strong Fortifications of his Camp, instead of holding him back, only animated him the more.

His Resolution was taken, and nothing was capable of dissuading him. Confiding therefore entirely in the Justice of his Cause, he departed from *Revel* with the few Troops that he had, and went to join Mr. *Welling* at *Wesenberg*. The Horse-guards, or Body-Regiment, which was arrived at *Revel*, departed immediately after the King. This Prince, notwithstanding his few Forces, detach'd *Welling* with

a Body of 1050 Men on the Side of *Dorpt*, in order to support Colonel *Skytt* and cover the Frontiers.

All the Baggage, with every Thing which could retard their March, was left at *Wesenberg*, which is fifteen good Leagues from *Narva*, and the Soldiers were forbid to take any thing with them, which was not absolutely necessary for their Subsistence. The Army then marched through *Purts* to *Pyhajoki*; crossing a Country deserted, wasted, and where the Enemy had throughout left Marks of their Cruelty; the 17th of *Novemb.* after a laborious March, and at a Time when Provisions began to grow scarce, they arrived at last at *Pyhajoki*, a very difficult Pass, and which a small Number might dispute against a whole Army. General *Scheremetboff* was here posted with 600 Horse, fully resolved to make the *Swedes* pay very dear for their gaining it.

Major General *Meidel*, who commanded the Van-guard of 400 Horse, met at about a League distant a Troop of *Russian* Foragers; he had with him the Quarter-masters of the Army, who were to mark out a Camp.

As the *Russians* had a strong Escort, Mr. *Meidel* desired the King's Leave to attack them; on which this Prince advancing with his Army, hastened thither with a great Number of Officers, and charged the Foragers in an Instant, some of whom he took Prisoners, and the rest he put to Flight, pursuing them at their Heels with his few People to that dangerous Pass where *Scheremetboff* was posted, in the Midst of a great Fire, as well of the small Arms as the Ordnance.

The King, being impatient to carry

this important Post, brought up some of his Foot, at the same Time taking the Advantage of the Darkness of the Night to plant some Field-Pieces. The *Russians* were attacked with so much Vigour, that *Scheremetboff*, instead of making Head against us, fled with all his Horse full Speed, and was himself the Messenger to the Czar of the Enemy's Approach.

Mr. *Palmquist*, Lieutenant-Colonel, was order'd with a Battalion of Guards to take Possession of that important Defile, of which we had made ourselves Masters, and which was so much the more dangerous to attack and easy to defend, for that between two steep Hills there is in the Middle a Torrent, with a steep and marshy Bank, in which Place, the Valley, being extremely narrow, may be defended by a few Men against a whole Army; add to this, that the Plain higher up on the *Swedes* Side was entirely open, and exposed to the Fire of the Cannon on the opposite Bank, where a great Number of Bushes cover'd the Enemy.

After we had carried this Post, the King judg'd it proper to be diligent, and take an Advantage of the Fright of the Enemy, without giving them Time to recover themselves; the rather, as our Provisions began to fail us, and we could not hope to find any more in a deserted and ruin'd Country. The Army then continued its March thro' *Silleenegi*, and arriv'd the 20th of *November* at *Lagena*, a League and a Half from *Narva*. We had but 5000 Foot and 3000 Horse, the greater Part of which were Sick, and in no Condition of fighting. Indeed, considering the Condition of these Troops,

Troops, no one would have believed that the King would so soon have attacked the Enemy, the Soldiers and Horses being so fatigued: But as it was to be fear'd that the Enemy would soon put themselves in a Posture of Defence, the King thought proper to prevent them, and attack them without waiting for other Succours.

As soon as *Charles* had taken these Measures, he quitted *Lagena*, and came in sight of the Enemy at eleven in the Morning. The *Czar* had advantageously fortified his Camp, which extended from the Mill of *Portei* on the River which runs through *Narva* quite to *Joola* on the other Side of the Town, on the same River, which makes a League in Length. The Intrenchment was provided with a Bulwark, armed with a *Chevaux de Frise*, with deep Ditches, flank'd on the Outside with some Works, and on the Inside with several Batteries placed in the most advantageous Manner, and with a strong Line of Countervalation.

Notwithstanding the continual Fire of the Enemy, the King drew up his Army in order of Battle, conveying himself to different Places to examine the most favourable Ground for the Attack. The Foot were then employed in getting together the necessary Fascines. After his Majesty had reconnoitred the weak Part of the Enemy's Intrenchments, he resolved on two general Attacks.

General *Welling* commanded the right Wing, which was to enter on the Side of *Rathshoff*. The Attack was conducted by Major-General *Poss*, in the following Manner: Lieutenant *Rhenschild*, at the Head of fifty Gren-

adiers of the Guards, began the Attack. He was followed by the Battalion of Grenadiers of the Regiment of Guards, commanded by Count *Sperling*, supported by three Battalions of Guards; that in the Middle under Mr. *Palmquist*, that on the Right commanded by Major *Nummers*, and that on the Left by Captain *Ehrensten*. Next marched the Captains of the Guards, *Charles Poss* on the Right, and Capt. *Sparr* on the Left.

These were supported by Colonel *Knorring* at the Head of a Battalion of *Helsingers* on the Right, and on the Left by Captain *Cazimir Wrangel* at the Head of a Battalion of *Wesmanland*. Colonel *Tisenhausen* followed with a Battalion of *Finland* on the Right, Major *Wulff* in the Middle with a Battalion of *Helsingers*, and Captain *Kurck* with a Battalion of *Wesmanland* on the Left. All the Horse on the right Wing, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Wachmeister*, were order'd to support the Foot, and afterwards to enter the Enemy's Lines Sword in Hand.

The left Wing, which was ordered to attack on the Side of *Wepfchyle*, was commanded by Lieutenant-General *Rhenschild*. We formed two Attacks; the first of which, consisting of two Columns, was led to the Right by Major-General *Meidel*. The first Column on the Right was under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Roos*, who commanded a Battalion of *Wesmanland*. He was followed by Captain *Fock* with another Battalion of the same Regiment, by Major *Von Feilitz* with a Battalion of *Wesmanland*, and by Captain *Safs*, who closed this Column with a Battalion of *Finland*. The

second

second Column to the Left had Lieutenant-Colonel *Gryndel* at their Head with three Battalions of *Finland*; the First commanded by Colonel *Melin*, the Second by Lieutenant-Colonel *Lode*, the Third by Major *Berg*.

These two Columns on the Right were ordered to attack the Intrenchment of the Enemy on that Side where they had raised a Battery, which commanded the Country and the Lines of the Intrenchment, in order to make themselves Masters thereof. The second Attack to the Left was commanded by Count *Stenbock*, a Colonel, supported by a Battalion of *Finland* commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Hastfebr*. They were provided with a great Number of Fascines, to mount the Intrenchments.

This King was himself on this Wing with his Drabans, where he had flattered himself to be able to encounter the Czar; but this Prince departed that Morning for * *Moscow*, having left the Command of his Army to the Duke *de Croy*. *Charles* had with him Lieutenant-General *Rbenfchild*, Count *Arwid Horn*, Major-General and Captain-Lieutenant of Drabans, and all the Horse of the left Wing, whereof Major-General *Ribbing* commanded the *Corps de Reserve*.

Mr. *Sioblad*, Grand Master of the Artillery, had placed his Battery on the Left Wing, which consisted of twenty-one Field-Pieces; and Major *Appelmann* had another on the Right of sixteen Pieces.

As soon as the King had made these Dispositions, the Signal of Attack was given, which was the Discharge of two Fuses, and these Words, *With the Assistance of God*, which resounded through the whole Army. The Foot were instantly in Motion, and march'd directly to the Intrenchment. It was now two o'Clock in the Afternoon; and the Weather, which had continued hitherto serene, was all of a sudden over-cast with a thick Cloud, which discharged itself in a Storm of Hail and Snow full in the Face of the Enemy, and caused them not to perceive the Approach of the *Swedes* till they were under their Cannon, and almost on the Brink of their Ditch.

The Attack of the Intrenchment was made with so much Bravery, and followed every where with so happy a Success, that the Foot made a Lodgment in less than a Quarter of a Hour, and prepared a Way for the Horse to enter. The *Muscovites* were now put to Flight, and dispersed themselves, notwithstanding all the Duke *de Croy* could do to rally them. Our Left Wing chased the Right of the Enemy along the Intrenchment toward the River, whither they ran to gain the Bridge which they had built.

One Part of these frightened Troops attempted to get out of their Intrenchments, to save themselves the better; which the King perceiving, he attacked them at the Head of his Drabans and Dragoons of the Left Wing, and forced them back in Haste. In the mean Time our Infan-

* According to Mr. *Voltaire*, the Czar was not gone for *Moscow*, but towards *Plescow*, to hasten the March of 40,000 Men which were advancing from that Quarter; with which other Accounts seem likewise to agree.

try advanced briskly, and made a dreadful Slaughter of all they met. Several of those who were pursued to the River, had the Happiness to save themselves; but the Bridge being at length broken down under them, a great many perished in the Water.

The others being hemmed in between the *Swedes* and the River, resolved to defend themselves like Men in Despair. They had yet at their Head a great Part of their Generals; but the Duke *de Croy*, General *Allart*, and several others, had already surrender'd themselves to the King. They found some Houses and Barracks, behind which they took Shelter, and barricadoed themselves with their Waggons and every Thing they could meet with. There they defended themselves with more Bravery than was expected; and notwithstanding the terrible and continual Fire of the *Swedes*, we could not force them.

The Battle became the more fierce and bloody, by reason of the Darkness which now came on. The King, who was now with some Horse on the Outside of the Intrenchment, ran to a Place where he heard a Noise, followed only by his Chamberlain, whose Name was *Axel Hordb*. As he passed by a Morass he sunk in, whence some Valets, who were near, having drawn him out, he left his Sword and one Boot behind, which were afterwards found. This Accident did not hinder him, with one Boot only, from putting himself at the Head of his Foot, whom he yet found engaged with the Enemy, the Fire continuing on both Sides with great Violence.

In the mean while the Right Wing of the *Swedes* had as good Success as

the Left. They had already put the Enemy to Flight, and the greater Part of the Foot came afterwards to join the Left Wing at their Attack.

The Night coming on put a Stop to the Battle, and the King made use of that Time to prepare for a new Attack. He drew out his Army between the Town and the Intrenchments, in such a Manner that it could not be surprized. He gave Orders at the same Time to Mr. *Sioblad*, Grand Master of the Artillery, Major-General *Meidel*, and Count *Stenbock*, to go with some Troops and attack a Hill where the Enemy had their principal Battery, which commanded all the Intrenchments, by being Masters of which, the *Swedes* might henceforth hinder the Communication between the two Wings of the Enemy.

The *Muscovites* seeing that at last they should be forced to surrender, their Right Wing being shut up on the River of *Narva*, sent the same Evening to the King to submit to his Mercy. *Charles* having consented to their Request, the Kneez *Jacob Feodorowits Dolgoruki*, Commissary-General of War, the General *Affemon Michailowits Golowin*, and the Prince of *Melita*, Grand Master of the Artillery, came to surrender to his Majesty, and lay their Arms at his Feet. They declared they submitted themselves with all their Men Prisoners, and instantly delivered up that Post which they had so long defended, which was presently ordered to be kept by two Battalions of Guards.

The King, contented with the Submission of these Troops, permitted them to retire with their Arms, which they did the next Day at four in the Morning,

Morning, over the Bridge that they had repaired. The Conqueror however reserved all their Colours and Standards, and retained all their Officers of Distinction as Prisoners of War.

As soon as General *Weide*, who commanded the broken Remains of the Enemy's Left Wing, had learnt the Fate of the Right, which he was cut off from joining, he sent at break of Day his *Aide-de-Camp* with a Drum and a Letter directed to the General who commanded in chief, to submit himself at Discretion. The King, having opened the Letter, answer'd, that he granted the Troops Leave of returning into their own Country, but without their Arms.

Charles received all these *Muscovite* Regiments, who threw their Colours and Standards at his Feet. They afterwards filed off, as well Officers as Soldiers with their Heads bare, and a Stick in their Hands, along the Intrenchment and the Camp towards the River, and passed over the same Bridge which we just now mentioned: There was so great a Number of them, that the March continued till the next Morning.

Such was the Success of this great Day, which will be always famous in History, in which a young Hero entirely defeated an intrenched Army of 80,000 Men.

The *Swedes* found a great Quantity of Riches in the Enemy's Camp; but nothing was comparable to the fine Train of Artillery which fell into the Hands of the Conqueror: It consisted of 145 Pieces of Brass Cannon, all new cast, and of different Bores; 28 new Mortars, of different Sizes; with

a Quantity of warlike Stores, six Pair of Kettle-Drums, 151 Colours, 20 Standards, without reckoning those taken in the Action, and those which were afterwards found in the Field of Battle; a prodigious Quantity of Fire-arms, the Czar's military Chest with 262,000 Crowns, all their Tents, and vast Provisions of Victuals and Forage.

The *Muscovites* lost at least 18,000 Men, including those who were drowned in the *Narva*; of the *Swedes* there were not above 2000, either killed or wounded.

Among the Prisoners of War were the Duke *de Croy*, their Commander in chief; *Dolgoruki*, Commissary-General of War; *Golowin* and *Adam Weid*, Generals of Foot; the Knez *Iwan Jurgenits Trubetskoi*, Governor of *Novogrod* and General; *Artschelowski*, Prince of *Melita* in *Georgia*, and Grand Master of the Artillery; *Allart*, Lieutenant General and chief Engineer; Baron *Lang*, Major-General and Envoy of *Poland*; *Iwan Iwanowits Buturlin*, Major-General; *Blumberg*, Colonel of the Czar's Guards; *Von Kragen*, Colonel of Artillery; the Colonels *Fort*, *Von Deelen*, *Jacob Gordon*, *Schneberg*, *Gulitz*, *Pindengrand*, *Wielhoff*, *Jordan*, and *Iwanitski*; not to mention a great Number of Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, and Captains.

We must not here forget what the Duke *de Croy* said to Mr. *Guiscard* speaking of this Battle: He assured him, that when he saw the *Swedish* Army, after it had come out of the Wood of *Lagena*, drawn up in Order of Battle and approaching him, that he thought it was only their Vanguard, not being able to believe that the

King of *Sweden* would have dared to attack an Army so well intrenched, and so infinitely superior to his own. This Duke, to whom the Czar had left the supreme Command of his Troops, died a Year afterwards at *Revel* in his Way to *Moscow*.

The King signalized himself in a very extraordinary Manner on this famous Day, exposing himself in all Places where the Fire was the briskest: He received however no Wound, but in the Evening a Ball was found in his black Cravat, which had lodged there without doing him the least Mischief.

As soon as every Thing was quiet, the King encampt his Troops along the Intrenchment, and sent the Sick and Wounded into *Narva*, into which Town he made his victorious Entry, followed by a great Number of Officers, and by his Drabans, amidst the repeated Acclamations of the Inhabitants, who were transported with Joy at seeing themselves delivered by their own Master, after having suffered the Inconveniencies of a Siege which had lasted near ten Weeks. Colonel *Horn*, who had defended this Place, was very well received by his Majesty, who made him a Major-General.

The King's first Care, after his victorious Entry into *Narva*, was to return solemn Thanks to God for the Victory which he had won. The 26th was appointed for this Ceremony. *Te Deum* was sung, with the Discharge of the Cannon of the Town, of the Castle of *Ivanogrod*, of the Camp and the Intrenchments; and all the Troops, which were under Arms, gave a double Salvo from their small Arms.

As 'twas much to be fear'd that the Army would want Provisions, the

King thought that Inconvenience was to be timely prevented. On an Account therefore which he received, that the Enemy had abandoned a Magazine of Corn at *Jama*, a Castle situated some Leagues from *Narva*, he went thither himself in Person, and order'd the whole to be convey'd to *Narva*, together with two Brass Mortars which the *Muscovites* had left behind them in the Castle. However, as these Provisions were not yet sufficient, the King was under some Uneasiness on this Account.

In Reality, the Country was entirely destroy'd, and his Majesty would not resolve on sending Parties into the neighbouring Provinces of the Enemy, fearing lest the Inhabitants should withdraw themselves from the Frontiers with all their Cattle and Provisions; they therefore took other Measures. The King thought proper to give his Protection to those Provinces which depended on the *Muscovites* bordering on *Ingria*, allowing them the same Liberty of Commerce which they had before. This Method produced for some Time the desired Effect; the necessary Provisions were brought to the Camp, for which the Money was not only paid, but advanced before-hand.

In the mean while the Czar, somewhat recovered from his Consternation, occasioned by the Loss of the Battle of *Narva*, drew together the dispersed Remains of his Army, which he quarter'd at *Plescow*, at *Pitschur*, at *Iburski*, and on the Frontiers of *Livonia*, where he detached them several Ways to burn and pillage the Country.

While Colonel *Schlippenbach* coast-

ed the River of *Aa*, near *Dorpt*, to observe the Motions of the Enemy, 2000 *Muscovites* were posted at *Neubausen*, an old Castle near *Rapin*, where they intrenched themselves, in order to lay the Neighbourhood under Contribution.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Romanowitz* was detached on that Side with 400 Men, both Foot and Horse, to dislodge them. As he had no Cannon, he endeavoured to draw them into the open Field, and there give them Battle. With this View he dismounted his Dragoons, and advancing with his Foot up to the Pallisades, he made a Discharge on the Enemy, by which some of them fell. He afterwards feigned a Retreat, and that with such Precipitation, that the *Muscovites* looking on it as a Flight, came out of their Intrenchments to charge the *Swedes*; on which they faced about, and received the Enemy so vigorously, that they immediately overthrew them. The *Muscovites*, being put to Flight, attempted to regain the Castle, but were pursued so briskly, that great Numbers of them were killed. Some of those, who were able to save themselves, took the Road of *Pitschur*, and the rest shut themselves up in *Neubausen*.

The *Swedes* by this Means gave Liberty to a great Number of Peasants, whom the *Muscovites* were carrying into Slavery. As the Enemy might receive Succours from *Pitschur*, *Romanowitz* retired during the Night into the next Village, whence he sent out little Parties to make Discoveries: These reported, that the Enemy had abandoned *Neubausen*, leaving more than 200 dead behind them; and

that the *Muscovites* had done the same Thing at *Rapin*.

In the mean while Provisions grew every Day more scarce at *Narva*, which the Troops felt the more by Reason of their Fatigue in their late hard Campaign. The King, seeing it impossible to take up his Winter-Quarters in that Town, resolved to enter into *Livonia*, where he might be able to make Head against all his Enemies. Before his Departure, he sent Major-General *Meidel* with the *Finland* Troops towards *Vasknarva*, where the Enemy seemed to have a Design of approaching, with Orders to hinder them from committing any Destruction.

The King quitted *Narva* the 13th of *December*, with his Army, to put them into Winter-Quarters near *Dorpt*, on the Frontiers of *Livonia*. The Regiment of Horse-guards was gone before, and had already posted themselves at *Koikel*, on the Lake *Peipus*, to cover the Frontiers.

As Baron *Spens*, Colonel of that Regiment and a Major-General, was then absent, the Lieutenant-Colonel marched a Detachment to *Neubausen*, where he left Captain *Muller* with 100 Horse to defend that Post. *Muller* was presently attacked by some thousand *Muscovites*, who gave him a furious Assault, which he sustained three Hours together with great Valour, obliging the Enemy at length to retire with the Loss of 300 Men.

The 19th of *December*, 1700. the King arrived at *Lais*, an old Castle six Leagues from *Dorpt*, which he chose for his head Quarters: His Troops were quartered in the Neighbourhood and on the Frontiers; Baron

Spens

Spens at *Sagnitz*, Colonel *Schlippenbach* in the Neighbourhood of *Marienburg*, and Colonel *Albedyhl* at *Ronnenburgh*. The King cast his Eyes on *Volmar* as a proper Place for his Magazine.

Charles, who was always indefatigable, failed not to visit all his Troops with the utmost Exactness, and to provide for their Safety, by covering and securing them against the frequent Excursions of the *Muscovites* and *Saxons*.

As to *Ingria* and *Finland*, Major-General *Cronhiort* was ordered to repair thither with a Body of 6000 Men, and post himself on the Frontiers. Towards the End of *December*, Count *Guiscard*, Ambassador from *France*, arrived at *Lais*, and had immediately a very gracious Audience of his Majesty, whom he congratulated in the Name of the King his Master, upon the Victory which he had gained at *Narva*.

The Troops now suffer'd much in their Winter-Quarters, by a Distemper which was almost general, occasioned by the laborious Marches and continual Enterprizes in the late Season, and through those miserable Huts in which they were obliged to lodge their Soldiers for want of Houses. The King, who was extremely touched with their Sufferings, went about continually amongst them to inform himself of their Condition: He prevailed so much by his Presence and the infinite Care which he took, that the Distemper abated by little and little, and did not do so much Mischief as it seemed to threaten. This Prince's Court was not exempt from it; and amongst many Persons that were attacked by it,

Count *Wreed*, the King's Chamberlain, died on the 10th of *January*, universally lamented on Account of his Merit and fine Qualities.

Towards the End of this Year, Count *Stenbock*, Major-General, was ordered to make Reprisals on the *Russians*, who had set fire to many Places on the Lake *Peipus*. With this View he passed the Frontiers with 1000 Men, Horse and Foot, near *Andowa*, to surprize that little Town; but the Rigour of the Season, a thick Mist, together with the strong Garrison of *Strelitzes*, which were there, added to his Want of Cannon, made him change his Resolution. After having gained many Advantages over those Parties of the Enemy which he could come up with, and after having set Fire to several Places, he repassed the Frontiers in the Beginning of *January*, 1701.

On the other hand Colonel *Schlippenbach*, who had been ordered to coast along the River of *Aa*, and to observe the Motions of the *Saxons* at *Kokenbusen*, being informed that they had appeared about *Marienburg*, took a Resolution to make himself Master of that Place, and to drive them farther off. It was to be feared, that they would have fortified themselves here, on Account of the Situation of the Place, which was very advantageous to them, and very proper to incommode all the adjacent Parts.

Schlippenbach acquainted the King with his Design of possessing himself of this Post; and he advanced immediately, that he might be in Readiness to execute his Majesty's Orders. Two Days afterwards a large Body of *Cossacks* having appeared before the Place,

Place, Major Zoge was detached with 150 Men to pursue them. He killed 30 of them, and made some Prisoners. The King, who very much approved Mr. *Schlippenbach's* Design, sent him a Reinforcement of 200 Foot Soldiers, drawn out of the Garrison of *Dorpt*, with some Pieces of Cannon. The Colonel made so good Use of them, that in a few Days, having raised the Rampart, he put this Place, which was environ'd with a Morass, into so good a Condition of Defence, that he not only hindered the Excursions of the Enemy, but made some very successful ones himself, having established his Quarters here for the rest of the Winter.

In the mean Time the King, who was not pleased at the frequent Irruptions of the *Russians*, went to reconnoitre the Lake *Peipus*; and as the Body-Guards were yet in their Quarters of Refreshment, Baron *Spens*, now Lieutenant-General, was ordered to march towards *Sagnitz*, to enter into Winter-Quarters. There remained now at *Neubausen* but one Lieutenant with 30 Horse, who three Days afterwards were attacked by 400 *Muscovites*, whom they bravely repulsed.

As to Colonel *Schlippenbach*, having received Advice that the Saxons had laid up a Magazine at *Sesswegen*, and had forced the Inhabitants of the Country to bring in their Corn, to be afterwards conveyed to *Kokenbusen*, he detached Lieutenant-Colonel *Brandt* thither, who with 400 Horse made himself Master of the Magazine, and conducted to *Marienburg* near a thousand Ton of Corn.

The King seeing the Saxons desert

every Day in great Numbers, thought proper, after distributing Money amongst them, to send them all to *Revel*. This Prince, who was always in Action, to amuse the rest of his Time, discover'd some Taste for Hunting; to entertain which, Count *Stenbock*, on his Return from his last Expedition, made a great Hunting-Match for his Majesty on St. *Charles's* Day, which was followed by a fine Entertainment and other Diversions.

Publick Rejoycings were every where celebrated through *Sweden* and the conquered Provinces, on Account of the Victory of *Narva*, but above all at *Stockholm*, where they made the most magnificent Entertainments and Illuminations. *Te Deum* was sung, accompanied with a Discharge of the Cannon, and the whole City was illuminated in the Evening, to which Baron *Tessin*, afterwards made Marshal of the Court, and one of the greatest Architects of his Age, contributed by a thousand beautiful Devices.

Whilst they were busy in celebrating this Victory, the King, who was always attentive to every Opportunity, resolv'd to surprize *Pitschur*, a Place situated on the Frontiers of *Livonia*, and which afforded the Enemy a Retreat after every Excursion; for which Purpose Lieutenant-General *Spens* was dispatched with the Regiment of Horse-Guards, and was joined in his March on the Frontiers by Colonel *Schlippenbach* and his Dragoons, with some Foot from the Garrison of *Marienburg*, and a great Number of Peasants proper to ravage the Enemy's Country. *Spens* being arrived before this Town at Break of Day, on the 13th of February, attacked the *Russians* who

who were posted here, so briskly, that our Men kill'd more than 500 before they came up to the Barrier. We pursued them into the Town, where a great Number of *Russians*, who had barricaded themselves within the Houses, whence they discharged on us with great Violence and Despair, were burnt by the *Livonian* Peasants, who set Fire to the four Corners of the Town, and also a Quantity of Hides and dress'd Leather, and a large Magazine of Hemp; the Loss arising from this Conflagration amounting in all to near a Million.

Some of those who fled saved themselves in a Convent surrounded by a strong Wall mounted with Cannon, and situated on an Hill which commands the Town; of which the Enemy taking Advantage, made a hot Fire on the *Swedes*, who were scattered in the several Parts of the Town, and thereby obliged the General, who had no Ordnance, to retire, after having caused the Peasants to bring off all the Booty which they could save from the Flames. We had 30 Men killed in this Rencounter, and about 60 wounded. Mr. *Spens* returned directly to *Sagnitz*, and *Schlippenbach* to *Marienburg*, whence, on the 20th of *February*, he sent out a Party of 200 Men, Horse and Foot, who penetrated between *Pitschur* and the *Polish Livonia* as far as *Iburski*, having with them a Captain named *Axel Green*, an Engineer, to reconnoitre the Ground and the Situations of Places.

These Troops defeated several *Russian* Parties in their Way, and brought off a Quantity of Provisions, and a Number of Prisoners. The Town of

Iburski, which lyes in a Triangle with *Plescow* and *Pitschur*, is situated on an high Mountain, and defended by some Works. The Czar, after the Rout at *Narva*, had placed good Garrisons in these three Towns; viz. 6000 of his best Troops at *Plescow*, four Regiments of *Circassians* at *Iburski*, and 4000 Men at *Pitschur*, to cover the Frontiers, and make frequent Excursions into *Livonia*.

That Prince, after his hasty Return to *Moscow*, proceeded from thence to *Birsen* in *Lithuania* the 21st of *February*, to have there an Interview with the King of *Poland*. Here these two Princes, after three Weeks Conference, renewed their Alliance, and the Czar promised to supply 20,000 Men, and large Sums of Money, to push on the War with Vigour against the common Enemy. After this Interview the Czar repaired to *Dunamund*, passed through *Mittau*, and returned by *Birsen* to *Moscow*; and the King of *Poland* took the Road of *Warsovia*.

Colonel *Schlippenbach*, encouraged by the successful Excursions of his Men, sent out a new Party, who, after having made great Destruction, brought back a large Quantity of Provisions and many Prisoners. General *Spens* on his Side detached a Captain with an hundred Horse, followed by a great Number of Peasants, who passing over the *Peipus*, which was frozen, advanced within four Leagues of *Plescow*. This Expedition was not fruitless; for having met a Body of *Strelitzes*, they entirely defeated them, and returned laden with Booty and Prisoners, after having burnt all the Places they found in their Road.

About

About this Time a Phænomenon appeared at Noon-day at *Lais*; this was two Suns, each surrounded with different Arches, and seeming to form a double X. The ignorant and superstitious immediately cried up this Appearance as a Miracle; and there were some, who even attempted to make use of it as an Opportunity of making their Court to the King, who only laughed at and treated them as Dreamers, having too good Sense, and too good an Understanding to form any superstitious Judgment on the Occasion.

Adolphus John Stegeborg, Prince Palatine, and the King's nearest Relation, who after his Descent in *Seeland* had returned to *Stockholm*, died at *Lais*, whither he had repair'd after the Battle of *Narva*, to make a Campaign against the *Saxons*. He was attacked with a Purple Fever, which, after a few Days Illness, carried him off the 25th of *March*.

He was of the Family of the Princes of *Deux-ponts*, and Uncle, according to the Custom of *Britany*, to the King, his Father having been the younger Brother of *Charles Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*. He had one Brother and many Sisters: In *Sweden* they were commonly called Princes of *Stegeborg*, from an Appendage situated in *Ostrogothia*, given to them by *Charles Gustavus*, together with some other Revenues which they drew from *Bremen* and other Places.

The King was at *Lais*, when he received a Petition from the *Swedish* Ladies, to desire a Year's Prolongation of the Permission to wear foreign Stuffs, which this Prince had lately forbidden through all his Dominions,

in order to promote the silken Manufactory some Years since established at *Stockholm*. This Petition was in Verse, and well written; and though the King was not naturally fond of Women, he had however so much Complaisance for them, that notwithstanding the Usefulness of the Ordinance, he granted their Request in the most gracious Manner, which Favour produced a second Piece of Poetry full of Thanks and Acknowledgments.

In the mean while Colonel *Schlippenbach*, having understood that the *Russians* were drawn together on the Side of *Pitschur*, detached a Party of 60 Troopers and 20 Dragoons to observe their Motions. These met near *Newhausen* a Party of some hundred *Cossacks*, detached from the Garrison of *Iburski*, to make Excursions into *Livonia*. The *Cossacks* were entirely defeated, pursued three Leagues, and 40 of them with a *Circassian* Officer taken Prisoner.

General *Spens*, on his Side, sent out Major *Creutz* with several hundred Men of his Regiment. The Major advanced close to *Plescow*, defeated several *Russian* Parties on the Road, and brought back a considerable Number of Prisoners.

About this Time Colonel *Schlippenbach* detached from *Mariembourg* Lieutenant-Colonel *Brandt*, with 130 Horse and a great many Officers, who served as Volunteers; these scouring round *Pitschur* and *Iburski*, without any Interruption from the Garrisons, set Fire to several thousands of Houses, which they reduced to Ashes, and spread an universal Terror and Alarm. These Excursions were afterwards continued with sometimes greater and some-

sometimes less Parties, in order to curb the Enemy, and keep him in continual Fear.

During all the Month of *April*, the King took the Pains to visit the Quarters and review the Troops, which had been weakened by Distempers, of which however they began now to recover. He sent at the same Time Courier upon Courier, to hasten the Embarkation of 12,000 Men from *Sweden*, in order to act with more Vigour against the *Saxons*, who worked without ceasing on the Fortifications of *Kokenhusen*, and had for that Purpose conveyed thither a Reinforcement of 300 Horse and 600 Foot, with some Cannon, and had likewise heaped up a great Quantity of Corn at *Erla*, some Leagues off, which they designed for the Defence of *Kokenhusen*. Colonel *Albedybl*, who was then quartered at *Ronnenburg*, being advised of this, detached Captain *Trautsfetter* with 120 Horse, to which was joined a small Detachment from the Garrison of *Mariembourg*, with Orders to bring away all the Corn which they should find at *Erla*. The Captain heard at his Approach, that the Enemy were ready to depart with all their Provisions, and that the Escorte, in great Certainty of Success, had marched before, without fearing the least Accident to their Convoy. *Trautsfetter* attacked them immediately, took 37 Waggon's loaded with Provisions, and brought them back safely to *Ronnenbourg*, without the Enemy's taking the Pains to pursue him. This Plunder was conveyed to the Magazine which was preparing at *Volmar*, whither Colonel *Albedybl*

went a few Days afterwards with all his Detachment to cover and defend it, leaving at *Ronnenburg* only Captain *Rorentz*, a famous Partisan, with a small Detachment for the Defence of that Post.

As soon as the Transports, which were preparing in *Sweden*, were in a Condition to put to Sea, several Regiments of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, embarked at *Stockholm* and other Ports of the Kingdom, and arrived by the Middle of *May* safe at *Revel*. The King was highly delighted at their Arrival, seeing himself now able to open the Campaign with a considerable Force. He sent them immediate Orders, after a few Days Rest, to come and join him, intending a very early March toward the Enemy.

The Transports returned to *Sweden* with the Generals and other *Russian* Officers taken at *Narva*, who were all conducted to *Stockholm*, except the Duke *de Croy*, who by very earnest Instances obtained Leave to stay at *Revel*, where he died the Year following.

On the 22d of *May* the Artillery first began to quit their Winter-Quarters; all the Regiments were immediately thereon put in Motion. Towards the End of the Month the King encamped with the Army half a League from *Dorpt*. As it might be easily foreseen that this Country, as soon as we had quitted it, would be certainly infested by the *Russians*, several Detachments of Horse and Foot, with a strong Militia, which had been raised in the Winter, were ordered to guard the Frontiers, and to act against the

the *Russians*. The Command of these Troops was given to Colonel *Schlippenbach*.

Admiral *Nummers* received Orders to equip a small Squadron on the Lake *Peipus*, to cruize there, and hinder the Descents of the Enemy. Major-General *Cronbiort*, at the Head of 6000 Men, covered *Ingria*; and *Narva* had a strong Garrison against any Attack which the *Russians* should make on that Place.

The *Saxons* having received an Account of the King of *Sweden's* Preparations, neglected nothing on their Side to put themselves in a Posture of Defence. Colonel *Boos*, Governor of *Kokenbusen*, after having raised the Ramparts, and added several new Works with Batteries, built a Bridge over the *Duna*, to open a free Communication; and the *Saxons* formed a Camp of several Regiments under the Cannon of the Fort.

A Report was industriously spread, that this Camp consisted of 10,000 regular Troops; but it was certainly not so strong, the Regiments being weak, and for the most Part consisting of *Lithuanians* and *Cossacks* dress'd in the *German* Fashion. They were ordered by continual Excursions to carry off all the Provision and Forage; which they did a great Way up in the Country, finding the Peasants of those Parts sufficiently inclined to furnish them with whatever they demanded.

What had been foreseen of the *Russians* came to pass; for no sooner had the King quitted his Winter Quarters, than they appeared in great Numbers on the Frontiers near *Kirumpa* and *Koikel*. Colonel *Paskul*, who commanded

there, had the Advantage of them in several little Skirmishes.

The *Saxons* on the other Side, enraged at the frequent Excursions of Captain *Lorenz*, an able and successful Partisan, resolved to attack him in his Post of *Ronnenburg*. He had with him in that miserable Town no more than 60 Dragoons and 50 Foot, with 40 Volunteers, who followed him every where. He was attacked with all possible Vigour, but defended himself so well, that the *Saxons*, after three furious subsequent Assaults, retired, leaving a Captain, a Corporal, and 12 Men Prisoners, and carrying with them 12 Waggon full of their Dead and Wounded.

The King, after the Arrival of his new Regiments, having all the Forces which he had designed against the *Saxons* ready to march, decamped from *Dorpt* on his Birth-Day, at the Head of a fine well-clothed Army, inflamed with Eagerness to come to Blows with the Enemy. He marched the first Day but three Leagues to *Terrafer*, and on the next Day arrived at *Ringen*, an old Castle, where he halted one Day.

On the 20th he continued his March to *Ramakybla*, or *Platers-Krug*. On the 21st he advanced to *Walk*, a small Town. The same Day the *Saxons*, after having passed through *Venden* with 400 Horse, attacked at *Neumuhlen*, near *Riga*, two Captains of Horse, whose Names were *Fittinghof* and *Kleebeck*, who commanded a Detachment of 80 Troopers; these they entirely defeated, having killed 50, and made the rest Prisoners, together with their two Captains, of whom *Fittinghof* was mortally wounded.

The 22d the King received Advice, that the *Saxons* had appeared near *Volmar*; on which General *Spens* had Orders to detach four Companies of the Horse-Guards to attack them: He followed himself with the Rest of the Regiment, and passed the River *Aa*; but the *Saxons* were gone before his Arrival. On the 23d the Army decamped from *Walk*, and went to *Strenitz*. The 24th they arrived at *Volmar*, where they halted two Days.

The 27th they marched to *Lindenbof*, a Gentleman's Seat, and arrived the next Day at *Arracks*, or *Old Venden*. They passed thro' the Town of *Venden*, where a *Saxon* Party of some hundred Horse had carried off a Quantity of Victuals. The 29th the Army arrived at *Nietau*, where they rested one Day. On the second of *July* they continued their March to *Lindberg*, and the Day following came into the Neighbourhood of *Rodenpois* and *Sissegallen*, where they staid some Days.

To give the Enemy some Diversion, the King detached from the Camp Lieutenant-Colonel *Meyerfeldt* towards *Kokenbusen*. Col. *Helmers* was ordered at the same Time to leave *Riga*, with 600 Men and 12 Field-Pieces, and to take the same Rout. General *Steinau*, thinking he had no longer Room to doubt the Attack of *Kokenbusen*, hastened with all Diligence to settle every Thing; and ordered several Regiments, which lay encamped opposite to *Riga*, to follow him, he returned however presently, on Advice that the King was with the Army at *Riga*.

Col. *Helmers* took in his Rout 21 Boats loaded with Provisions, which he sent to the King at *Riga*. His Ma-

jesty passed the 7th thro' *Neumuhlen*, with all his Army, which marched that Day two Leagues and an half, and encamped under the Cannon of the Town. The 8th Lieut. Col. *Meyerfeldt* returned from his Expedition, having taken near *Kokenbusen* an advanced Guard of 22 Men, with a Lieutenant.

The *Saxons* had no sooner Notice of the King's March, than they quitted their Camp at *Kokenbusen*, and hastily repassed the *Duna*; which, as soon as they had done, they set diligently about making Intrenchments along this rapid River, to dispute the *Swedes* Passage.

As General *Steinau* could not directly know where this Passage might be attempted, he was obliged to be on his Guard in all Parts, and to divide his Forces, which continued however very numerous, without reckoning the strong Garrisons of *Dunamund*, *Cobrun*, and *Kokenbusen*. The old Veldt-Marshal Count *Dahlberg*, who saw the Works of the *Saxons* advancing daily, placed some Prames over the *Duna* mounted with a great Number of Cannons, which they fired incessantly on their Redoubts and Breastworks, as well on the Isle of *Dahlholm*, as on the other Side of the River. Whatever Mischief the *Saxons* received from hence, it did not hinder them from continuing their Works, which it was their Interest to finish with the utmost Expedition.

The *Swedish* Army was soon in a Condition to pass the River. This was owing to the indefatigable Care of Count *Dahlberg*, an old experienced General, with whom the King had many Conferences on this Subject at *Riga*.

Riga, whither he often came from *Hodenpois*. They worked very hard at *Riga* on their floating Bridge, on which the Horse were to pass over, but 'twas not finished 'till after the Battle; and as for the Foot, they had got together all the Vessels and Ferry-Boats which they could find. The King went often himself to reconnoitre the Banks, and then gave his Orders to Baron *Stuart*, to make the necessary Dispositions for an Attack.

The 8th, at nine in the Evening, all the Infantry filed off with profound Silence towards the River to the Place of Embarkation, called *Fassenholm*; and under Favour of the Night, they embarked as many as they had Vessels to carry over, without giving the least Suspicion to the Enemy. As to the Horse, for want of Boats, no more than the Drabans, 100 of the Horse, and as many of the Dragoon-Guards could be got over.

The Foot which embarked consisted of four Battalions of Guards, two Battalions of the Regiment of *Upland*, commanded by Baron *Lowen*, two of *Dahl-Carlia* under Count *Stenbock*, a Battalion of *Helsinghers* under Col. *Knorring*, two Battalions of the Regiment of *Westmanland* under Baron *Axel Sparr*, and one of *Westerbohn* under Mr. *Fersen*; the rest of the Foot remained behind for Want of Transports.

The Generals, appointed for this Attack, were General *Welling*, with the Lieutenant-Generals *Spens* and *Horn* for the Horse; and for the Foot, Baron *Lieuwen*, Lieutenant-General, and

the Major-Generals *Stenbock*, *Poss* and *Stuart*.

This Disposition was afterwards totally changed at the Attack, which was carried on in a Manner entirely different from the first Plan which the King had formed: all these Generals being placed indifferently at the Head of their Regiments in the same Order as they came to Land. It was at first proposed, that the Horse should pass over with the Artillery, and attack the Redoubts directly, before they advanced towards the Enemy; but this was found impracticable.

On the 9th, at four in the Morning, all the Troops, notwithstanding the bad Weather, which had continued several Days, began their March within a short Quarter of a League of the Town, to pass over the River.

The King, attended by an *Aid-de-Camp* General, by his Equerry *Keuter-Grantz*, and his Page *Klinkenstrom*, put himself into a little Boat by the Side of the Grenadiers of his Guards, who were to begin the Attack. They had got into the Middle of the River, when the Enemy perceiving our Boats, began to fire from their two Redoubts.

This Discharge was without Effect, our two Prames, which covered the Transports, returning them full Broad-sides, and the Cannon of the Town and Citadel discharging on their Works without Cessation. The General* was now beat through the whole Army of the Enemy, who drew up in Order of Battle in two Lines, between the two Redoubts, having their Horse on their Wings, and the Foot in the Centre.

* A particular Beat of the Drum so call'd, by which the whole Camp are summoned to Arms.

They

They were commanded by Veldt-Marshall *Steinau*, Prince *Ferdinand* of *Courland*, and Lieutenant-General *Paskul*, the two latter commanding each one of the Wings. The Army consisted of four Regiments of Horse, all *Cuirassiers*, and fourteen Battalions, with the Dragoons of *Milchaw*. In their Reserve were twenty-four Battalions of *Russians*, but these ran away on the first Repulse of the *Saxons*.

The King caused his Troops instantly to disembark opposite to where the Enemy were drawn up, himself leaping on the Land one of the first, with his Sword drawn. The Foot hastened at the same Time on all Sides from their Boats, and drew up in a single Line as fast as they could get to Land.

The King placed himself with Mr. *Liewen* at the Head of his Granadiers, and marched forthwith with all his Line directly to the Enemy. The Drabans under Major-General *Horn*, and 50 of the Horse-guards under Mr. *Spens*, were drawn out to cover the Right Wing.

At this Instant the *Saxons* attacked our Foot with astonishing Vigour, but were repulsed by a Volley from our Musqueteers, which being discharged when they were almost close, obliged them to retire. On the other Side, some of the Enemies Squadrons attacked the Drabans and the 50 Horse on the Right Wing, who sustained their Fire, and then repulsed them Sword in Hand, driving them back on their second Line. The Enemy were not dismayed at this ill Success, but returned a second Time to the Charge with all their Foot ranged in one Line; they were however obliged

again to give Ground, which the *Swedes* gained by little and little, especially after they had carried one of their Redoubts.

As our Right Wing was too much exposed, the Enemy, who were a third Time returned to the Charge, attacked it in the Flank with their Horse, and obliged the Battalion of Granadier Guards to give back with some Precipitation; but rallying immediately, they sustained the Efforts of the Enemy with an admirable Firmness, till our Drabans, attacking them in the Rear, obliged them to an hasty Retreat. The *Saxons* made a new Attempt on the Right Wing with great Bravery; but General *Stuart*, who was ordered to cover them with a Battalion of *Fersen* and the rest of the Horse, rendered their Attack fruitless. Our Foot were now entirely passed, and almost as strong as the Enemy.

The *Saxons* seeing themselves reduced to an Impossibility of resisting any longer, gave Ground by little and little, remaining however unbroke; about seven in the Morning, after an obstinate and bloody Fight of three Hours, they retreated with Precipitation two different Ways. The greater Part of the Foot took the Road to *Cobrun*, and the rest with most of the Horse drew towards *Dunamund*, our Horse being too weak to pursue them. The King, who had fought on Foot during the whole Action at the Head of his Infantry, pursued with his Left Wing those who fled towards *Cobrun*, till General *Rheinschild* came up with his Regiment of Dragoon Guards, but too late to overtake the Enemy, who were now got at a good Distance.

When

When the King came to *Cobrun*, he found the Enemy had abandoned that Place, the Garrison being retreated to *Kokenbusen* along the *Duna*. General *Spens* was detached with some Horse to cut off their Retreat: In the mean Time our Troops entered the Fort, and made themselves Masters of the great Magazine which the Enemy had gathered together at *Marin-Mulh*. All the Army being now assembled, encamped near *Cobrun*, whither Major-General *Morner* came about Noon with his Regiment, which had just passed the River.

The small Redoubts, which the Enemy had raised on the Banks of the River, had surrendered at the Beginning of the Battle; but there remained one at *Lutzausholm* on an Island of the *Duna*, and another little Fort near *Kramers-hof* on the Side of *Dunamund*. This latter Post, possessed by 40 Saxons and 50 Russians, was carried by General *Cborner*, who obliged these Troops to surrender at Discretion, tho' he had with him no more than ten Horse-men.

As to *Lutzausholm* beyond *Cobrun*, 400 Russians were intrenched there up to the Teeth, whom Colonel *Helmers* and Lieutenant Colonel *Wrange* were ordered to attack with a Body of 500 Men. The Colonel embarked his Command, and arriving a little after Midnight, began the Attack immediately; the Fight was very sharp on both Sides, the Enemy making a desperate Defence; notwithstanding which, our Troops enter'd by Break of Day, and put all they met to the Sword. The King coming up in the Heat of the Slaughter, saved the Lives of 20 Russians, which were the only

ones spared. Here Colonel *Helmers*, Major *Lilliestirna*, with many other brave Officers, lost their Lives.

The Business was at an End, when the King, who was yet busy in examining the Works which the Enemies had abandoned, saw the Magazine of Powder, which was at *Cobrun*, blown all at once into the Air: For the Enemy, on their Retreat, had planted a lighted Match, which taking Effect, overthrew an entire Bastion, and killed a Centinel. The Horses of our Cavalry, which were encamped with the rest of the Army under the Cannon of the Fort, taking Fright at the terrible Noise of the Powder, broke their Pickets, and fled cross the Fields to the next Wood. The King repaired thither instantly, and sent out Parties every Way, who had the good Fortune to bring them all back.

Thus ended this glorious Action, in which the King with an Army, at first very inferior, passed a very large rapid River, defeated a formidable Enemy, advantageously posted on the River's Bank, and render'd himself Master in 24 Hours of five little Forts and Batteries, of two Breast-works, the Enemy's Camp, thirty-six Pieces of their Cannon, three Standards, one Pair of Colours, and the greatest Part of their Baggage.

We had in this Action very few killed or wounded. Amongst the Persons of Note who were killed, the chief were Mr. *Palmquist*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Guards, Captain *Blaman*, an Engineer, Major *Sparfwenfeld*, Major *Von Wolfen*, and Lieutenant *Lindbielm*; and, amongst the Wounded, Major-General *Horn* and Captain *Stiernbok*. On the Enemy's Side, Veldt,

Veldt-Marshal *Steinau* was dangerously wounded in the Arm, as was Lieutenant-General *Patkul*, who conveyed himself instantly to *Mittau*. Count *Ronnof*, and Colonel *Zeidler*, with many other Officers were killed. Colonel *Eppinger* was wounded, and carried Prisoner to *Riga*, with more than five hundred of the Enemy, chiefly *Russians*.

The 11th, Major-General *Morner* was order'd to go with 1500 Horse and Dragoons to *Mittau*, to secure the great Magazine that the *Saxons* had established there. He found on the Road, on one Arm of the River *Bulderan*, which runs before the Town of *Mittau*, some scatter'd Troops of the Enemy's Army, who undertook to dispute the Passage with him. He attacked them, and put them to Flight. At his Approach to the Town the Burgomaster and the rest of the Magistrates came out, to demand of him the King of *Sweden's* Protection. Mr. *Morner*, after having granted their Demand, enter'd into the Town, and summoned the Governor of the Castle, who surrender'd at Discretion. As soon as he was Master thereof, he made a double Discharge of the Cannon from the Ramparts. 1050 *Saxon* Dragoons, who came from *Annenburg*, to throw themselves into *Mittau*, having heard the Report of the Guns, returned hastily, seeing that the *Swedes* had been before-hand with them.

The same Day the King detached Colonel *Klings-Porr* towards *Dunamund*, to hinder the Enemy from throwing Succour and Provisions into that Town. He found at *Slock*, where there was a Magazine, a great Party of *Russians*, whom he attacked and en-

tirely defeated, taking at the same Time 48 Pieces of Iron Cannon, and a great deal of Ammunition of War and Provision.

The Colonel was dangerously wounded in this Action, and died a little afterwards. However, Orders were given to the Detachment to advance nearer *Dunamund* under the Command of Colonel *Albedyhl*, to block up that Place on the Side of *Courland*, whilst some Ships anchor'd before it, so that no Person could either go in or out. There remained now to the Enemy no more than *Kokenbusen*, which the King resolved to take by open Force. But as Colonel *Boos* thought himself in no Condition of maintaining it, and as he found his Retreat not cut off, he abandoned the Fort, blew up the Castle, repass'd the *Duna*, and then burnt the Bridge.

On the 13th of *July*, the King, at the Head of the Army, which was divided into three Columns, marched to *Rekou*, the next Day they advanced to *Borkowit*, and the 15th to *Thomas-Hoff*, where his Majesty was informed that the Enemy had abandoned *Kokenbusen*, where they left but 12 Pieces of Cannon, 4 Mortars, and 2 Fauconets. His Majesty sent some Troops thither, and presently turned with the Army towards *Courland*, detaching diverse Parties to reconnoitre the Motions of the Enemy, who were retired with all Haste towards *Birsen* in *Lithuania*.

The 16th the Army arrived at *Linden*, where they halted the 17th; the next Day they came to *Neuguth*, where the Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp* arrived, accompanied by Mr. *Dabldorff*, to make a Campaign with the King his Brother-

Brother-in-law. This Prince had settled every Thing which might be necessary for the Defence of *Pomerania*, as Generalissimo of the Estates of his *Swedish Majesty in Germany*.

The 20th the Army renewed their March, and proceeded to *Kleenbarbe*, where they halted two Days, and came on the 23d to *Altenrade*; here the King staid some Days, during which, having heard that King *Augustus* had left at *Birsen* 6 large Pieces of Brass Cannon, and 32 Brass Pontons, he detached thither Lieutenant-Colonel *Roos* with 200 Horse to demand them of the Governor, who excused himself under Pretence of first asking the Republick's Permission to deliver them.

Upon this the King ordered some Troops to advance immediately under the Command of Baron *Poss*, Major-General. The March of these Troops produced the Effect which the King expected. Mr. *Chalcouski*, Governor of the *Polish Livonia*, repaired in a Hurry to his Majesty's Camp with the Governor's Son, whom he left there as an Hostage, promising instantly to deliver the Cannon, which were afterwards convey'd to *Bausk*, and thence to *Riga*, with some of the Pontons, the rest being left with the Army, to be made use of upon Occasion.

In the mean while Colonel *Albedyhl* sent two Officers to summon the Fort of *Dunamund* to surrender; but Colonel *Canitz*, who commanded there, having fiercely answered, that he would defend it as long as he had Powder, Ball, and Provisions left; the Colonel contented himself with blocking it up by Sea and Land, which he did till the Month of *Decem-*

ber the same Year, as we shall see a little afterwards.

The 26th of *July* the Army decamped from *Altenraden*, and came to *Bausk*, where 500 Men of the Vanguard had arrived the Day before, to repair the Fortifications of the Castle called *Bauskenberg*. Mr. *Morner* did the same at *Mittau*, where they worked very hard to put every thing in a good Condition, and to encrease the Works of the Castle, which were very much shatter'd. He had already, by the King's Orders, sent circular Letters to the Estates of the Province to convene them together at *Mittau*, to settle the Contributions for the Army's Subsistence, whither the Chancellor, the Grand Master, the Burgrave, and the Chiefs of the Country repaired, and immediately lamented the Misery of the Inhabitants, and their Incapacity to furnish any thing.

Besides these Reasons, they protested farther, that they had taken no Part in this War, which had been begun without their Consent, and even without their Knowledge.

As that Province acknowledged the King of *Poland* to be their Chief and Protector, all their Remonstrances were useless, and the Country, as well as the Towns of *Mittau*, *Bausk*, *Goldingen*, *Libaw*, and others, were all taxed at certain Sums of Moneys.

In the same Degree as the King penetrated into *Courland*, the flying Troops of the Enemy all took the Road of *Lithuania* towards *Kauno*, where Veldt-Marshal *Steinau* drew them together to form a Camp. The Marshal did not think however to stay there long, and he actually set out soon after, making his Way in

great Haste and with long Marches towards *Prussia*, on the Side of *Marienburg* and *Dantzick*. This precipitate Retreat gave us easily to understand, that the War would not be prosecuted so briskly as it had been hitherto. We had the greater Reason to flatter ourselves with the Approach of a Peace, as the Republick seemed very much dissatisfied with the Undertaking the War, in which she declared herself to have had no Share, and as there was all Appearance that the *Saxons* would be soon unable to stand alone against the victorious Arms of so formidable a Power as *Sweden*.

Charles, displeased with the unjust Proceedings of the King of *Poland*, who had invaded his Estates contrary to the Right of Nations, was not contented with barely driving him out again, but demanded, as a farther Security of his Kingdom, a more solid and sensible Satisfaction. His *Swedish* Majesty was not ignorant, that King *Augustus* had shewn more than once, that as long as he sat on the Throne of *Poland*, no solid Alliance could be hoped for with him, and that he would be always ready to renew the War on the first favourable Occasion.

These Reasons at last produced in the King of *Sweden* a Resolution to dethrone *Augustus*, and to persuade the Republick to elect a Prince more inclined to maintain Peace with his Neighbours. With this View he sent two Letters from *Bausk* to *Warsovia*, the one to the Republick, the other to the Cardinal Primate, which contained a long Recital of the Injuries the King of *Poland* had done him, and the Damages which he had suf-

fered. These Letters represented likewise, that King *Augustus* had not only broke his Oath, but that he had resolved to rob the *Poles* of their Liberty, and that it was the Interest of the most serene Republick to elect another King as soon as possible, who would not strike at her Liberties, and would maintain the Treaties of Peace with her Neighbours. Lastly, his Majesty assured the Republick and the Primate of the Kingdom of his Assistance and Protection in the Execution and Protection of so just a Design.

The King, having stopt at *Bausk* till the 11th of *August*, departed with his Army, leaving there Colonel *Nils Pops* with his Regiment and some Dragoons, and proceeded to *Klappmannshoff*, or *Schorffen*. Hither came a Courier from *Bausk* with Advice, that the Deputies of *Lithuania* were arrived there, and demanded an Audience of his Majesty. The Army halted there a Day, and the King took that Opportunity to make a Tour to *Mittau*, being attended by the Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp* and his Train. *Charles*, after having examined the Works of the Castle and the Town, and given his Orders, returned the same Day to the Camp to put himself at the Head of his Forces. The Army marched the same Day to *Hoff-Zom-Bergen*, whither the Deputies of *Lithuania* repaired the same Day with a Train of 200 Persons.

The King considered some Time, whether he should give Audience to these Deputies, whilst the Army on the 14th continued their March, and encamped at *Dobeln*. Here the Chief of the Deputies, named *Podbereski*,

had at last an Audience of the King, whom he complimented on the Victories he had gained, and besought him, in Conformity with the Peace of *Oliva*, that he would not touch the Frontiers of *Lithuania*, and that he would take Pity on *Courland*, which was entirely ruined by the *Saxons*, and the large Contributions they had raised. But as his Majesty was apprized, that this Deputation came only from one Party of the Nobility of *Lithuania*, assembled at *Wilna*, which had confederated under the Name of Republicans; and moreover, as the Envoy could not produce full Powers from the Republick, he gave them an Answer agreeable to the Situation of Affairs, and the Deputy departed without obtaining an Audience of Leave.

From *Doblen*, the Army marched the 17th to *Birßen* or *Berssenhoff*. The Starost *Potocki*, Son of the Great General of the Crown, arrived here from *Warsovia*, with the Cardinal Primate's Answer to the King's Letters to his Eminence and the Republick. He had immediate Audience of the King, who having opened his Letter, found it full of Politeness; but as to the Article which concerned the Deposition of King *Augustus*, the Cardinal testified in very respectful Terms, that the *Poles* could never consent to it. In the mean while his Eminence offered the King the good Offices of the Republick to secure his Majesty a sure and solid Peace, and all the Satisfaction imaginable.

These fine Promises engaged the King to stay at *Courland*, and not to pass the Frontiers. As soon as Mr. *Potocki* had received his Audience of Leave, the Army renewed their

March the 21st, and arrived at *Bliden*, coasting along the Frontiers of *Samogitia*. The 22d of *August* they arrived at *Frauenburg*, where they halted one Day. The 24th they marched to *Knockenkrug*, where the Colonels *Pulbusch* and *Leyonbuswud*, with their Battalions, were sent to *Mittau*.

The 25th the Army arrived at *Schbrunden*, an old Castle belonging to the Duke of *Courland*, where they passed the River *Windaw* on those Pontons which they had had from *Birßen*. Here the King stay'd till the 29th, when he decamped and came to *Neubausen*, where he rested two Days. The 31st the Army marched to *Hasenpoth*; the first of *September* to *Rauen*, and the 2d to *Grubin*, a small Town, Part of the Dowry of the Dutchess of *Courland*, where there was formerly a Castle, fortified by the *Swedes* during the War of *Charles Gustavus*, but now entirely demolished.

Whilst the King continued to penetrate into *Courland*, the Czar, who had applied himself with great Industry since the Defeat of *Narva* to the Re-establishment of his Army, had drawn together a strong Party near *Plescow*, in order to make three different Inroads into *Livonia*, on that Side where Colonel *Schlippenbach* commanded; viz. with 3000 Men near *Rapin*, where Major *Roos* was posted with 200 Foot, 300 Dragoons, and 2 Field-Pieces; with 4000 at *Casaritz*, whither a Detachment had been sent under the Command of Mr. *Berend Rebbinder*, Captain of Horse; and with 6000 at *Rauk*, where Captain *Nolk*, at the Head of 50 Horse and 100 Foot, was lodged in a Church-yard.

As soon as Mr. *Schlippenbach* had received Advice from *Casarietz*, which was but one League distant from his Camp, of the Enemy's Arrival, he hastened with some Horse to the Support of *Rebbinder*; but having learnt at his coming thither, that the Enemy had made an Irruption with greater Forces near *Rauk*, at three Leagues Distance from *Casarietz*, he detached thither Lieutenant-Colonel *Liewen* with 200 Foot, 300 Horse, and 2 Field-Pieces, to reinforce the Captain posted in the Church-yard. He attacked the Enemy at *Casarietz* himself, and after having received 2 Field-Pieces more, obliged them to retire. But as it might be feared, that this Detachment of the Enemy would join that at *Rauk*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Stakelberg*, with some Horse and two Field-pieces, was ordered to join Mr. *Liewen* without Delay. He met them on the Road with his Foot, having sent his 300 Horse before to attack the Enemy, and assist Captain *Nolk*. It was not at first possible to come up with him, nor to stop the Enemy; but as soon as Messieurs *Liewen* and *Stakelberg* were arrived with the Foot and Cannon, they charged them so briskly, that, after some Resistance, they forced them to retreat through great Morasses, over which they had built a Bridge. In this Manner we opened a free Communication with the Captain, who had defended himself with great Bravery in the Church-yard.

Our Horse having pursued the Enemy even to the End of the Bridge on the Morass, could proceed no farther; all the Enemy's Dragoons, which had now dismounted, attacked

them in the Flank, and endeavoured to put them in Disorder; but the Foot and Cannon being come up, these Dragoons were pushed so vigorously, that they at last gave Ground, and were driven fighting beyond the Frontiers; near 2000 of them were killed and wounded, and a great Number of Officers.

Matters went on so well at *Rapin*, whence *Schlippenbach's* Camp was 6 Leagues distant, as well on Account of the Difficulty of hastily succouring so advanced a Post, as because the Enemy had brought hither the greatest Number of his Forces; add to these, that Major *Roos* had engaged too imprudently, and was presently surrounded by the Enemy, with whom however he continued fighting from the Morning to three in the Afternoon, at which Time he broke thro', after having left almost all his People slain on the Field of Battle, and joined Mr. *Schlippenbach*, who was coming to his Assistance with 30 Men only. Notwithstanding this Advantage which the Enemy had gained, they had no Stomach to wait the Arrival of *Schlippenbach* at *Rapin*; but after having plunder'd and carried away all that they could find, they hastily repassed the Frontiers.

This Action reflected great Honour on Mr. *Schlippenbach*, whom the King made a Major-General, and at the same Time sent him a Reinforcement of some Regiments from *Courland*, which filed off towards *Dorpt* and *Sagnitz*, and at last obliged the Enemy entirely to abandon the Frontiers, and retreat to *Plescow*.

While all this passed, the King remained encamped with his Army at *Grubin*,

Grabin, and placed a Garrison in *Litbaw*, which is but half a League's Distance, and where they began to build a Citadel for the Security of the Port, and a free Communication with *Sweden*. The Direction of this Fortrefs was entrusted with Major-General *Stuart*, who had formed the Plan of it. The Work was at first carried on with Diligence, tho' the Ground is very sandy; but they were at last obliged to give it over, on Account of the Hurricanes, which are very frequent on these Coasts, and which overthrew in a few Hours what they had been a whole Week in raising. As to *Baukenburg*, we put the Fortifications into so good a Condition, that this little Place served us always for the future as a safe Retreat, and kept a Curb on the *Poles* and *Lithuanians* in these Parts.

With regard to *Mittau*, we applied ourselves only to fortifying the Castle, where Mr. *Morner* repaired two Lodgments on the Side of the River, and made a Ravelin at one of the Ports, with a good Counterscarp all round the Castle.

The Counts of the illustrious Family of *Sapieba* came with pressing Instances to demand the King of *Sweden's* Protection against some of their Countrymen, by whom they were almost entirely oppressed. This House, which is one of the most powerful and most considerable in *Lithuania*, and which for an Age had been invested with the chief Honours of the Country, had by its great Riches excited the Envy and Jealousy of the Rest of the Nobility,

who feared to be one Day overpowered by it*; and in reality, the two Counts of *Sapieba*, whereof one was Grand General, and the other Great Treasurer of *Lithuania*, had given the Nobility some Reason for their Fears.

But however that was, *Augustus* took Part with the Enemies of this Family, who encreased considerably every Day; nor did he neglect any Means to encourage the Hatred which they bore it. He was little pleased with the Conduct of the *Sapiebas*, who had done all they could to thwart his Election, declaring themselves for the Prince of *Conti*. This Hatred grew to such an Height, that as the greatest Part of the Friends and Allies of the *Sapiebas* had either through Caprice or Fear abandoned them, their Enemies thought it a fit Time to strip them of their Estates, and deprive them of their Honours.

Oginski, putting himself at the Head of the Party which opposed *Sapieba*, had the Luck to defeat the Body of the Grand General's Army in different Rencounters, and carried his Vengeance so far, as inhumanly to massacre his Son, contrary to his Promise to do him no Harm. At length the Enemies of the *Sapieba*, who were joined by Prince *Wisniowski*, got so much the Advantage of them, that after having destroyed almost all their Lordships and Lands, they forced them to abandon the Country, and throw themselves into the King of *Sweden's* Arms, King *Augustus* having refused them that Protection which they had demanded of him.

His Majesty received the *Sapieba*

* *Lithuania* was then divided into two Parties, the one of which was headed by the House of *Sapieba*, and the other by that of *Oginski*.

very graciously; and Col. *Hammerbielm* with 600 Horse and Dragoons was ordered instantly to pass the Frontier of *Samogitia*, and march towards *Schauden*, to cover the Lands of the *Sapieba*, situated in that Country, against the frequent IncurSIONS of *Oginski* and those of his Party. And this gave the King of *Sweden* an Occasion to enter *Poland*.

At the same Time *Charles* detached Lieut. Col. *Meyerfelt* with some Horse towards *Polangen*, to seize on the Revenues designed for the Support of King *Augustus's* Table. On another Side, Lieutenant-Colonel *Peter Bannier*, with some hundred Dragoons and Foot were ordered to repair to *Seelburg*, an old Castle situated on the *Duna* and the Frontiers of *Courland*, to cover them, and hinder the IncurSIONS of *Oginski* into these Quarters, which were afterwards very frequent, as we shall soon see.

As the Season was far advanced, and the Weather grew too hard to keep the Field any longer, the King quitted *Grubin*, where he had remained almost the whole Month of *September*, and repaired to *Worgen*, a Castle appertaining to a Gentleman of *Courland*. Here his Majesty resolved to canton his Army, 'till he could put them into Winter-Quarters.

With this View they quartered the Troops at Gentlemens Houses, and in the Villages about *Worgen*, and along the Frontiers of *Samogitia*. The Horse consisted of the Drabans, who always attended the King, of the Regiments of Horse and Dragoon Guards, of the two Regiments of Horse of *Ostrogothia* and *Nyland*. The Foot were four Battalions of Guards, two Battalions of

Dahl-Carlia, two of *Upland*, two of *Westerbottn*, two of *Kruse*, two of *Wesmanland*, two of *Nerk* and *Werm-land*, and one Battalion of *Hastfebr*, with a suitable Train of Artillery.

The King, instead of lodging in the Castle of *Worgen*, resolved to lie in his Tent, which he thatched over and surrounded with Boards at the Bottom; and to warm him in Case of Necessity, he was entertained Night and Day with some red-hot Bullets, which would have much incommoded any other Sort of Person than *Charles the Twelfth*.

Towards the End of *September* there was a little Action at Sea, which deserves to be remembered. King *Augustus* had raised Sailors at *Lubec*, to cruize, with a Vessel which was there equipp'd, on the *Swedish* Merchants. As soon as this News came to *Wismar*, which is in the Neighbourhood, the Citizens fitted out a Vessel at their own Expence, on Board of which they sent 60 Grenadiers, and 30 Sailors, under the Command of one named *Nortman*, who after having pursued the *Corfsair* Enemy some Time, he at last came up with her under the Island of *Femern*, attacked and took her, making 28 Prisoners, the rest escaped to Land. The Booty, which was very considerable, without reckoning three Month's Wages for the Crew, was conducted to *Wismar*.

Though the Campaign was ended, the King who was always indefatigable and in Action, employed himself without Relaxation in visiting the different Quarters of his Army; which were sufficiently dispersed and distant one from the other, and chiefly situated along the Frontiers, which the *Polish* Parties under *Oginski* began to infest.

infest. *Charles*, who commonly had very few Attendants, exposed himself much in these long and frequent Excursions, wherein he was in continual Danger, of which the following Instance ought not to be passed over in Silence.

His Majesty one Day took the Road of *Polangen*, attended only by some Officers, and after some Discourse with Mr. *Meyerfelt*, giving Orders that he might not be made known, he set out by himself on Horseback for a little Town named *Repsin*. He went directly to a Convent, where the Superior talked with him, and drank the King of Sweden's Health, without knowing to whom he addressed it. *Charles* pledged the holy Father; and after having been well treated by the Monks, proceeded to *Polangen*, and thence to *Wurgen*.

Baron *Craneburg*, Envoy from *Holland*, who had lately arrived at *Libaw*, had some Time afterwards an Audience of his Majesty, to whom he offered the Mediation of the Republick for the Re-establishment of Peace in the North. The Marquis of *Bonac*, who was to succeed Count *Guiscard*, arrived also some Days afterwards, and made the same Propositions. The Intention of these Ministers was doubtless to bring the King into their Masters Interests, the War between *France* and *Holland* being then on the Point of being declared. As his Majesty had already in *Livonia* taken a Resolution to send back the foreign Ministers to *Stockholm*, where their Negotiations might be more commodiously carried on than in the Army, he declared to these Ministers, that

he should be pleased with their repairing to his Capital. And his Majesty was ever afterwards inflexible on this Article, tho' several Ministers of different Powers had made the strongest Instances to obtain a Permission to follow him, and be near his Person. This he refused with great Constancy, that he might create no Odium or Jealousy in them, nor give them any room to think he had the Interest of one more at Heart than of another. So the two Ministers took Leave of the King, and repaired to *Riga*, where they remained till the Spring, when they receiv'd Orders to go to *Stockholm*.

Oginski and those of his Party continued in the mean Time to destroy the Lands of the Counts *Sapieha*; and, at the Instances of King *Augustus*, they appeared from Time to Time at our most advanced Quarters, without ever making head, or it being possible for them to force us. For though *Oginski*, had brought them to attack *Ornstedt*, Major to *Hummerbielm's* Detachment, the *Poles* fled, as soon as they saw their Commander and some others killed; that, as we could never do them any great Mischief, so they did but little to us, as soon as we were once used to their Manner of Fighting.

All these Hostilities engaged the King to pass the Frontiers, thoroughly resolved to have no Mercy on a Country which thus continued to insult him. He resolved however to pass this Year at *Courland*, and orders were given to Mr. *Stuart*, Quarter-Master-General, to regulate the Quarters.

His Majesty quarter'd at *Wurgen*; Mr. *Sioblod*, Grand Master of the Artillery,

Artillery, was to have the Castle of *Nurrins*; General *Welling* the little Town of *Neuberg*, and Lieutenant-General *Liewen* that of *Frauenburg* assigned to them; Major-General *Meidel* was to lie at *Stenden*, and Mr. *Stuart* received Orders to stay at the Head-Quarters.

According to this Plan, the Regiments were distributed into Garrisons in the Towns and along the Frontiers, which they were to cover; but this Project took not Place, and the Troops continu'd to be canton'd till they began their March to *Lithuania*.

The 3d of *November*, two Regiments of Foot, viz. those of *Calmar* and *Skytt*, consisting of two Battalions each, arrived safely from *Sweden* in the Road of *Libaw*, and were put into Garrison. A great Number of Recruits arrived at the same Time from *Riga*, which considerably reinforced the Army.

The 17th, the Regiment of Horse of *South-Scania* arrived also at *Libaw*, under the Command of Major-General *Alexander Stromberg*. The Disembarkation of these Troops was not at all successful. Two Days after they arrived, a Storm arose very suddenly, and drove 7 great Transport-ships on the Sands, which were beat to Pieces. They lost near 100 Horses, but not one Man, nor their Baggage. The Regiment was immediately sent to *Frauenburg*, in good Winter-Quarters, in order to refresh the Men after the Fatigues of the Sea, and to be remounted.

On the 20th, some Deputies of *Sa-mogitia*, having had Audience of the King, intreated him not to let the Army pass into their Territories, nor

to treat them as Enemies. To this they had a very favourable and gracious Answer: But as we heard a few Days afterwards, that one of *Oginski's* Parties had attacked, tho' with Loss, a Detachment of Colonel *Meyerfeld* at *Polangen*, the King, incensed at seeing himself so often harassed by such pitiful Troops, resolved to chastise them once for all, and to put a Stop to the Continuance of their Hostilities. As *Oginski* had publickly declared himself the King of *Sweden's* Enemy, his Majesty determined to go himself in Quest of him, and punish his Insults. He was now in the neighbouring Parts, lording it in *Lithuania*, where he put all to Fire and Sword, and destroyed every thing belonging to the *Sapieba*.

During these Transactions, the Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp* took Leave of the King, and his Highness took the Northern Road to *Stockholm*, where he passed all the Winter, and returned the next Summer to the Army.

The First of *December* at Night, the King put 400 of his Guards on Sledges, passed the Frontiers of *Courland* with them, and joined Colonel *Hummerbielm*, who was posted at *Schauden* with a Detachment of Horse and Dragoons. Taking with him this whole Detachment, he set out that Instant for *Calivaria*, whither Mr. *Meyerfeld* had by his Orders brought his Party from *Polangen*.

Charles, impatient to see the Enemy, who was, they said, at *Shudi*, galloped before with the Dragoons only; but could not arrive in Time, the Enemy having had the Prudence to decamp silently the preceding Night.

Night. Not judging it proper therefore to give his People any useless Fatigue, he waited there for the Rest of his Troops, left his Foot at *Skudi*, and marched the next Day with the Horse toward *Tirkfel*. This Place belonged to *Oginiski*, who departed a little before the King's Arrival; but the *Partorasta*, or Bailiff, was surpriz'd by Major *Ornstedt*, and killed by his Men.

The King, who was in continual Hopes of overtaking the flying Enemy, marched from *Tirkfel* to *Triski*, a little Town 4 Leagues distant; but they were already retired: So that at last, giving over all Hopes of coming up with them, he passed the River which runs before that Town with his Horse, at a Ford, being able to find neither Bridge nor Boat. The Cavalry were quartered upon the Citizens, and were permitted to unsaddle their Horses and repose themselves. As to the King, he went to lodge at a Castle without the Town, leaving only a small picquet-Guard of a few Men at the Town's End. About 11 in the Evening, *Oginiski*, who had been advertised by the Curate of the Town of the Security in which our Troops lay, returned with all his Force to the Number of 6000 Men, who, finding no Resistance, went with a great Cry to the Market-Place, where they set Fire to several Houses. The *Swedes*, who expected not this Visit, and were most of them in their Beds, dressed themselves with all Haste, saddled their Horses, and drew together as well as possible. Mr. *Sak*, Captain of the Horse-Guards, Count *Laurence Flemming*, and some others, were the first ready, and feared not to attack the Enemy, not-

withstanding his infinite Superiority in Numbers.

This Handful of *Swedes* fought with extraordinary Bravery, and kept the Enemy so well in Play, that they gave Time to the Horse and Dragoons to get together, and draw themselves into Order; who then attacked them on all Sides with such Constancy and Vigour, that they were presently overthrown and put to Flight. Our People, who were for the most Part in their Shirts, pursued them at their Heels a great Way out of the Town. The King, who had call'd for his Horse at the first Alarm, hastened to them, and having found the Enemy already put to flight, he drew together the Rest of his Horse, which were scattered through the Town, rallied them in Haste, and marched forth himself to support the others, in Case of Necessity. He came up with Mr. *Thomas Funk*, Captain of the Dragoon-Guards, who was yet engaged with a Party of the Enemy's Troops, that had at first made Head, but ran away at the King's Arrival. They were closely pursued; but notwithstanding all the Haste of our Troops, could not be overtaken. Mr. *Claes Bond*, Captain of the Horse-Guards, pursued them so smartly, that he took *Oginiski's* led Horse with a Pair of Kettle-Drums, and made the Groom, who led it, Prisoner.

Such was the Success of *Oginiski's* Undertaking, who, if he had had more Courage and Conduct, might here have struck a decisive Stroke, and put an End to the War.

The King, seeing it was in vain to persist in the Pursuit of those Fugitives, returned to the Town, and caused the

Fire to be extinguished, which was kindled in the Beginning of the Action to disorder our Troops. At the same Time his Majesty reinforced the Guard, and retired to his Repose. He remained the Rest of the Day in the Town, and gave Orders to have the wounded conducted into *Courland*, who were about 18 Men, amongst whom Mr. *Sak* was dangerously wounded in many Places.

The Curate of the Town, who was suspected to hold Intelligence with the Enemy, was presently put under Arrest, and Mr. *Canifer* was commanded with 30 Men to watch the Enemy's Motions. He return'd the same Day, and brought back some of the wounded, who had been left behind, without being able to learn what was become of *Ogin'ski*, who was nevertheless not far off; and an old Woman informed the King in the Evening, that he was at *Lubinski*; on which a Resolution was taken to march thither, and the King advanced 4 Leagues the next Day.

Ogin'ski was retired a little before their Arrival, having left several wounded Men behind him. The King continued his Rout, without stopping, to *Uzwetta*, where he found no Body. Here the Foot which had been left at *Skudi*, joined his Majesty on the Sledges; and he continued his March the same Night towards the Town of *Kelm*, where there was a Castle belonging to one *Grusinski* of *Ogin'ski*'s Party. The King caused this Castle to be plundered, and then demolished. He stopp'd at *Kelm* that Day and the next, and the 10th he marched to *Sittowiani*, and the next Day to *Grynki'ski*. He yet flattered

himself with being able to come up with the Enemy; but as they had no other View than to escape from our Troops, they found means to save themselves. The Fort of *Dunamund* was now surrender'd to the *Swedes*. We have already said, that Colonel *Albedbyl*, after the Battle of *Duna*, had block'd it up straitly by Sea and Land with the Help of some Frigats, which kept out all Succours both of Men and Provisions. Mr. *Albedbyl* had several Times summoned Colonel *Canitz* to surrender; but this Governour was too brave to suffer the Besiegers to carry the Place, unless at the dearest Rate. *Albedbyl* found himself obliged to a Bombardment, which was begun towards the End of *August*; for which Purpose all the Mortars and heavy Cannon, which they thought they should want, were brought from *Riga*. The Enemy defended themselves with great Bravery; but notwithstanding all the fine Artillery which was in the Place, they did us but little Mischief, only one Captain being killed all the Time. Our Batteries having soon reduced their Mill and Magazine to Ashes, with some of their Cazerns and Houses, and the Garrison beginning to grow weak by their Distempers and want of Provision, the Governour found himself obliged to capitulate and surrender; for which Purpose he sent an Officer to Mr. *Albedbyl*, and it was agreed that they should march out with their Arms and Baggage, which they accordingly did the 12th of *December*, with all the Honours of War.

The Fort was delivered to the *Swedes* in a Condition infinitely better than it was when taken. We found here

here thirty-two 24 Pounders, twenty-one of 12, ten of 6, all of Brasses; and 18 Mortars, 49720 Cannon-Balls, 9345 Granades and Bombs, 2385 Cartridges, 3000 Quintals of Powder, 800 Muskets, 4000 Ton of Corn, without reckoning other Ammunition, and an Arsenal well stored.

The King was not at first content with this Capitulation, because he had expected the Garrison to surrender at Discretion; but he approved of it afterwards, when he consider'd the Number of Men this Fort would have cost, had they determin'd to carry it by Storm. Here they placed a good Garrison, and changed the Name of *Augustsburg*, which Mr. *Flemming* had given it, into *Neumund*, its true Name, and by which it had been always formerly known.

In the mean Time the King, who continued in *Samogitia*, in Pursuit of *Oginski*, marched the 13th to *Kyedum*, where he stay'd a few Days to gain Intelligence of the Enemy. Here he was present at divine Service, which was perform'd in the *Lutheran* Church in this Town; from thence he marched into a little Village full of poor Gentlemen, to whom they commonly gave in *Poland* the Name of *Slaßitz*. Here the King learnt that *Oginski* was at *Kauno*. To prevent his Knowledge of our March, his Majesty set a Guard on all the Places through which any one might pass to give him Advice. Towards Midnight he marched towards *Kauno*, and arrived thither about Break of Day. Unhappily, the River *Niemen*, which ran before the Town, was thaw'd, and as it could not be passed without much Difficulty, the Enemy had on that Occasion suf-

ficient Time to retreat. For they could find in all Places thereabouts only one little Prame, on which the Troops could defile, each Man holding his Horse in his Hand, which swam by the Prame Side. By this the Reader may judge, what Time we were obliged to spend in passing this Water.

The King was one of the first who went over, and though the Enemy might have easily obstructed us, a Pan-nick had so seized them, that, except some few, who were fuddled, and made Prisoners, all the Rest ran away full speed towards *Wilna*. The King sufficiently convinced, that it was in vain to pursue an Enemy farther, who would have gone to the End of the World rather than have fought, resolved to leave all the Detachments at *Kauno*, where they were quarter'd upon the Citizens. His Majesty himself, to prevent his being known, performed the Office of Quarter-Master during the whole March, sending out at the same Time several Parties on all Sides to raise Contributions on the adjacent Parts; and after having put all Things in Order, and presented a Sum of Money to the *Lutheran* Church of *Kauno*, he left the Command of these Troops to Colonel *Hummerhielm* 'till farther Orders.

Charles, notwithstanding all the Remonstrances which could be made him of the Danger which few Persons must run in crossing a Country of more than 40 Leagues extent, where the Enemy made frequent Excursions, took the Road of *Courland* with a few Attendants; in which Road tho' *Oginski* did not dare to appear, his Parties however continually scoured the

the Country, as we shall see presently by the Relation which Baron Nils Poff sent the King from *Bauskenburg* the 18th of *January* 1702.

The King met with no Accident during his Journey, and arrived safely at his Quarters at *Wurgen*. He was escorted Part of the Way by Major-General *Arwed Horn*, who came to meet him with a Detachment of Drabans. His safe Return gave an unspeakable Joy to the whole Army, who had been under dreadful Apprehensions during his Absence, having had no News of him during the Expedition, which lasted near a Month.

Whilst all this pass'd in *Courland* and *Lithuania*, the *Russians*, who were assembled in great Numbers on the Frontiers of *Livonia*, had made a new Irruption, which the Rigour of the Season had rendered easy and advantageous, of which Mr. *Schlippenbach* sent the King the following faithful and exact Relation, written in *High Dutch*.

S I R,

Lieutenant-Colonel *Borckhusen*, who was cantoned between *Aja* and *Eratfer*, with Orders to post himself in Case of Necessity in the latter Place, without waiting fresh Orders, or at least to assist both the one and the other, and to make an immediate Report to the Head Quarters, having received Advice the 28th of *December* from Colonel *Pahlen*, who was posted at *Aja*, of the Enemy's Approach with considerable Forces, marched instantly with the Regiment of Horse of *Carelia*; upon which Orders were given through all the Quarters to get the Ammunition ready, and

to hold themselves prepared to march at the first Signal.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Borckhusen* returned immediately, and reported, that it was only a false Alarm, caused by the Peasants, who had taken some *Russian* Maroders for their whole Army, and who had given this Notice to Colonel *Pahlen*.

The next Evening at four there was a like Alarm of the Enemy's Arrival at Lieutenant-Colonel *Platen's* Quarters, who was posted at *Varban* with a Battalion of Militia. He took immediately some Horse of the Regiment of the Nobility of *Esthonia*, to go and reconnoitre; and after he had Leisure to judge of their Forces, which were considerable, he brought me an Account at nine in the Evening. He told me, that the Enemy had near 2000 Sledges loaded with Chevaux de Frise, and 30 Pieces of Cannon and Mortars; so that we had all the Reason to believe they had some Design of Importance.

I presently gave Orders to Baron *Reinholdt Liewen*, who was a Lieutenant-Colonel, to go, during the Night, and reconnoitre and divert the Enemy with 300 Horse of the Regiment of *Esthonia*, 'till I could bring up the Battalions of *Skytt*, *Liewen*, *Gardie*, and *Stakelberg*, which I had ordered to march up to me the same Night. Mr. *Liewen* falling in with the advanced Guard of the Enemy, on the 30th at Break of Day, which consisted of 10 or 12000 Men, attacked them with all possible Bravery, but was at last obliged to yield to Numbers, almost all his Men being slain on the Field of Battle, with two Captains named *Wrangle*, and himself made Prisoner.

The

The Enemy, finding now no more Resistance, fell instantly on our most advanced Quarters, and first on that of Mr. Fritsch, Captain of Horse. This Captain did his utmost to stop the Enemy, but lost his Life in the Action. The greatest Part of his Men having the Happiness to come and join me. Having then drawn together the Battalions of Skytt, Liewen, and Stakelberg, with six small Field Pieces, four of Brass, and two of Iron, which I took with me, I went to join the two Regiments of Horse of Eäthonia and Abolehn, and then marched directly to the Enemy. I came up with the Van-Guard, which had defeated Mr. Liewen, a League beyond Eratser, near the Village of Cammar; and having encouraged all my Officers and Soldiers to do their Duty, who all unanimously testified their Zeal for your Majesty's Service, I put myself at the Head of the Horse, with the Colonels Wachtmeister and Ehnskiold, and the Army marched courageously to the Enemy, whom they charged so fiercely, that they forced them to give Ground.

As I apprehended the Enemy, who was infinitely our Superior in Numbers, might fall on our Rear, and cut us off from the Foot, which we had left a little behind with the Cannon, I resolved to go and join them with the Horse, which was performed in good Order. Colonel Ehnskiold, who was too much exposed, was taken Prisoner on this Occasion.

The Enemy having presently followed us, were so well saluted on their Arrival by the Foot and the Cannon, that they were broke, and retreated in great Disorder towards the Body of their Army, which I did not see, but knew to be in full March to attack me. After they

had staid some Time to observe us at a Distance, I judged proper, to make the Parties a little more equal, to retreat to Eratser, where I expected to meet the Regiment of Foot of Campenhausen, with the Dragoons of Stenbock and the Horse of Carelia.

The two last Regiments having joined me on the Road, I ordered them to cover the Rear-Guard, which the Enemy harassed continually, and where the Combat became at last very bloody. Baron Gabriël Horn, a Major, stood a long Time firm with his Squadron almost surrounded with the Enemy. He was mortally wounded in this Action, which obliged him to be carried out of the Field of Battle, after he was relieved by Major Liewen, with his Squadron.

As the Enemy continued to press us, scarce giving us Time to draw up, Lieutenant-Colonel Liewen, who was in the Van-Guard with the Cannon, turned them readily against the Enemy. Lieutenant-Colonel Stakelberg, with his Battalion posted himself on a Cross-Way to stop the Enemy, 'till the Battalions of Liewen and Skytt had Time to pass and form a Line together. The Horse were ranged on the two Wings in the best Manner we could.

The Action became now very sharp, and the Fire continued on both Sides without ceasing with terrible Violence, especially after the Enemy had received their Artillery and Mortars, which incommoded us extremely. As I perceived their Forces to encrease every Minute, and that by attacking our two Wings they endeavoured to hem us in on both Sides; besides that of the twenty-five Cartridges, with which each of our Cannon was furnished, there remained but four; I set myself on retreating, with

with Design, if necessary, to cut through the Enemy Sword in Hand.

To this Purpose I ordered the Foot to form the Van-guard with the Cannon, and the Horse to cover them, and to stop the Enemy by frequent Discharges. This Scheme had not the Success I had flatter'd myself with. The Horse no sooner perceived the Foot to retreat, than they ran away without its being possible to rally them. The Regiments of Carelia and Abolohn began to run first, then that of Esthonia, and lastly one Squadron of Stenbock's Dragoons. One Battalion of this Regiment, with Count Lewenhawpt at their Head, continued with the others to second the Battalion of Stakelberg.

All these Horse running back on the Foot put them in Disorder, notwithstanding all my Efforts with the greater Number of Officers to rally those that were flying, there was now no Possibility of stopping them, by reason of the vast Number of the Enemy that pursued us; who seeing the Foot without Support, and abandoned, broke them on all Sides, and cut them almost all to Pieces. It is true, they at first attempted to defend themselves with great Bravery, but were at length forced to yield to the prodigious Multitudes of the Enemy, and were totally defeated.

Of all the Foot-Officers who were present at the Action, there remained with me no more than Lieutenant-Colonel Liewen with four of his Officers, Lieutenant-Colonel Stakelberg with a Non-Commission-Officer, two Soldiers, and Major Meyer Krantz, who, after the Battalions were overthrown by our own Horse, had the Happiness to find Horses, and save themselves through the Enemy, under favour of the Smoke and the Dark-

ness of the Night. The Captain-Lieutenant of Liewen's Battalion saved the Colours; all those belonging to Stakelberg's were ordered by him to be torn to Pieces before the Retreat; this was faithfully executed by all the Ensigns, as we learnt from a Soldier of Skytt's Battalion, who likewise assured us, that several Officers and Soldiers had happily preserved themselves in the Woods.

I continued always with the Horse-Officers, exhorting those that fled to rally; and Adjutant-General Freymann killed some who refused to obey, which Example, together with some others of a like Kind, obliged them at last to stand their Ground near Eratfer, and to rally. Here I found Count Gardie's Battalion, commanded by Major Stahl, who had with him the rest of the Cannon. I now resolved on a Retreat, with Mr. Stahl and Colonel Wachtmeister, who had commanded the Horse, which I performed in good Order.

The Enemy pursued us very briskly towards Kehrart; and as I saw they had set Fire to the Church of Canepöhe and the Village of Korart, I thought myself obliged to burn the little Magazine at Kehrart, fearing lest the Enemy should seize it. As Night now drew on, I sent Lieutenant-Colonel Stakelberg towards Sagnitz with the Cannon and the Remains of his People, who were posted at Korart, as likewise Count Gardie's Battalion and Stenbock's Dragoons. As for myself, I staid some Time at Koikul with the rest of the Horse, and towards Break of Day took the same Road thither.

I was much surprised at hearing nothing from Colonel Campenhufen, to whom I had sent Orders to bring his Regiment to Eratfer, and join the other Troops;

Troops; but as these came not to him till very late, by reason of the Messenger's losing his Way, he could not be there in Time. However, when he approached the Head-Quarters, and by the Noise of the Cannon and small Arms, found we were at Blows with the Enemy, he hastened to my Assistance; but he unhappily missed the Road, and had only Time to defeat a straggling Russian Party, who had taken up their Quarters in some Houses about Erätfer. Horn, his Lieutenant-Colonel, attacked this Party, and made most of them Prisoners. Mr. Campenhuisen drawing afterwards to Dorpt, after he had heard of our being routed, made a thousand Windings to join me, which he hath just performed.

The Enemy have kept themselves very quiet since the Battle, till Yesterday. As soon as the Parties which I have detached to reconnoitre them shall be returned, I will order my Affairs according to their Report, and shall not fail to give your Majesty the speediest Information.

*Sagnitz, Jan. 1.
1707.*

SCHLIPPENBACH.

The Enemy did not at all improve the Advantage which they had gained. General Scheremetoff, who had at first intended to lay Siege to Dorpt, thought proper hastily to repass the Frontiers; whether they feared a second Battle, which Mr. Schlippenbach seemed to prepare for, by drawing his Troops together from all Parts, or whether the last Battle had cost them too many Men through the desperate Defence of our Foot, which rendered

their Loss much more considerable than ours.

The King, at his Return from *Wurgen*, found that Mr. *Stuart* had made all the necessary Dispositions for the Winter-Quarters, no Person doubting but that the Army were to enter into them; but his Majesty all of a sudden changed his Mind, and order'd several Regiments of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Spens*, to file off in several Columns through *Samogitia*, to be nearer the Detachment which was at *Kauno*.

The King at the same Time wrote a Letter to the Cardinal Primate, declaring the Reasons which had induc'd him to pursue the Enemy, and attack him wherever he might be met with.

This firm Resolution, declared in so authentick a Manner, was very disagreeable to King *Augustus*, who having all Things to fear from so formidable and justly-provoked an Enemy, had already very earnestly applied himself to solicit the Mediation of the States-General, as well as of several other Powers of *Europe*: But as he found every where an infinite Number of Obstacles, and saw the King of *Sweden* inflexible against him, he thought proper to employ one of the fair Sex's Endeavours to work on her Cousin.

The Countess of *Koningsmark*, a *Swede* by Birth, and a Lady of great Beauty, assisted by all the Charms of a rich and cultivated Genius, was chose for this Business; on which Account she repaired to *Libaw*, confiding in her Charms, and believing she

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should

should have as great an Ascendant over the Mind of the young *Swedish* Monarch, as she had gained over the King of *Poland*.

The Countess laid hold of certain Pretensions of her Brother-in-Law Count *Charles Lowenhaupt*, who was then in the *Saxon* Service, to disguise the true Intentions of her Journey. She offered the most advantageous Conditions of Peace on the Part of King *Augustus*, at the same Time demanding a particular Audience of his *Swedish* Majesty. But whether these Propositions were not agreeable to the Interest of the Republick, whose Friendship the King was resolved inviolably to maintain, or whether this Prince suspected his Enemy to have some private Views in this Affair, he refused to see this beautiful Ambassadress, notwithstanding all the Complaisance which on other Occasions he shewed to the fair Sex; and tho' this Lady used all imaginable Stratagems to come at an Audience, even to the sending him some fine Copies of Verses on his Winter-Campaign, she could not obtain it. The Countess was therefore obliged to return without attaining what she had proposed.

The King now departed from *Wurgen* on the 15th of *January* with the Rest of the Army, which he brought to an Encampment about *Goldingen*, and took up his own Lodgings in the Castle.

There had been during these Transactions several Skirmishes between the Parties of *Oginski* and the little Garrisons the King had left at *Seelburg* and *Bausk*. The Governour, Lieutenant-Colonel *Peter Banner*, who was at *Seelburg*, had detached in the Month

of *December* in the preceding Year a Captain of Dragoons, who fell on a Party of the Enemy, discomfited them, and took some Prisoners. Colonel *Nil Poss* sent the following Relation, in the *Swedish* Language, from *Bauskenburg* to the King, to inform his Majesty of what passed in this Action.

S I R,

Concerning the Expedition of Major *Trautetter*, I have the Honour to tell your Majesty, that the Major departed from hence the 22d of *December* 1701 upon those Orders which he had received, with 150 Dragoons of Colonel *Gustavus Albedhyl's* Regiment, for *Gulbin* in *Lithuania*, to serve as a Guard on the Territories of the great General *Sapieha*, against the frequent Incursions of *Oginski*, who put all to Fire and Sword.

Being arrived the 23d at *Gulbin*, he heard that a large Party of the Enemy were scattered in the neighbouring Villages, where they entertained themselves with Plunder. He instantly attacked them, killed a great Number, and took the Rest Prisoners, namely, four Officers, and 20 Soldiers, which have been sent from hence to *Riga*. He took from them at the same Time one Standard, two Kettle-Drums, and five Tartarian Standards.

This Loss which the Enemy received, obliged him to retire for some Time from the Lands of the *Sapieha*. As to Major *Trautetter*, he posted himself at *Gulbin* to observe the Motions of the Enemy.

The 11th of *January* I was informed, that a Colonel of *Oginski's* Party, whose Name was *Berg*, was arrived from *Janitzieck* with twelve Troops of Horse; that

that he had passed near Schonberg on the Frontiers in his Way to Birsén, one League from Gulbin, and that he had destroyed all that belonged to the Sapieha in his Road.

Upon this News I ordered Major Trautfetter, on the 12th, to bring up his Detachment from Gulbin, which I intended to employ in levying Contributions on those Nobles of Courland which had not paid them. He came to me the 13th, and after he had acquitted himself of that Commission, I gave him on the 15th in the Evening some Orders sealed up, which he was to carry with his Detachment, and not to open until a certain Distance. These Orders were to resume his Post at Gulbin, and drive off the Enemy; and, in Case he could not find them there, to look out for them and attack them. The Major, coming to Gulbin the 16th at Break of Day, learnt that the Enemy, after having been defeated some Days before near Dunenburg by Captain Ramfeli's Party, had been so terribly frightened, that they retired three Leagues from Gulbin into a Town called Coppieha. Major Trautfetter learnt farther, that these Troops, having been advertised of his Departure from Gulbin for Gourland, were separated, leaving five Companies at Coppieha, where they thought themselves in Security; and the Rest were lodged in the adjacent Village, after having had the Precaution to barricade all the Passages.

The Major in Consequence of his Orders, departed from Gulbin the same Evening with 100 Dragoons, the Rest being sick, or out on Parties, and arrived the 17th at Break of Day at Coppieha, where, after having forced the Guard, he made some of his Party dismount, and attack those who were shut up in the

Houses, and discharge their Muskets and Granades on them, by which they were driven from House to House to the End of the Town, more than 100 of them being slain on the Spot.

As this Action lasted near an Hour and a Half, the Enemy, who were posted near at Hand, ran up from all Parts at the Noise of the firing, upon which the Major was obliged to retreat, as well on the Account of their great Numbers, as the Fatigue of his Horses. This Retreat was however performed in good Order; and as the Enemy feared an Ambuscade, or that the Major might receive some Succours, they durst not attempt to pursue him. They retired into a neighbouring Wood, and afterwards went to join Oginski, who was posted at two Leagues Distance with all his Forces, which, as they pretended, amounted to 6000 Men. He is since gone, as I am informed, to Vichur, where he has some Cannon, and has fortified himself.

All the Booty, which was at first made, was gotten by the Peasants, except the Colours of Colonel Berge. We brought away one Lieutenant and five Soldiers Prisoners. On our Side we lost Lieutenant Bachman, two non-commissioned Officers, and seven Dragoons, who were killed. We likewise missed the two Drums, with three Dragoons; and as the Enemy must be certainly informed of the Weakness of the Major's Party, I resolved to recall him from Gulbin, lest he should be attacked by all their Forces, and he hath joined me accordingly. I now wait your Majesty's farther Orders.

Baukenberg.
Jan. 18. 1702.

NILS POSS

All these Excursions of *Oginski*, with those of the *Lithuanian Poles*, joined to the Slowness of the Republic in declaring herself and giving his Majesty Satisfaction, determined him at last to enter *Poland* with the Rest of the Army. He departed from *Goldingen* at the End of *January* to *Rosienne*, 12 Leagues from *Kauno*, whither Mr. *Spens* had gone before, as we have already said.

The Artillery and heavy Baggage had been sent back to *Riga*; and we left in the Towns of *Courland* a sufficient Number of Horse and Dragoons to keep that Province in Order, of which Baron *Stuart*, Major-General, was made Governor. He chose *Mitsau* for the Place of his Residence, and neglected nothing which might contribute to the Defence of the Country during his Majesty's Absence.

The Army passed the Frontiers in three Columns, the first and second of which took separate Routs to *Lubenick*, where they joined again; whilst the third Column continued to follow in another Rout. The general Conjunction of these Troops happened some Leagues from the Frontiers.

The King was extremely fatigued during this March, always riding from one Regiment and one Column to another, notwithstanding the Rigour of a very severe Winter, without giving himself any Relaxation, or taking any Repose. He would never repair to his Head-Quarters, named *Bielowice*, the Seat of a Gentleman of that Name, a long Half-League from *Rosienne*, before he had distributed the whole Army into good Quarters in the Neighbourhood, where they re-

mained 'till the End of the Month of *March*.

One of the first Things which his Majesty did, was, to drive away a great Number of lewd Women, who had slipp'd in amongst the Troops, and introduced Libertinism and Disorder; but he took such Measures that very few Women durst remain amongst them.

King *Augustus* in the mean Time flatter'd himself with I know not what ill-grounded Hopes, with which the Countess of *Koningsmark* had sed him of Success in her Negotiation. She had ever since her Departure from *Wurgen* coasted along the Frontiers of *Samogitia*, and was now come to *Tilljen* in *Prussia*, which is situated on the Frontiers, and at a little Distance from *Rosienne* and from his Majesty's Head-Quarters.

King *Augustus* sent, higher Mr. *Witzthum d'Eckstedt*, his Chamberlain, to confer with her, and to remain 'till farther Orders. Madam *Koningmark* very dextrously prevailed with him to go to the King of *Sweden*, and make a second Trial; which he did. Count *Piper*, his Majesty's first Minister of State, to whom he notified his Arrival, at the same Time demanding an Audience, was very much surprized to find him arrived before he had asked Leave to come; however, he agreed to see him; but when Mr. *Witzthum* would have delivered him a Letter from King *Augustus*, the Count excused himself from receiving it without his *Swedish* Majesty's Permission.

The King was incensed at this Proceeding, which was a Liberty that ought

ought not to have been taken in Time of War; he therefore order'd Baron *Euchwaldt*, his Aid-de-Camp General, to put Mr. *Witzthum* in Arrest, and at the same Time set an Ensign of the Guards with twelve Men over him.

Mr. *Witzthum* was treated with all imaginable Civility, and waited on by the King's Servants. Amongst his Papers, which were instantly seized, was found, with his Instructions, a Letter written by King *Augustus's* own Hand to the King of *Sweden*, in which he engaged in the most complaisant and even submissive Terms, to attend his *Swedish* Majesty in Person, and to clear up by a Conference all the Difficulties which obstructed the Conclusion of a sure, solid, and lasting Peace.

Mr. *Witzthum* remained in arrest all the Time of the King's Stay at *Bielowice*; he was afterwards conducted under an Escort to *Riga*, where he had Liberty on his Parole to walk where he pleased; till at last, the King being arrived at *Warsovia*, permitted him to return into *Saxony*.

About this Time Count *Sapieha*, Great General of *Lithuania*, sent a Captain of Horse to *Bielowice*, to ask the King's Leave to pay his Respects to him, which he immediately obtained; and having set out for the Headquarters, attended by a numerous Train of Nobility and Domesticks, he was much surprized to meet his Majesty on the Borders of *Prussia* with only four or five Attendants. He appeared very well satisfied with the favourable Reception which was graciously given by his august Protector.

As the Affairs of King *Augustus*

grew worse every Day, he now thought himself in so dangerous a Situation, that he determined to convene a Diet at *Warsovia*. He then imparted the King of *Sweden's* Resolution to the Assembly, with the Perplexity he was in on that Account. A great Number of Mal-contents took this Occasion to exclaim against the present Government, which they now ventured to do in the most publick Manner. However, a Resolution passed to send a solemn Embassy to the King of *Sweden*, and offer him the Intercessions of the Republick.

Baron *Sacken*, the Chamberlain, was sent to communicate to his Majesty the Republick's Resolution to send an Embassy to him. The Baron had been formerly sent by the Cardinal Primate to *Stockholm*, to notify the Death of the late King of *Poland*. He arrived the 12th at *Bielowice*, and had an immediate Audience. He demanded of his Majesty the Time and Place in which he would be pleased to give the Ambassador, who was on the Road, the Honour of attending him. He was told, that the King's Intention was to spare him half his Journey; and he departed thence without being able to obtain a more positive Answer.

It might have been imagined, that since the King of *Sweden* was with his Army in the Heart of the Enemy's Country, they would not have dared to undertake any thing to molest our Quarters: However, *Oginski* and Prince *Wisniowski* committed continual Hostilities, scouring about daily with their little Parties; in which Attempts they were generally worsted,

tho' they never attacked our small Detachments unless with three or four Times their Number.

These daily Skirmishes chiefly incommoded the Detachment at *Kauno*, whither the King sent Lieutenant-General *Liewen*, who was posted at *Kudani* with his Regiment of Foot, to reinforce them. Colonel *Hummerbielm*, who had hitherto commanded there, had had the good Fortune some Days before to defeat a Party of twelve Companies, belonging to *Wisniowski*, near the Castle of *Jesna*, which is the Property of a Gentleman named *Paix*, and to take ten Pieces of Brass Cannon; but as he could not carry away more than four, for want of Boats, he resolved to return soon after in order to fetch off the six others.

Having put himself with this View at the Head of 130 Troopers, he departed from *Kauno*, and at the same Time embarked in two large Boats 110 Men of the Regiment of Foot-guards, commanded by Captain *Gustavus Siegroth*, to bring back the six Cannons by Water on the River *Memel*, near which the Castle is situated.

Prince *Wisniowski* being advertised of this Design, drew near *Jesna* with 6000 Men, amongst which were four Regiments of German Foot and Horse. *Hummerbielm*, who had heard nothing of this, or perhaps would not believe it, having passed the River near *Jesna*, and continued two Days March by the Water side, that he might not be at too great a Distance from the Foot, quitted the River the third Day, and marched before towards a little Town named *Dorfiniski*, six Leagues from *Kauno*, where he waited the Arrival of the Infantry.

When *Wisniowski* saw that he was separated from his Foot, he thought proper to attack him, and with that Design brought forward his Vanguard, which was repulsed with great Bravery by Mr. *Hummerbielm*. The Enemy returned again to the Charge with all their Force; and Mr. *Hummerbielm*, being advanced to reconnoitre them, was unhappily intercepted and made Prisoner. Mr. *John Siegroth*, Major to *Morner's* Regiment, had now with the rest of his Officers no other Game to play, than to break through Sword in Hand. The Swedes had the Advantage in the Beginning of this Action, having overthrown all those who opposed their Passage; but getting by Misfortune into a Morass, they could neither advance nor retreat, and were there, after defending themselves with incredible Valour, all cut to Pieces, there being neither Officer nor Soldier who had not received several Wounds.

Twenty only were taken Prisoners, and those all covered with Wounds; two Troopers of this Number had the Courage to throw themselves into the *Memel*, and swam over to the other Side; one of whom was killed by the Peasants, so that only one escaped to bring the news of this Defeat to Mr. *Gyllenkrok*, Major of the Guards, who was detached with a Party into the Neighbourhood to raise Contributions.

After this Action, the Enemy being advertised of the Approach of the Foot with the Cannon, went to meet and attack them. They were commanded by *Gustavus Siegroth*, Brother to the Major of whom we have just spoken, and who, being ignorant of Colonel *Hummerbielm's* Fate, had landed

landed a Non-Commission Officer with some Soldiers to bring him News. These met with the Vanguard of *Wisniowski's* Army, and, after having stood some Musket-shots, returned to their Body, to give them Advice of the Enemy's Approach. *Siegroth*, who could not believe it, landed himself, with about 20 Men; but after a Discharge on the Scouts of the Enemy, whom he now perceived to be advancing, he retreated in good Order to his Boats, intending to defend himself till the Arrival of *Hummerbielm*, from whom he expected Assistance: But in that Instant while he was preparing to pass to the other Bank of the River, his Boats unluckily ran on the Sands, nor was it possible for him to get them off again. In this Conjunction, *Siegroth* saw, that he had no Way left but to defend himself to the last Extremity, especially as the Enemy had now planted six Cannons against him, from which they fired incessantly on our Boats, and pierced them in such a Manner, that our Soldiers were up to the Middle in Water; however, they lost not their Courage, which when *Wisniowski* saw, and found what resolute Troops he had to do with, who had by a Volley just repulsed his Men as they were endeavouring to plant a Cannon on the Brink of the River, he ordered a Trumpet to be sounded, which was answered from *Siegroth* by a Drum.

A Colonel of the Enemy, whose Name was *Grotbusen*, approached *Siegroth* at this Interval, and acquainted him with the total Defeat of *Hummerbielm*, who was taken Prisoner, and then summoned him to surrender also with his Men; but *Siegroth*, very far

from accepting his Summons, plainly declared his Intentions of defending himself to the last Extremity, or till he had received those Succours, which he could not fail of from *Kauno*.

Grotbusen then represented to this brave Officer the great Danger to which he exposed himself and his People, Prince *Wisniowski* being present with his whole Army; but he could not move *Siegroth*, who continued his firing, while he had Powder or Ball left. In the mean while the Enemy, who saw with Astonishment the extraordinary Defence made by this Handful of People, and perhaps feared the Arrival of Succours from *Kauno*, as *Siegroth* had artfully insinuated, offered him the Liberty of returning to *Kauno* with his Men, which he was at last obliged to accept, seeing no room to flatter himself with Hopes of better Conditions.

The Capitulation stipulated, that the Soldiers should lay down their Arms, but that the Officers, even the Subalterns, should keep theirs; and that they should be allowed an Escort, and Waggon to carry off their Wounded and their Dead.

In this Manner this brave Officer extricated himself with Honour out of so dangerous a Situation; six Men only of his Detachment were killed and nine wounded, and he returned with the rest to *Kauno*.

Lieutenant-General *Liewen*, who commanded at *Kauno*, no sooner heard of this Defeat, than he instantly recalled all the detached Parties from the other Side of the River, that he might be in a Condition to make Head against *Wisniowski*, in case that Prince should think proper to attack him. At the

same

same Time he encreased all his Guards, and sent Advice to the King. But the Enemy, instead of improving their Advantage, had hastened directly to *Wilna*.

As soon as the King had heard what had past, he ordered all the Army to decamp, and march towards *Kauno*; and Major-General *Morner* and Count *Stenbock*, who were posted with their Regiments on the Side of *Wilna*, had private Orders to march and surprize Prince *Wisniowski* at that Place.

To hasten this Expedition, the Horse took the Foot up behind them; and marching through Forests and thick Woods, that they might not be perceived by the Enemy, they arrived at Break of Day before the Town, forced the Barrier, and instantly began the Attack.

The Enemy, who had no Mind to fight, took the surest Method to save themselves, which was to run away full Speed. This however they could not execute so expeditiously, but that several were made Prisoners, and so many killed, that the Streets of the Town were all cover'd with dead Bodies.

Wisniowski was in great Danger himself of being taken by a Trooper, who pursued him so closely, and pressed him so sharply, that, if the Trooper had not been unluckily killed, that General would have fallen into our Hands. He lost all his Cannon, his Horses and his Equipage.

General *Morner* remained at *Kauno*, in Conformity to the Orders he had received; and, as he was to stay here some Time, he laid the Town and the adjacent Parts under heavy Contribu-

tions, having first received a Reinforcement of some Troops.

The King was still at *Bielowice*, tho' all the Army was already decamped; and as the Great General *Sapieha* and his Brother were in the Neighbourhood on the Frontiers of *Prussia*, his Majesty paid them a Visit, and held a Conference with them. He staid with them all Night, and returned the next Day.

The Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp* arrived some Days after at *Bielowice*. He came by Sea to *Riga* from *Stockholm*, and performed his Voyage in eight Days. His Design was to make a Campaign with the King, who received him with all the Tokens of a perfect Friendship.

At length the King with his Drabans began his March towards *Kauno*. He left in *Samogitia* Colonel *Charles Craus* with his Regiment of Horse to levy the remaining Part of the Contributions; and as the Colonel remained some Time at *Rosienne*, there were frequent Skirmishes between his Parties and the *Poles*.

His Majesty on his Arrival at *Kauno*, took Care to bring the Sick safely up into *Courland*, and then continued his March directly into *Lithuania*; and that the Army might not want Provisions, he divided them into two Columns, one of which was commanded by Lieutenant-General *Spens*, and the other by his Majesty, who had with him the Duke of *Holstein*, and some other Generals. This latter Column coasted along the River *Memel* thro' *Runyski*, whence it marched to *Doe-finski*, the Place where Colonel *Hummerbielm* had been defeated.

The

The King surveyed the Field where the Action had been, of which Capt. *Siegroth* related to him all the Circumstances. The next Day he gave Orders to bury the Dead; and having caused the Officers and Soldiers to be put into Coffins, they were buried with the usual Ceremonies, the King himself assisting at the Funeral, and the Troops honoured the Memory of those brave Men by several Volleys. They set Fire to the Town, which, except the Church, was burnt to the Ground.

The Column afterwards continued its March towards *Punia*, which Place had likewise some Days before been partly reduced to Ashes by Mr. *Roxman*, Captain of Horse, who commanded a Party of *Swedes*. One of the Ecclesiasticks of this Place had given the Enemy timely Notice of Mr. *Roxman's* Arrival, who was attacked by them, but he repulsed them with Loss. From *Punia* the Column drew towards *Olita*, where his Majesty staid some Days.

In the mean Time Prince *Wisniowski*, enraged at the Surprise of *Wilna*, thought of nothing else but how to revenge himself. He believed that *Easter-Day* would be a most favourable Time for the Execution of his Design. As he maintained an Intelligence with some of the Citizens, he repaired thither with little Noise, forced the Guard, who suspected nothing, and entered with his Troops, who set up an universal Outcry and most dreadful Howling. This was done at Noon, when all our People were at Dinner.

They did at first some Mischief; Lieutenant Colonel *Treffenberg* and

some others were killed: But they did not long maintain this Advantage; for our Troops running instantly to Arms, attack'd them so briskly on all Sides, that tho' they were our Superiors in Number, they were drove back, broke, and at last entirely dispersed.

Wisniowski was again in Danger of being taken; but having saved himself through a Convent, he escaped Mr. *Morner*, who eagerly pursued him: He left however a great Number dead and wounded behind him, with some Trophies in our Possession; and he had the Shame and Vexation to fly with Loss before an Enemy who was much weaker than himself, and whom he had at first surprized. We took in their Retreat without the Town a Captain of Horse and some Troopers wounded. This Action having taught *Wisniowski*, that the *Swedes* were an improper People to be play'd with, he for some Time lost all Desire of giving us fresh Disturbance.

The King marched from *Olita* to *Merecz*, where his Majesty remained some Days, 'till the Army had passed the *Memel*, on such Floats as they could get together, and then he marched to *Liepuni*, where the Army rested 'till the 17th, and then decamped and came to *Sopotskini*, leaving the Town of *Grodno* on the left.

The *Polish* Ambassadors, who were already arrived there, and who saw the King pass by the Town, sent to his Majesty to know in what Place he would permit them to attend him. The King, who easily penetrated into the Design of this Embassy, the End of which was only to amuse him 'till King *Augustus* had Time to bring his Troops.

Troops into *Poland*, and to form there an Army with the Permission he had obtain'd of the greatest Part of the Senate, firmly resolved not to hearken to any Propositions which the Ambassadors should make to retard the Course of his victorious Arms; the rather, as the Chief of them was a declared Partizan and Creature of King *Augustus*.

In the mean Time his Majesty was pleased to hear what they had to say, and acquainted them by Mr. *Cederbielm*, Secretary of the Chancery, that he would expect them at *Dlougowitz*, five Leagues from *Grodno*, one of the largest Villages in *Europe*, which extends five *Polish* Leagues in Length, and is several hundred Paces wide.

The Army being come hither on the 22d of *April*, the Ambassadors immediately followed it; but it was presently discover'd, by the Difficulties which they started concerning the Ceremonial, that they thought of nothing farther than to gain Time; on which the King very plainly declared to them, that, if they persisted in their Chicanery on those small Points, he would pass on without giving them any longer Hearing. This Declaration at last obliged them to accommodate themselves to his Majesty's Pleasure.

These Ambassadors were five in Number, of which the two Chief, Mr. *Lipski*, Waiwode of *Calis*, and Mr. *Crispin*, Waiwode of *Witepsk*, were Deputies from the Senate; and the three others, namely, Count *Tarlo*, Mr. *Oginski*, and Mr. *Crispin*, from the Nobility.

The King had prepared a Tent at some Distance from the Village to receive them. The Drabans were drawn

up on Horseback before the Tent, with 600 of the Foot-Guards, Colours flying and Drums beating. Lieutenant-General *Liewen* received them at two o'Clock in the Afternoon to conduct them to the Audience, whither they repaired with a Train of 200 Horsemen. They were received before the Tent by Mr. *Hard*, who performed the Office of Marshal, and by the Officers of the Court, who conducted them to the Antichamber. Baron *Knut Pops*, Major-General and Colonel of the Guards, met them at the Entrance of the King's Apartment, and conducted them to his Majesty, who was seated on a Chair of State, with the Duke of *Holstein*, Count *Piper*, and several other General-Officers and Colonels on both Sides of him.

The Waiwode of *Calis* first spoke in the *Latin* Tongue; and, as soon as he began to speak, the King arose, and remained standing during the whole Audience, in which Count *Tarlo* afterwards spoke also in *Latin*.

These two Ambassadors desired his Majesty to be pleased to make a Peace; not to advance farther into *Poland*; to abandon *Courland*, to restore the Cannon and Artillery taken at *Dunamund* and other Places, which King *Augustus* had made a Present of to the Republick, to make an Amends for the Damages caused by the War, and the heavy Contributions raised in *Courland*, *Samogitia*, and *Lithuania*; lastly, to name Commissaries to treat with them on all these Articles, and those other Propositions which they had to make on the Behalf of the Republick.

Count *Piper* having answered them in *Latin*, that the King would appoint Commissaries,

Commissaries, the Ambassadors withdrew, and his Majesty presently named Count *Piper*, Mr. *Wachshager*, formerly Resident in *Poland*, and Secretary *Hermelin*, to treat with them; but as their Demands were very exorbitant, and on the other hand the King, who was the most jealous Prince in the World of his Glory, would not suffer them to prescribe Laws to him, most Part of the appointed Time for the Conferences passed in supporting the Arguments which were suggested on both Sides, without bringing any thing to a Conclusion.

Violent Disputes happen'd among the Ambassadors themselves, which almost came to Blows. The Waiwode of *Calis* was the Person who chiefly embroiled the Affairs, being a Creature of King *Augustus*, who had made him a Present of a Starosty, the better to support his Interest, and which cost him dear, as we shall see hereafter. This Ambassador, who was a violent Man, and shewed no Respect to any one, and always spoke in a magisterial Voice with great Fierceness, at last incensed his Majesty so much, that he resolved to be no longer amused, and to march directly to *Warsowia* to find out the Enemy.

The Regiment of Horse of *Scania*, commanded by Major-General *Stromberg*, being arrived during these Transactions with some Field-pieces taken at *Kauno*, the King caused the Army to decamp from *Dlougowitz*, and march to *Sykinkuri*, and on the next Day to *Knyfin*. And to rid himself at once of the Ambassadors, who always followed him, the King resolved to quit his Column, and with a small Train, to join that under the Com-

mand of Mr. *Spens*, which was some Leagues distant from the other.

His Majesty having learnt that the Saxons appeared at *Brzescia*, a Town advantageously situated on the River *Bug* and the Confines of *Great Poland* and *Lithuania*, he presently marched thither with Major *Creutz* at the Head of 300 Horse-guards, where he soon arrived, and made himself Master of that Pass, which the Saxons had just abandoned.

This Column continued its March towards *Tykozin*, a Town belonging to the Son-in-law of *Sapieha*, a well-built Place, and in which there are a great many Jews. Here is a little Castle, situated in the Middle of a Morass, which the Swedes had formerly fortified, and kept a long Time, but the Republick had now a little Garrison therein.

The Ambassadors persisted in following the King's Column, and never ceased pressing Count *Piper*, continually flattering themselves that some Resolution would be at last taken in their Favour. But all their Instances were useless, their Demands appearing so exorbitant, that it was thought proper to give them no Satisfaction. At last, finding the King resolved to see them no more, they quitted the Army, and repaired to King *Augustus* at *Warsowia*, giving that Prince an Account of the ill Success of their Negotiation, and assuring him that he had nothing to hope from the King of *Sweden*, whom they had found inflexible.

Upon this *Augustus* set out instantly for *Cracovia*, whither the Army which he had brought from *Saxony* had Orders to march, to oppose the Enterprize

prize of the King of Sweden. He was attended by several Senators, and particularly by those who had consented to his bringing his Saxon Troops into Poland. In the Number of his Attendants in this Journey were the Princes *Lubomirski*; one of which was lately made Great General of the Crown, in the Place of *Potoki*, who had succeeded the brave *Gablonoffski*, and had been Great General no longer than a Fortnight, which gave Room for a Suspicion, that the Death of these two brave Noblemen was not natural: As to the Cardinal-Primate, and the other Senators, they retired home, to wait the Issue of an Adventure which held all Europe in a Suspence.

During the King's Absence, Count *Piper* continued to conduct the Column through *Pembrawa* to *Ostrowia*, where he published his Swedish Majesty's Manifesto, and his Proclamation, addressed to all the Estates of Poland.

The unjust Proceedings of King Augustus were herein set forth at large; and the Wrongs done his Swedish Majesty by that Prince; in what Manner he had violated the Oath made the Republick, and how little Dependence was to be had on so troublesome a Neighbour; that the Republick could take no better Measures than to set a Prince on their Throne, whose peaceable Inclination and constant Friendship with Sweden, would put her into a flourishing Condition, and render her formidable to all those Neighbours who would undertake to give her any Trouble. As to the rest, his Majesty promised to cause the Troops to observe an exact Discipline, provided that they furnished them with Provision and

necessary Subsistence, during the whole Time that he should be obliged to pursue the Enemy in Poland, and as soon as he should have entirely quitted the Country, he assured the Republick to put them to no farther Charge.

From *Ostrowia* the Column marched to *Perembi*, where the King joined them; and they marched the next Day to *Wiskowa* on the Bug, to pass which they set about a Bridge, which was finished the third Day. *Axel Gyllenrock*, Major of the Guards, then received Orders to go before with a Detachment, and post himself at *Prague*, which is the Suburbs of *Warsowia* on this Side of the *Vistula*.

The King followed with the Army, and encamped at *Radzimin*, half-way between *Warsowia* and *Wiskowa*; here they halted one Day, and marched on the following towards *Prague*, taking their Way through a Plain, where his Majesty's Grandfather, of glorious Memory, *CHARLES GUSTAVUS*, King of Sweden, gave Battle, with *FREDERICK WILLIAM*, surnamed the GREAT, Elector of *Brandenburg*, to the Polish Army, which he entirely defeated, after a Battle which lasted three Days, notwithstanding the Superiority of the Enemy.

Charles XII. who had a happy Memory, and well understood History, took great Pleasure in recounting to the Generals, who were about him, such Particulars as could have only been known by a great General, shewing them the Places of Attack, and informing them in what Manner the Squadrons and Regiments were drawn up.

The King lodged at *Prague*, and the Army was distributed along the *Vistula*,

Vistula, and in the neighbouring Villages. Towards the Evening his Majesty commanded Baron *Charles Poff*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Guards, with 400 Men, to pass the *Vistula* in Boats. *Poff* presently took Possession of the Castle in the Town without the least Opposition from the little Garrison of the Republick's Troops. He was made Governor of that Place, where he maintained good Order, notwithstanding the ordinary Insolence of the Populace and the inferior Gentry thereabouts, who are much given to Insurrections. The same Day they set about a Bridge, in order to pass over the Army; but instead of choosing the easiest Place, where there is always a floating Bridge during the Diets, his Majesty made them begin it on the Side of the Suburbs of *Cracovia*, opposite to Prince *Radzivil's* Palace, in the most dangerous Part of the River, where it often runs over its Banks, especially in rainy Seasons, which had now continued several Weeks, notwithstanding which it was remarked that the Water was not risen at that Time.

The King at the same Time was careful to give his Troops some Rest after the laborious and severe Marches they had made. To furnish them with Subsistence, he proposed to the Town to contribute 20000 Crowns, besides other Things of which they were in Want. The Town at first found this Demand so much the more grievous, as the greater Part of the Merchants were retired with all their Effects. They offered 12000, without reckoning Beer and other daily Provisions which they were obliged to furnish.

The Convents only were exempted

from this Tax by the express Orders of his Majesty, as well as the House of *Marianville*, which belonged to the Queen Dowager of *Poland*, and which was inhabited by a great Number of Servants. These Measures, joined to the King's Manifesto printed and made publick, by which he declared he was come as a Friend to the Republick; and lastly, the good Orders carefully observed among the Soldiers, brought back all the Inhabitants which had fled at the King's Approach; who could not sufficiently praise and admire the perfect Discipline which reigned in our Army.

Colonel *Cruus*, who had been employed in levying Contributions in *Samogitia*, was now returned into *Courland* with his Regiment; but as Recruits were daily expected from *Sweden*, for the whole Army, and as we wanted a Magazine for their Subsistence, he detached a Captain from his Regiment, called *Rutenschild*, towards *Janiska* on the Frontiers to gather together Provisions. He had scarce taken his Post before he was surprized by a *Lithuanian* Party, and taken with all his People.

Upon this News Baron *Stuart* detached Colonel *Cruus* with Count *Adam Lewenhaupt* and Baron *Budbusch*, each with his Battalion, to give Chace to the Enemy.

Mr. *Cruus* was very successful in his Expedition; he surprized a *Lithuanian* Partizan, named *Zanarech*, between *Javiski* and *Schaud*, and took from him a Standard, three Pair of Kettle-Drums, and all his Baggage, having pursued him three Leagues without losing a single Man of his own in this Action.

One of the Enemy's Parties attacked, a few Days after, a Captain of Horse, named *Roxman*, who had Orders to go from *Libaw* to *Janiski*. This Enterprize did not succeed; he was so well received by our Troops near *Raumkaski*, that having been pursued into a Morass, he had 40 Men killed, more than 100 wounded, and 24 made Prisoners. Those who escaped having rejoined *Zanareck*, he undertook to attack *Roxman* a second Time, who was posted at *Janiski*, with all the Forces which he could draw together; but he succeeded no better than before, being obliged after a bloody Fight, which lasted from 11 in the Morning to 6 in the Evening, to retreat with the Loss of some hundreds of his Men killed and wounded; the Captain had on his Side no more than 7 Men killed, and 28 wounded.

Upon the *Peipus* there was a very bloody Battle between our little Squadron and a great Number of Russian Vessels, which were transporting Troops into *Livonia*, of which the following Relation was written to the King in High Dutch by *Loscher*, who commanded that Squadron.

S I R,

ON an Information which I received the 27th of May from our Peasants of *Porcassaar*, that the Enemy prepared to attack our Blockhouse, in order to render themselves Masters of the Mouth of the River, I resolved to weigh Anchor with those Vessels under my Command, namely, the Galley *Charles*, the Galley *Vivat*, with a Yacht and six great Shallops, and to

sail the Day following towards *Plescow*.

This I executed on the 28th, by sailing out of the Mouth of the River; and being arrived near *Ismen*, I learn'd that the Enemy had transported some Troops into *Livonia* on 200 Lodiens or Barques, amongst which there were 5 or 6 mounted with three Cannons each. I presently attacked them, and put them to Flight.

In the mean while, as I was in Pursuit of them, I was much surprized, at doubling a Promontory, to find myself surrounded on every Side by 200 little Vessels, which had on board the Transports, with whom I fought for three Hours, from 6 in the Morning till 9. I sunk three of the greatest, out of which not a single Man was saved; this put the others on tacking about, and regaining their own Coast.

The Yacht distinguished herself very much, having received above fifty Cannon Shot in her Flag and Sails, which were shot through and through. The Russian Vessels had each from forty to sixty Men, amounting in the whole to about 10,000. I had but one Man killed, with six others very much wounded. Upon my Pursuit, I found the rest of the Army, Horse and Foot, encamped by the Side of a Wood, near the Sea-shore. I then began to salute them with my Cannon, which obliged them to strike their Tents, and remove farther up into the Country, at the same Time firing on me from a Battery which they had raised and mounted with five Cannons, but without any Success. At my Return toward our Coast, I met a Russian Vessel, which I sunk. We have not, however, taken any Prisoners, the Enemy being

being too strong. I have sent to Colonel Skytt for a Reinforcement of fifty Men, with some Powder.

LOSCHER.

From on board the *Charles*,
May 29, 1702.

This Action did in Truth hinder the Enemy from making an Invasion on *Livonia*; they had however many Rencounters on the *Peipus*, till they had an Opportunity of being reinforced, and getting the Advantage of us, as we shall see a little lower.

The Column of Lieutenant-General *Spens* arrived at last in the Suburbs of *Prag*, where he applied himself without ceasing, to put the Bridge in a Condition of passing over the Army. The Count *Sapieha* Great-Treasurer of *Lithuania* was arrived here, to put himself in a Place of Safety, and to make a Campaign with his Majesty; he had with him his Son the Commissary-General of *Lithuania*, and a small Train of *Polish* Gentlemen.

As the King earnestly wished to see the Cardinal-Primate, Mr. *Watchla-*

ger, the Resident, was sent to desire him to hasten to *Warsovia*. He at first raised some Difficulties on that Proposition, pretending that he would avoid giving any Suspicion in so delicate a Conjunction; but at last he thought better on it, and arrived at *Warsovia* the 30th of May, and had the next Day a publick Audience of the King, who afterwards took him into his Closet, where that Prelate employed all his Eloquence, in endeavouring to bring about an Accommodation with King *Augustus*, representing to him, *That the Deposition of that Prince was not so easy a Matter as it was imagined; and that he could never contribute to it; however, he offered to use his utmost Care and good Offices, to bring Affairs to an amicable Determination, and in that Way to procure his Majesty all the Satisfaction he could desire.**

The King was the more surprized at this unexpected Change in the Cardinal, as that Prelate had himself made the strongest Instances to his Majesty, when he was in *Courland*, to induce

* The other Historians have set the Cardinal in a very different Light from that in which our Author hath represented him. We are not therefore to doubt his Integrity, who very likely might not have been admitted into all the Secrets which passed between the King of Sweden and his Eminence; nor is it indeed certain that his *Swedish* Majesty himself was openly dealt with by that cunning Prelate, who was afterwards rather a Tool to execute that King's Designs, than able, by Means of the *Swedish* Force, to execute his own. His Name was *Radjouski*, and he was Archbishop of *Gnesnia*; governed, says Mr. *Voltaire*, by an ambitious Woman, whom the *Swedes* called *Madam the Cardanalefs*, who continually pushed him on to Intrigue and Faction. King *John Sobieski*, the Predecessor of *Augustus*, had at first made him Bishop of *Warmia*, and Vice-Chancellor of the Kingdom, and he afterwards obtained the Cardinal's Hat by the Favour of this King, which Dignity soon opened to him the Road to the Primacy. This Interview with the King of Sweden was of the Cardinal's own seeking: And to prevent any Umbrage being taken at it, he went to King *Augustus*, and told him, that *Charles* was disposed to an Accommodation; upon which Hope *Augustus* permitted him to go to the King of Sweden, in Company with Count *Lesczynski*, Great-Treasurer of the Crown. And in the Conferences which they had with this Monarch, the Project of dethroning King *Augustus* was brought on the Carpet; to which Purpose all the Cardinal's future Actions very apparently tended, tho' he still played the Hypocrite in his Words. *Voltaire, Puffendorf, &c.*

him to come to *Warsovia*. This Discourse therefore of the Cardinal gave him great Reason to suspect that he had been well paid for it by King *Augustus*.

His Majesty nevertheless gave no Token of his Displeasure; but continued to caress him very particularly, and ordered Count *Piper*, as his first Minister, to pay him a Visit. The Cardinal receiv'd the Count with great Civility, and discoursed with him near two Hours, in the Presence of the Little-General of the Crown.

The Result of the Conference was, that the *Poles* were ready to submit to whatever else the King of *Sweden* should exact of them, but would never attempt to dethrone their King. In all the Conferences which were had with the Cardinal, he always spoke in this Language, whether for the Reason which we have above alledged, or whether he feared the Approach of the *Saxon* Army; or lastly, whether it was that he would not render himself suspected by the Nobility, whose Favour he very much courted.

This Conduct of the Cardinal did not hinder the King from marching directly to the Enemy, to put an End to all the Difficulties which obstructed his Designs by a Battle. However, he entered first into another private Conversation with him in *Lubomirski's* Closet; but the Primate stood firm, and gave not the least Symptom of ever intending to change his Resolution. He alledges as his Reasons, *That he was considered by the Republick, out of the Diet, as only a private Gentleman; that during the King's Life, no other Person could convene a Diet; that if they should elect*

another King, there would never be any Peace in the Republick, the Elector of Saxony being a very powerful Prince, and so near a Neighbour; and lastly, that he would never be reproached with, having dethroned his King.

The Primate concluded his Discourse by making several Propositions to his Majesty, which, as they were only for the Interest of *Poland*, and very far from amounting to such an entire Satisfaction as the King desired, were all rejected. The Cardinal seeing the King very steady in his first Resolution, and not thinking himself safe at *Warsovia* after his Majesty's Departure, had his Audience of Leave, and retired with Count *Leskinski*, to an Estate of his in the Palatinate of *Lublin*.

The King, before his Departure from *Warsovia*, sent an Express to *Pomerania*, with Orders to the General Baron *Nils Gyllenskierna* to enter *Poland* immediately with his Army of 12000 Men, which he had drawn together near *Stetin*, and to come and join him. Baron *Morner* and Count *Stenbock*, Major-Generals, who had remained at *Wilna*, received Orders at the same Time to leave some Troops with Count *Sapijba*, the Great-General, and with the rest to join his Majesty on the Road to *Cracovia*.

As the Bridge on the *Vistula* was finished, the King order'd Mr. *Gyllenkrok*, Major of the Guards, to march before, with 500 Horse, and 300 Foot, to gather up Provisions, and raise Contributions for the Army; and then, after giving an Audience of Leave to the Ambassadors from the Republick, who had remained at *Warsovia*, and a particular Audience to the

the Marquis *de Heron*, the French Envoy, his Majesty departed the 16th of June, and encamped with his Army at *Tarczin*, in the Road of *Cracovia*, passing through *Novemiasfo*, which is the shorter Rout, but very destitute of Provisions, the Palatinates of *Sendamir* and *Cracovia*, through which he was to pass, having declared for King *Augustus*, and the Inhabitants having carried away all their Effects and Provision.

The Army continued its March through *Leoziecki*, whence it came to *Novemiasfo*, where it rested some Days. Thence proceeding to *Drzewioe*, thence to *Gowarkow*, and then marched to *Radozicza*, where they encamped and refreshed themselves for some Days, before they marched to *Gablownova*. Major *Gyllenkrok*, who was now returned from this Expedition, being at *Malogocz* with his Detachment.

The Difficulty of meeting with Provision, caused a Resolution in the King to turn to the Left, towards *Kielce*, where the Country was in a better Condition, and there were not so many Defiles and Forests to pass through, besides that he could that Way more conveniently join *Morner's* Brigade.

The Army decamped the 1st of July from *Radozicza*, and marched to *Kielce*, a Town belonging to the Bishop of *Cracovia*. Here they rested the next Day, which was the Feast of the Visitation. We now received Advice that *Morner* and *Stenbock* had already pass'd the *Vistula* at *Casimir*, and were but 8 Leagues from us. This determined the King to stay some Days at *Kielce*, during which we

learned that King *Augustus* had marched from *Cracovia* towards *Pinschow*, with 5000 Saxons, and that the Army of the Crown, under the Command of Prince *Lubomirski*, was to join him near *Sendamir*.

Colonel *Meyerfelt* was detached with six hundred Horse, to reconnoitre the Enemy. He returned the fifth, without having met with more than an hundred *Valoche* Guards, whom Captain *Fund* pursued to no purpose; but as to the Peasants and Inhabitants of the Country, they had all abandoned it, retreating towards the Saxon Army. The King in the mean Time, attended by the Duke of *Holstein*, and a small Number of Officers, went to look after General *Morner*, who used all possible Diligence to join the Army. His Majesty returned the sixth in the Evening, and gave Orders for the Army's decamping the next Day, and marching to *Opietza*, which is three Quarters of a League from *Clischow*, and that one League and a Half from *Pinschow*.

Augustus was already come to *Clischow* with his Army, where he waited for that of the Crown, which was making great Haste towards him. *Lubomirski* had desired *Augustus* to stay for him, that he might have a Share in the Victory, which he promised himself over our Army, which he knew was not above 12000 strong; nor was our Number of effective Men greater, for we had a great many sick, besides our vast Loss of Horses, occasioned by our long Marches.

The Day after our Arrival at *Opietza*, there was an Alarm in the Camp. A Saxon Party had attacked our advanced Posts, commanded by Major *Ornstedi*,

at

at Eight in the Morning. The Major repulsed them with such Bravery, that several of them were killed, several taken Prisoners, and their Commander wounded. This Shock put them out of any Humour of returning that Day. We lost in this Action Captain *Fagerskioldt*, who was killed, with some Troopers. The King, who hastened up at the first Discharge, and caused the Picquet to advance to engage them in the Action, found it all over at his Arrival.

Mr. *Morner* came to the Camp the same Evening with his Troops, which were very much fatigued, and a great many of them sick. The Arrival of these Troops gave his Majesty much Pleasure, who now took a Resolution to give Battle to King *Augustus's* Army, notwithstanding the Superiority of the Numbers of the latter, and the very advantageous Situation in which they were posted; and accordingly, Orders were given to march the next Day towards the Enemy.

We shall here give a perfect Relation of that glorious Day, as it was written by Mr. *Ebrenschants*, a Lieutenant-Colonel, who was always near the King during the whole Action; which Relation was afterwards presented to his Majesty in the *Swedish* Language.

In order to a perfect Comprehension of what passed in this Battle, it will be necessary to recapitulate some Circumstances which passed a few Days before it.

The King being arrived the 1st of July with his Army at *Kielce*, an episcopal Town of *Cracovia*, being informed of King *Augustus's* March from *Cracovia*, detached Colonel *Meyer-*

feldt, with 600 Horse, to reconnoitre the Enemy. This Detachment marched out of the Camp on the 2d of July in the Night, and advanced to a Village called *Opietza*, near which 200 Cossacks lay in Ambuscade, in a Wood which covers the Village; they fell in with a small advanced Body of 30 Horse, commanded by Mr. *Funk*, Captain of the King's Dragoons, who repulsed them so bravely, that he dissipated and put them to Flight, killing and wounding many of them, without being able to make a single Prisoner.

On this News of the Enemy's Approach, the King ordered the Army to march on the 7th from *Kielce*, and to encamp at *Opietza* three Quarters of a League from *Glischow*, where King *Augustus* lay with his Army; and without waiting for Mr. *Morner*, Major-General of Horse, who had passed the *Vistula* at *Casimir*, and was but a Day's March from us, his Majesty resolved the next Morning at the Break of Day to attack the King of *Poland* in his Camp; however, he at last yielded to the Instances of his Generals, who advised him to defer the Attack till the Day after, in hopes that Mr. *Morner* would not fail to come up, which he did accordingly, and joined the Army the Evening before the Battle.

The 8th of July, 1702, in the Morning, while the King was busy in observing the Foragers, he perceived a Party of the Camp-guard, under the Command of Mr. *Ornstedt*, Major of Dragoons, engaged with some of the Enemy's Troops; he ran directly to them, with as many as he could get together; and gave Orders,

at

at the same Time, to the Picquet to march : The Business was over before he came up, and the Enemy, which consisted of 200 Saxons, and about 100 Cossacks, put to Flight ; we pursued them, killed twenty, and took about eight or nine Prisoners. On our Side, Baron *Fagerskioldt*, a Captain in the King's Regiment of Horse, was killed, and Captain *Tyrol*, of the same Regiment, with some Troopers, were wounded.

The Night which preceded the Day of Battle seemed extremely long to the King, who was impatient to see the Event of an Action, which could scarce fail of being decisive. The 9th, about six in the Morning, his Majesty drew up his Army, which was composed of 12,000 fighting Men, in order of Battle at the Head of his Camp. This Day had been already rendered famous by the glorious Passage of the *Duna*, which happened on the 9th of *July* in the preceding Year.

The Army was drawn up in two Lines, the Horse on the Wings, and the Foot in the Center ; the King placed himself at the Head of the first Line on the Right, having with him Baron *Rheinschild*, a Lieutenant-General, Baron *Morner*, and Baron *Horn*, both Major-Generals of Horse : This Wing was composed of thirteen Squadrons, *viz.* one of Royal Dragoons, under Colonel *Hamilton*, one of the King's Drabans, commanded by Count *Wrangle*, a Colonel, and Lieutenant of the Drabans, who had with him Lieutenant-Colonel *Otto Wrangle*, of the same Corps ; seven Squadrons of the Regiment of Horse-Guards, under the Command of Baron *Creutz*, a Major ; and four Squadrons

of the *Ostrogoths*, which were led by Mr. *Burenskold*, Lieutenant-Colonel of that Regiment.

His most serene Highness the Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp* led the first Line of the Left Wing, having under him Baron *Welling*, General of Horse, and Major-General *Stromberg* : This consisted of twelve Squadrons, the First being of the King's Dragoons, under Lieutenant-Colonel *Rotblieb* ; two Squadrons of the Horse-Guards, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Skyttenbielm* and Captain *Lybecker* ; three Squadrons of *Smoland*, commanded by Lieutenant *Strahlhammar* ; and six Squadrons of *Scania*, under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Ridderkants*.

Baron *Liewen*, Lieutenant-General, and Count *Magnus Stenbock*, Major-General, both of Foot, were in the main Body, at the Head of the Foot of the first Line ; which consisted of twelve Battalions, four of the Guards, of which Count *Sperling*, Major, commanded the Granadiers ; Lieutenant-Colonel Baron *Poss*, the second Battalion ; Quarter-Master-General *Gyllenbrok*, the Third ; and Baron *Arfvidson*, a Captain, the Fourth ; two Battalions of *Upland*, under Lieutenant-Colonel *Holst*, and Major *de Post* ; two Battalions of *Wormland*, commanded by Colonel *Roos*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Cronmann* ; two Battalions of *Wasmanland*, under Baron *Axel Sparr*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Feilitz* ; lastly, two Battalions of *Dahl-Carlens*, led by Lieutenant-Colonel *Siegroth*, and Baron *Swinhusvud*, a Captain.

In the second Line, Lieutenant-Colonel *Spens* led eight Squadrons on

the Right; the First of Royal Dragoons under Captain *Funk*, three Squadrons of the Horse-Guards under Captain *Wessel*, and four of *Ostrogots*, commanded by Major *Sturkenfelt*. On the Left, Major-General *Nieroth* was at the Head of eight Squadrons, one of Royal Dragoons, under Baron *Creutz*, a Captain; five Squadrons of *Smoland*, commanded by Baron *Morner*, a Major, and two Squadrons of *Scania*, led by Major *Ridderkiöld*.

The Foot of the second Line consisted of six Battalions, commanded by Major-General *Poss*, whereof the two first of *Westerboth*, on the Right, were led by Colonel *Fersen* and Major *Biornbusvud*; the two other of *Calmar* and *Smoland* on the Left were commanded by Colonel *Rank*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Silwersparr*; and the two Battalions of *Tremanning* in the Middle, were led by the Lieutenants-Colonels *Ekeblad* and *Hammerbielm*. The reserved Body consisted only of 100 Dragoons of *Albedybl's* Regiment, under the Command of Major *Trautsetter*, who was afterwards commanded with a Battalion of *Tremanning* to cover the Baggage.

The King chose Baron *Taub*, Aid-de-camp-general, to carry his Orders through the Right Wing; Mr. *Ducker*, Aid-de-camp-general, for the Left; and Mr. *Buchwald*, Aid-de-camp-general, for the Center. His Majesty kept only Major-General *Albedybl*, Colonel *Lagercrona*, Aid-de-camp-general, Colonel *Meyerfelt*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Erenschants*, and Mr. *Sheven*, Fort-Major, near his Person, to receive his Orders in Case of Necessity.

The King having ordered this Dis-

position, in which we were afterwards obliged to make some small Alterations in the Time of Action, according to the Occurrences, giving, with a loud Voice, his usual Word, *With God's Assistance*, waited with Impatience for the Enemy's Army, which we had heard in the Morning were in full March to attack us; but as they did not appear, and we heard no farther News of them, his Majesty resolved, according to his first Project, to go and attack them in their own Camp.

To which Purpose he made all the Army pass through the Wood about Nine in the Morning, and gained the Plain, which is on the other Side; the Right Wing marching in two Columns, and the Left in Order of Battle, because the Wood is more open and more passable on that Side; when we were arrived here, we discovered two Bodies of the Enemies Troops near the Wood on the Left; but they retreated, without mistrusting any more than that a large Body of *Swedes* were advancing.

King *Augustus* was said to have been here in Person; and that having only seen our Left Wing, (the Columns of the Right Wing being hidden from him by some Hills) he gave himself no Trouble about us; an Error which afterwards cost him dear. The Army continued their March in four Columns, through the Extent of the Plain, at the End of which, there being a Wood, the King made them all wheel half round to the Right; passing along by the Side of the Wood, which was on their Left, and leaving the Village of *Groscow* on their Right. Now we discovered the Enemy's

my's Camp, it being precisely Noon. The King, to prevent the Enemy's Knowledge of the Arrival of his whole Army, ordered all the Horse to lower their Standards, and the Foot to furl their Colours, and carry them down, as well as the Pikes, which made the Enemy judge it was only a large Body, detached to *reconnoitre* them; in which false Opinion they remained very quiet in their Camp, thinking they had nothing to fear.

The King then ordered the Right Wing to pass round the Corner of the Wood to the Left, while the Left Wing under the Duke of *Holstein*, marched directly forward with the Foot; so that all the Army drew up at once, in the Order we have above represented, within Cannon-shot of the Enemy, and on the Back of the Wood they had just passed.

The Enemy now took the Alarm, seeing all our Army advancing in Order of Battle, they presently beat the General, and gave the Signal by the Discharge of two Cannon, the third not going off.

The King, attended by the Duke of *Holstein* and the Generals, went instantly to *reconnoitre* the Ground in Person, and found the Attack very difficult, not to say impracticable, on Account of the Morasses with which the Enemy's Camp was almost surrounded. The Head of the Camp was fixed on a rising Ground, which commands all the Country round it, and whence the Cannon which was there mounted, played on all the Avenues, and hindered our Approach. Before this Place, there were two Morasses, at a Mile Distance from each other, that on the Right beginning at a Village

named *Coquet*, and the other between *Coquet* and the Village of *Kirbitza*; reaching the whole Length of their Camp, and ending in a Pond or Brook on their Left, surrounded with Bogs, near the Village of *Rembowa*, which protected their Wing; and beyond this Pond a third Morass was extended in the Form of a Half-moon, behind their Camp almost as far as their Right; and was flanked by a thick and shady Wood: In short, a Post so advantageously situated for Defence, and so difficult to be attacked, would have disconcerted any one but *Charles XII.*

His Majesty seeing the absolute Impossibility of attacking the Enemy, as they stood in Battalia, at the Head of their Camp, making a very smart Fire on us from their Artillery, performed the Part of a great General, and ordered the Army to wheel a little to the Left, to gain the rising Ground, and disengage themselves from the Morasses, which absolutely hindered them from acting.

This Motion obliged the Enemy to change their Disposition; and quitting their advantageous Situation, to draw towards the Right, passing through some marshy Ground, and the Village of *Coquet*, where the Defiles produced the Effect which the King of Sweden had promised himself.

The Enemy now ranged the Crown Army, consisting of 12000 Men, on the Right, with the *Cossacks* in their Flank, and lined them with the other *Pancras* and *Poles*, armed Cap-a-pee, in Ranks at certain Distances, according to their Manner, before the Village of *Kye*; wherein they committed a great Error, the Ground there being

properer far the Saxons to act in, whose Situation was by this Means embarrassed. Their Right Wing of Horse was ranged before the Village of *Coquot* in several Lines, and from thence to their Left was a Line of Saxon Foot, with a Morass both before and behind them.

Whilst the two Armies made these Motions, we perceived the Enemy's Left Wing of Horse beginning to defile along the Village of *Rembowa*, to fall on the Right Flank of the Swedish Army: His Majesty being acquainted with this, answered sternly, *Let them do it*; not doubting but that they would be repulsed with Vigour. About two in the Afternoon, the King, having thus gained the rising Ground, as well as all that which lay between the Wood and the Morass, thought proper to line the Squadrons with some Regiments of Foot, viz. those of *Dahl-Earlers*, *Wesmanland*, and *Wormland*, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Liewen* and Count *Stenbock*; at the same Time ordering the Regiment of *Calmar* to have an Eye on the Flank.

The Duke of *Holstein* was now ordered to begin the Attack; but while this brave Prince was preparing to march, he unfortunately received a shot from a Falconet in his Body, which obliged him to have himself conveyed to a poor Cottage hard by, where he died a few Hours afterwards.

This Wing, however, began the Attack with such Vigour, and Success, that the *Poles*, after having stood the two first Shocks, found themselves unable to support a third; and as the Swedes always gained Ground on them, without giving them Time to consider,

they began to turn about, and at last ran away full Speed, through the Village of *Kye*; nor was it possible to bring them any more back to the Charge.

General *Welling*, who, after the Duke of *Holstein's* Death, commanded on the Left till the King came thither himself, seeing the Saxon Horse drawn up in several Lines, and led by Mr. *Flemming*, proposed to attack them Front and Rear, himself making Head against them with four Squadrons of *Scania*, and ordering one Squadron of that Regiment, at the same Time, to attack the Enemy in Flank; by which Means they were so vigorously pressed from all Quarters, that after a very bloody and obstinate Dispute on both Sides, the Saxons began to give Way, and retreated full Speed to the Village of *Coquot*; in their Way to which Place they were exposed to the Fire of our Regiments of Foot, namely, the Guards, *Upland*, and *Westerbothn*, who by their Discharges on them completed their Rout.

Our Foot in the mean Time having safely past the Morass, prepared to attack the Enemy's Foot, who had several Pieces of Ordnance, and a *Chevaux de Frise* before them, which defended their whole Line from one End to the other. Notwithstanding which advantageous Situation, Major-General *Poss*, who commanded our Foot, attacked those of the Enemy so roughly, and with such Valour, that he broke and routed them several Times, took their Cannon, put them to Flight, and pursued them over a Morass which was in the Enemy's Rear, beyond that rising Ground which led to their Camp, where being all

all broke and disordered, they dispersed themselves several Ways.

A Battalion of *Saxon* Guards met in their Retreat with the Battalion of *Tremanning*, newly raised, and commanded by Mr. *Ekebladt*, which made a great Slaughter among them. Those under young *Steinau*, Brother of the Veldt-Marshal, attempting to retreat in Order, fell in with a Battalion of the Regiment of *Upland*, which attacked them with such Vigour, that, after killing a great many of them, they drove them on a Battalion of *Calmar*, and three Squadrons of *Burenskioldt*, who entirely defeated them, and forced them to throw down their Arms, without suffering one to escape.

While all this passed in the Center and on our Left, where the King was, the Left of the Enemy, commanded by the Veldt-Marshal *Steinau*, after having leisurely defiled through the Village of *Rembowa*, as we have said above, fell with great Fury on our Right, which they attacked in Front, in Flank, and in the Rear. The Fight was very bloody, and the Victory very stoutly disputed. In the mean Time the Generals *Rheinschild*, *Spens*, *Morner*, and *Horn*, who commanded there, and had at the first Shock very bravely sustained all the Efforts of the Enemy, who were very much superior to us in Horse, perceiving that their second Line endeavoured to gain the Wood which was in the Rear of the *Swedes*, and that their first Line had got between them and the Village of *Brotzin*, to cut them off from that Village; these Generals, I say, seconded by the incomparable Bravery of our Squadrons, which were in

very close Order, took an immediate Resolution to draw up with a double Front; and Mr. *Spens*, at the Head of some Squadrons of the Horse-Guards, and of the *Ostrogoths*, facing those who approached on the Side of the Wood, overthrew them after a bloody Battle, and obliged them to join their first Line, having however first done all that could be expected from brave Men.

The *Saxons*, surprized at a Defence so much beyond their Expectation, and at the incredible Efforts of Bravery in our Drabans and other Troops, which, without firing, defeated Sword in Hand all that they encountred, and, attacking their Squadrons, overthrew them one after another, resolved at last on an hasty Retreat; which they executed with great Precipitation, lest it should be cut off by the *Swedish* Foot, who were yet engaged with that of the Enemy, and from whom they were separated only by a Morass. But as our Horse pressed them too close at their Heels to permit an orderly Retreat, so, being put into Confusion, they ran over each other, and, after the greater Part of the Squadrons had passed the Defile, the rest threw themselves all together into the Village of *Virbitza*.

Our Troops having surrounded them on all Sides, they had nothing left them but to cut their Way thro' Sword in Hand, which they attempted; but after having cut through our Horse, they had the Misfortune to meet our victorious Foot, to whose Fire they were so terribly exposed, that most of those who were not killed or wounded, were mired in the Morass; and, to complete their Distress, the

the few who escaped endeavouring to take the Road by which the Left Wing had fled above the Village of *Virbitza*, met three Squadrons of *Scania*, commanded by General *Welling*, who were returning by the King's Orders from the Pursuit of the Enemy to join the Right Wing; these pushed them into the Village of *Coquot*, and put them to the Sword, except some few, who were drowned in the Canal in that Village.

In the mean Time the *Saxon* Horse of the Left Wing, which had escaped the Heat of the Action, took Possession of a rising Ground, very commodious to draw up in; where perceiving the Approach of our Squadrons, they gave them Time to defile over the Morass and range themselves, and then attacked them with all imaginable Bravery. Both Sides fought with great Fury; and had it not been for the extraordinary Exploits of our Squadrons, especially the *Drabans*, the Enemy had penetrated through to our Foot; but finding every where an equal Resistance, that brave Body of Horse was broke, and, after having perform'd as much as could be expected from them, were at last entirely routed, and pursued into the Morass behind their Camp, between the Villages of *Cliffow* and *Rambowa*, where many of them were drowned, and the rest owed their Escape to the extreme Drought of the Season. The *Saxon* Foot had already saved themselves the same Way under favour of the last Fight, and through the prodigious Efforts of their Horse.

King *Augustus*, now seeing all lost, hastened at the Head of the Right Wing and the Crown-Army to *Plinf-*

chow, whence he took the Road of *Cracovia* with the scatter'd Remains of his Army, the *Poles* having secured themselves at *Sandomir*.

The Ardour of the King's Troops still remained, after a Battle of four Hours; but his Majesty, who since the Death of the Duke of *Holstein* had fought at the Head of the Left Wing, perceiving that they were much fatigued, recalled all those who were in the Pursuit, and at 6 in the Evening entered the Enemy's Camp to the Sound of Kettle-Drums and Trumpets.

We found in the Camp 48 Pieces of Cannon, 12 of Twelve-pounders, and 26 of Three-pounders, with all their Artillery and Ammunition. We had 300 Men killed, and 800 wounded in this Action. The Foot-Guards, who performed Wonders that Day, suffered the most; Major-General *Poss*, who commanded them, being very dangerously wounded.

The Enemy lost near 2000 Men killed and wounded, besides 1700 made Prisoners: '(According to *Pufendorf*, there were 4000 *Saxons* killed, and 2000 taken Prisoners, without reckoning the *Poles*, which is indeed a Number more agreeable to a Victory that is agreed on all hands to have been complete, and also to the Account which our Author himself gives of the Action.)' In the Morass behind the Camp, through which the Enemy fled, we found all their Baggage, which was there mired, particularly King *Augustus's* magnificent Equipage, with his Mules, Plate, and Military Chest; likewise all the Waggon's belonging to the *Russian* Envoy, who had saved him-
self

self at the Beginning of the Battle, and had left 12000 Crowns in Specie behind him.

All this was the next Day given up to be plundered, which, together with the fine Tents, and the rest of what was found in great Abundance in the Camp was very convenient for our Troops, who having left all their heavy Baggage in *Courland*, were very thinly provided with Equipages.

We took likewise some Ladies in the same Morass, with a great Number of Women and Children, who were all civilly treated, and soon after sent back. The Evening of the Battle the King caused *Te Deum* to be sung in the Camp, to give God Thanks for that signal Victory which he had just obtained.

The only Thing which cast a Damp on this publick Joy, was the Death of the great Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*, with which the King was sensibly afflicted, and which all the Army extremely lamented, on Account of his Bravery, Generosity, and Greatness of Soul. His Body was embalmed, and some Time after carried to *Holstein*, as we shall see below.

The Day after this glorious Battle, in which we gained so complete a Victory over an Enemy so advantageously posted, and so much stronger than ourselves, the King caused all the Dead to be buried, and ordered great Care to be taken of the Wounded, and that they should be convey'd as soon as possible into Houses for their better Accommodation. He then detached Major *Creutz* with some hundred Horse and Dragoons to make himself Master of *Plinsebow* Castle, a League and Half from the Camp,

through which the *Saxons* had pass'd and repass'd to *Cracovia*. The Major presently took Possession of the Town and the Castle, whose advantageous Situation on the River *Nida* render'd it very difficult to be attack'd.

The King, who came thither the next Day with a small Train, seemed surprized, that the Enemy had not expected us in this Place, instead of marching forwarder, and posting themselves, as they had done, between two Morasses; by which Means *Augustus* might have defended himself with more Advantage, and the Victory would at least have been longer disputed. It is very certain, that King had very bad Counsellors on this Occasion; and 'tis as true, that the Loss of this Battle was a fatal Blow to *Saxony*.

The King gave immediate Orders to conduct all the Wounded, both *Swedes* and *Saxons*, to *Plinsebow*, where the Air is much wholsomer, and the Water better. The Officers, who lodged in the Castle, were treated at his own Table. His Majesty resolved to leave them here under a good Guard, and not to burden himself with them when he should pursue the Enemy, as he propos'd. The *Saxon* Artillery arriv'd first the next Day under a good Escort, the Sick and Wounded the Day afterwards; then followed all the Army, and encamped on the Banks of the *Nida*, in a fine Plain below the Town. Count *Zinzendorff*, who succeeded Count *Wetiz* in Quality of Envoy from the Emperor, arriv'd now at his Majesty's Camp. As the King had no Leisure to give him Audience, he departed instantly for *Cracovia*, to wait for a more

more favourable Opportunity. He had already been at *Kielce* for that Purpose, but could not speak with his Majesty there. We now sent back all the Ladies, who had been made Prisoners, with an Escort to the Frontiers of *Silesia*; among whom was the Wife of a Colonel, and the Wives of several other Officers.

As to the *Saxon* Prisoners, who beside the Wounded amounted to 1100 Men, the Council of War was divided in their Opinions concerning what Methods were to be taken; but at length his Majesty found out a Mean, which was, neither to send them back, nor to keep them all Prisoners, but retaining only the Natives of *Saxony*, permitted the others, which amounted to 900 Men, to enter themselves, with some of their Officers, into his Service. He formed a small Body of them, which he sent to *Pomerania*, to be distributed among the Fortresses, causing two Months Pay to be advanced to them. But these Troops were scarce arrived on the Borders of *Silesia*, when they mutinied, abused their Officers, and disbanded, many of them returning back to King *Augustus*.

After his Majesty had settled every Thing for the Wounded, Sick and Prisoners, he left Lieutenant-Colonel *Feilitz* at *Plinschow* to cover them with a small Body of Foot and Dragoons, which were also to levy Contributions, and keep the *Polish* Parties and *Cossacks* thereabouts in Order. The Army then decamped, and advanced (three Leagues) to *Skalmiers*.

We ought not here to forget to give an Account of some Actions which happened about this Time, as well in

Courland as *Livonia*. *Bandomir*, a *Polish* Partizan, having on the 15th of *June* surprized the Quarters of our Dragoons near *Seelburg* during the Absence of Lieutenant-Colonel *Bunneer*, who was at *Mittau*, carried off all their Equipage, and killed 29 Dragoons and a Drummer. Captain *Swab* was also made Prisoner in this Encounter, with a Lieutenant and some Dragoons. We shall soon see in what Manner our Troops found an Opportunity of being revenged.

The Battle of *Einbeck* in *Livonia* is of somewhat more Importance, and deserves to be here reported. The following is a Relation of it. After Mr. *Loscher's* Action, whereof we have before spoken, the Czar, being desirous to take an Advantage of the King of *Sweden's* Absence, had drawn together a very considerable Army on the Frontiers near *Plescow* and *Pitschur*, to make an Irruption into *Livonia*, and put all to Fire and Sword. The better to spread his Army, he had divided it into different Bodies, some stronger than others. That which marched on the Side of *Waskenarwa* was very roughly handled by Lieutenant-Colonel *Stahlbom*, who at the Head of 400 Men only took from the *Russians*, who were infinitely his Superiors, a Post called *Ablfang*, and drove them quite out of that Country.

Fourteen Vessels having appeared on the *Peipus* in the Latitude of *Por-kazara*, *Loscher*, who commanded our Squadron, gave Orders to Captain *Hokenslycht* to go with the armed Galley named *Vivat* to reconnoitre them. As soon as he had doubled the Promontory, he saw himself immediately surrounded on all Sides by the Enemy's Squadron.

Squadron. Our Vessels, which saw this, could not come to his Assistance, on account of the Calm which happen'd at that Instant; so that the Captain of the Galley, after having defended himself two Hours together with astonishing Bravery, and having spent all his Ammunition; he then blew up his Vessel and a great Number of *Muscovites* at the same Time. All the Crew perish'd, except a single Priest, who had sav'd himself at first in a small Shallop, and brought the News of the Defeat. This passed on the 11th of July.

The 16th of the same Month Major-General *Schlippenbach* had Advice, that the Main of the *Muscovite* Army, consisting of 50,000 Men, had passed the Frontiers, and was already arrived at *Eratser*. The 17th the advanced Guards were alarmed by the Enemy's Parties. Mr. *Schlippenbach*, who had in all but 6000 Men, detach'd Baron *Ungern* of *Sternberg*, Great Hunter of *Livonia*, who perfectly knew the Topography of the Country, with 300 Horse to reconnoitre them. Having met a Party of 2000 Horse, he attacked them, and after having routed them, he drove them back to the Body of their Army. He then retreated, and was pursued home to the Picket of *Schlippenbach's* Army, which was drawn up in Order of Battle; and coming to his Assistance, obliged the Enemy to stop, and retreat with great Precipitation.

Mr. *Schlippenbach* now went himself without Loss of Time to reconnoitre their Forces and Designs; and seeing the Enemy cause their Troops to defile cross the Morass at *Taggaval* to surround them on all Sides, he in-

stantly retreated towards the River *Embach* to dispute the Enemy's Passage, in case they should follow him. This Retreat was perform'd in good Order over two Bridges, which he had made; but as the Heat of the Season had brought the River very low, and the Enemy had passed over the Ford and on Pontons in several Places, the General found himself obliged to stand his Ground, and draw up in Order of Battle.

The Fight began at Six in the Morning; and notwithstanding the Enemy's superior Number, our Troops, after a Fight of two Hours, repulsed them, broke them, and put them to Flight, and pursued them as far as the River *Embach*, taking from them six Field-Pieces, and a great Part of their Baggage: Here the Action was very hot; the Enemy, who could not save themselves by Flight, defended themselves in Despair, and, having received Succours, they at last made our Horse give Ground, who throwing themselves on the Foot, put them in Disorder, whilst themselves ran away full Speed; nor could Mr. *Schlippenbach* or the Officers make them rally, or bring them back to the Charge.

The abandon'd Foot were now entirely defeated, except a small Number which saved themselves in the Woods. The General seeing all lost, retreated towards *Pernau*, with as many of his broken Troops as he could get together. He was obliged after this Defeat to abandon all this Country to the *Russians*, who plunder'd it, set Fire to the little Town of *Walk*, where they inhumanly murder'd the Inhabitants, and carried all those who fell into their Hands, as well young

as old, into Slavery : However, they did not as yet undertake the Siege of *Dorpt* ; and instead of improving the Advantage they had gained, they re-passed the Frontiers according to Custom.

Augustus, who had retreated to *Cracovia* after the Battle of *Cliffowa*, thought of nothing but of drawing up the Remainder of his Army, and to put himself in a Condition to oppose the new Enterprizes of the King of *Sweden*. This King, having received a Reinforcement of eight Regiments, which General *Robel* had brought him from *Saxony*, caus'd an Intrenchment to be made, which should cover his Camp, in case that the King of *Sweden* should attack him, as he had great Reason to apprehend. He sent back Baron *Sack* to his *Swedish* Majesty ; the Baron was a Captain of the King of *Sweden*'s own Regiment of Horse, and had been made Prisoner at the Battle of *Cliffowa*, through the Impetuosity of his Horse, which had carried him into the Middle of his Enemies Squadrons.

The Baron returned to the King's Camp with several Propositions of Peace on the Behalf of King *Augustus* ; but they were all rejected. In the mean Time his *Swedish* Majesty, that he might not be behind hand with the King of *Poland* in Generosity and Politeness, returned him thirteen *Saxon* Officers the same Evening, having first magnificently treated them at his Court. And as he heard on all Sides that the King of *Poland* had a Design to repair to *Leopold*, to avoid a second Battle, Count *Stenbock* was detached the same Night the shortest Way towards the *Vistula*. The King pre-

sently caused the Foot with the Artillery and Baggage to pass over the River, which being not very deep in this Place, tho' pretty wide, the Horse, to gain Time, passed at a Ford ; so that the whole Army was got over by the Evening, and encamped near *Solomna*, where they rested one Day, and the next Day proceeded to *Bochnia*, a little Town, where there are Salt-pits, five Leagues from *Cracovia*.

Augustus, having timely Notice by the *Cossacks* and his Parties of the King's March, departed suddenly, and prevailed so much by their long Marches, that his Army decamped from *Bochnia* the same Morning that ours was on their March thither. His Rear-guard appearing on a high Mountain to observe us, his Majesty mistook them for the Van-guard, and made the Army hastily pass a little River which empties itself into the *Vistula*, and there ranging them in Battalia, advanced briskly towards the Mountain, not doubting but that he was on the Point of giving them Battle. But the Rear-guard of the Enemy, contented with having observed our Motions, and covered the March of the main Body of their Army, which had already gained a League of us, hastened to join them full Speed. The King therefore, at his Arrival at *Bochnia*, seeing that it was impossible to overtake them, encamped his own Army near a Castle before the Town, in which there remained a few *Saxons* with one Baggage Waggon and some Tents.

The next Day the King, as he was riding out on Horseback with Count *Stenbock*, and twenty Officers, hearing that the *Valoches* had come to a Village near his Camp, and had killed some

some Soldiers who were looking after Provisions, his Majesty hastened thither; and whilst he was riding backwards and forwards to discover whether any of the Enemy were there, he was all of a sudden attacked by a large Party, who had lain in Ambuscade among the Houses, who came out upon him with a great Outcry.

The King, who was insensible of the Danger, presently engaged them, repulsed them, and pursued them near a Quarter of a League out of the Village; but as their Number continually increased, it was necessary for him to think of a Retreat before it was cut off, especially as the *Valoches* were in Possession of a Bridge over which we were to return. The King then resolved to go directly up to them, and to present his Pistol without firing till he was sure of his Mark. This Boldness discomfited them, and gave his Majesty with Count *Stenbock* and several Officers an Opportunity to pass.

Colonel *Dabldorf* and Mr. *Nils Rosenstierna*, Captain of the Guards, were wounded and made Prisoners, their Horses being too much fatigued to save them. A Page named *Klinkowstrom* was shot through the Arm by an Arrow, and several of those Officers who escaped were wounded by Sabres and Tartarian Picks, which are called *Copeies*.

The Picket of the Army having heard the Fire, advanced with great Haste; but the *Valoches* had the Prudence to retreat at their Arrival, and to carry their Prisoners away with them. The King returned safely to the Camp, without having received the least Hurt, tho' he had never been in greater Danger, his Horse twice fallen

under him in the Middle of his Enemies.

The King having lost all Hopes of bringing the Enemy to a Battle, turned towards *Cracovia*, to stay for the Arrival of General *Gyllenstierna*, who came from *Pomerania* with 12000 Men to reinforce him. The Army staid some Days on the Road near the Convent of *Stauenko*, three Leagues from *Bochnia*, where the Duke of *Mecklenbourg-Swerin* arrived, and had an immediate Audience of the King. At the same Time two Deputies from the Palatinate of *Cracovia* came to beseech his Majesty to have Pity on their Country, which had already suffer'd much by the Saxon Army that had staid some Time amongst them. They offered to furnish his Majesty with Provision and whatever he would exact for the Subsistence of his Troops. This Submission was very well received, and they departed well satisfied with the Promises which were delivered him in Writing on the Behalf of his Majesty by Mr. *Hermelin*, Secretary of the Chancery, which assured them of his Protection, and that he would take Care to make his Troops observe a most exact Discipline.

From thence the Army marched directly to *Cracovia*, a large and fine City situated on the *Vistula*, where the Kings of *Poland* are commonly crowned, and where they often fix their Residence. It is surrounded by an old Wall, with a Mote, and has very large and beautiful Suburbs. The Castle is sufficiently strong to make some Resistance in case of an Attack, and by that Means to obtain an honourable Capitulation.

When our Army presented itself before

before *Cracovia*, the Starost *Francis Vielopolski*, who commanded there, caused all the Gates to be shut, as well of the Town as the Castle, making a Shew of pretending to defend himself with the small Garrison of the Crown, which he had under his Command. The King, incensed at seeing a Place of so little Consequence dare to dispute the Entrance of a victorious Army, embark'd a Detachment of 400 Men under the Command of Count *Stenbock*, on several Boats which we found on the *Vistula*, and made them pass over to the other Side, the *Saxons* having taken the Precaution to break down the Bridge which usually stood in that Place.

This Detachment having found the Gates of the Suburb of *Casimir* open, enter'd them without any Opposition, and advanced up to the Gates of the Town, which were shut, and provided with Guards. The Count caused them immediately to be summon'd in his Majesty's Name to surrender; and having had no other Answer, than that they had lost the Keys, he desired to speak with the Governor, who, after much Difficulty, came to confer with him in an Out-work, which was only of Wood armed with Balisades and an Iron Gate. The Count summon'd him again to open the Gates to the King, shewing him the Danger to which he exposed himself and the Town by a longer Resistance: He represented to him especially the good Intelligence which subsisted between his Majesty and the Republick, and that they had every where opened the Gates to the Swedes. The Governor's Answer was, that the Town and Castle had been intrusted to him by the King

his Master, and that he could not surrender them without making a Defence.

In the Middle of this Dispute, and whilst the Count was beginning to threaten the Governor, that if he did not open the Gates immediately, they would be all put to the Sword without having any Favour to expect, the King, impatient for the Event of this Affair, and who had passed the River, came up to the Governor without making himself known to him, and ordered him in *French* to open the Gates instantly, saying to him, *Ouvre la Porte*. The Governor, who knew not the King, made him no Answer; at which he being to the last Degree enraged, order'd the Gates to be instantly attacked and forced; which Orders were executed with so much Vigour, that the Governor had scarce Time to regain the great Gate of the Town, which the King entered at the same Time. As his Majesty had forbid them to fire, they forced the Guards with their Swords, Bayonets and Canes, to throw down their Arms. The King, pursuing his Point, detached presently some Platoons to secure the Streets, which were all full of Gentry on Horseback, and to disarm the Main-guard in the Market-place. Charles himself with a small Party pursued the Governor so briskly, who fled towards the Castle to defend himself, that he enter'd at the same Time with him with his Sword in his Hand; 200 Men being the Guard, were so disconcerted, that they presently threw down their Arms.

At this Instant a Lieutenant of the Artillery had the Boldness to attempt

to give Fire to a Cannon which was pointed at the Gate against the *Swedes*, who crowded in to follow the King. His Majesty perceiving him caught him by the Throat, threw him down, and snatched the Match out of his Hand. The Governor now perceiving himself in the Hands of the *Swedes*, and knowing that the King was there in Person, approached his Majesty, and threw down his Arms, desiring his Favour; but it was now too late, so that he was arrested and made Prisoner. The Deputies of the Palatinate in vain interceded on his Behalf; he was kept Prisoner till he had paid a large Sum of Money for his Ransom.

The Conduct of *Vielopolski* on this Occasion, was condemn'd by his own Countrymen; for when he should have either taken Measures to have defended himself, or have surrender'd the Town and Castle with a good Grace, he did neither the one nor the other; and by his false Bravery incensed a Prince who was inur'd to Conquest, and whom he could not resist. Count *Stenbock* was made Governor of the Town, which paid very dear for the rash Resistance of their late Governor; and the Inhabitants were condemn'd in 100000 Crowns Contribution, besides the Provisions which they were oblig'd to furnish the Garrison with, which consisted of three Regiments of Foot, which the King plac'd here to keep the Town and Suburbs in Order.

To open a free Communication, they began at the same Time to throw a Bridge over the *Vistula*, which was finish'd the next Day, but was carry'd away a few Days afterwards by a great Over-flowing of the River, occasion'd by the Rains which fell on the *Hunga-*

rian Mountains, where this River rises. These Waters likewise overflow'd the Quarters of some Regiments of Horse, which were encamp'd on the Banks of the *Vistula*. The Bridge was, however, soon repair'd, and the King brought all the Sick into the Town, for their better Accommodation.

All this while the *Valoches*, who from *Clischow* had never ceased to attend our Army, continually harrassed those Parties which we were oblig'd to detach for Forage and Contributions, and who sometimes brought off some Soldiers, Victuals, and Servants, from the Enemy. The 7th the *Valoches*, to the Number of 3 or 4000 Men, attack'd, a Quarter of a League from the Camp, Mr. *Ornstedt*, who was made Lieutenant-Colonel to the Regiment of *Scania*, which had been detach'd to cover the Foragers. This Officer, with his small Party, overthrew them, and push'd them into the Wood, before the Picket, which hasten'd to his Assistance, was come up. The King, to prevent these frequent Disturbances from the *Valoches*, order'd the Foot always to accompany the Horse on the foraging Days, and to lie in Ambuscades to surprize them. This Precaution oblig'd the *Valoches* to keep on their Guard, and not to return but with a good Force.

The King now caused them to make a Brass Coffin at *Cracovia*, for the Corpse of the Duke of *Holstein*, which they had always carry'd in the Rear of the Army, and which had been embalm'd the Day after his Death, at the Battle of *Clissowa*. *Charles*, according to the establish'd Custom of *Sweden*, repair'd in Company of the Duke of *Mecklenbourg*, Count *Piper*, and his

his principal Generals, into the Hall, which was all illuminated, where they had deposited the Body of the Prince, which they had laid on a Bed three Foot high, under a Canopy of black Velvet, lac'd and fring'd with Silver. His Majesty and the Lords of his Train laid the Lid on the Coffin, on which they afterwards spread a long Velvet Pall, edg'd with Silver.

After this Ceremony, the King retir'd, much afflicted with the Loss of a Brother-in-Law, whom he very tenderly lov'd. The Duke of *Mecklenbourg* appear'd no less afflicted, having been a great Friend of his late Highness, who when the King was at *Warsavia* had sent Mr. *Birckholtz*, a Gentleman of his Chamber to the Duke, to assure him of his Desire to make a Campaign with him under his Majesty. Perhaps he had likewise another secret Reason for this, namely, to marry the younger Princess of *Sweden*, Sister to his Majesty and the Dutches's Dowager of *Holstein*. He was already come as far as *Breslaw*, when he heard of the Duke of *Holstein's* Death; and being unwilling to return before he had seen the King, repaired afterwards to his Majesty, who gave him a very good Reception. He returned Post as soon as he had paid his last Respects to the Duke of *Holstein*.

The 11th the King caused the whole Army to defile through *Cracovia*, and encamp on the other Side of it, where the Ground was higher and the Forage better. *Augustus*, after his Retreat from *Bochnia*, was come to *Sendomir*, to convene the Nobility and Grandees of his Kingdom. After they had deliberated on the present Conjunction, which appeared very dangerous

to this King, they resolved to send a new Embassy to the King of *Sweden*, to offer him the Mediation in the Name of the Republick; and, if he would not consent to it, that the Nobility, or Polipolite, should confederate themselves in Favour of King *Augustus*, and assure him of an inviolable Fidelity, with a Promise never to consent that this Prince should be dethroned.

But the greatest Part of the Nobility, especially those of *Great Poland*, were not herein comprized, nor present, and consequently the Republick was not complete, the Resolutions of this Assembly was looked on as null, and produced no Effect. Mr. *Lipski*, Waiwode of *Calis*, who had been a Deputy to his *Swedish* Majesty at *Dlougowitz*, in Quality of first Ambassador from the Republick, had the Misfortune to lose his Life on this Occasion. The Nobility, who knew very well that he had been gained by the Presents of King *Augustus*, and who likewise knew with what Haughtiness he had spoken to the King of *Sweden's* Ministers, reproached him with having been the Cause of the War, by an ill-taken Pride, which had incensed that Prince; so that after having resolved on his Destruction, they gave him some Cuts with a Sabre, of which he died a few Days afterwards.

As Trouble and Division encreased every Day, and the Diet was on the Point of breaking up, *Augustus* abandoned *Sendomir*, passed the *Vistula* at *Casimir*, with his *Saxon* Army; and, after having settled his March, he went before to *Warsavia*, with 4000 Horse. But before he quitted the first of these Places, he sent back to the King of *Sweden* 38 Soldiers and Valets, made Prisoners by the

the *Valoches* since the last Battle, with a Lieutenant, who was to present them to the King, and an Escort of thirty Troopers. *Charles* took this very well of *Augustus*, treated the Officer at his Court, and ordered the Escort to be well entertained till their Departure. He likewise made the Officer a Present of fifty Ducats, ten to each non-commission Officer, two to every Trooper; and not contenting himself with all this Return of Civility, he sent back at the same Time a Major, named *Opeln*, to whom he presented a fine Horse out of his own Stable, with all his Caparison, and a Sword of the *Swedish* Fashion: He likewise permitted the Officer to retake with him from *Plinschow* all the *Saxon* Officers who were recovered, and in a Condition of travelling: And likewise gave Leave to 400 *Saxon* Soldiers, who were sick at *Cracovia*, to return into their native Country.

In the mean while, General *Brandt* joined the Crown Army at *Sandomir*, with a Regiment of Dragoons which he brought with him from *Prussia*; he likewise gave them to understand, that he had formed some Design on the Castle of *Plinschow*. He was a Man of Fortune, but an old Soldier, and a famous Partizan, and had acquitted himself with great Reputation in the last War in *Poland*. The King being apprised of his Design by Lieutenant-Colonel *Feilitz*, who commanded at *Plinschow*; and knowing likewise that he harassed the Parties detached from the Castle to raise Contributions, sent Colonel *Meyerfelt*, at the Head of 600 Troopers, who having laid all the Neighbourhood under Contribution, supplied *Plins-*

chow with a great Quantity of Provisions, and burnt the Town of *Noviomasta*, which had refused to contribute. By which Example of Severity, he designed to inspire Terror into all Places which might be inclined to Resistance.

The same Day Count *Zinzendorff*, the Emperor's Envoy, had his first Audience. He began with congratulating his Majesty, in the Name of the Emperor his Master, on the *Victories* which he had gained; assuring him of the unalterable Friendship of his Imperial Majesty: Lastly, entreating him to have at Heart the deplorable State of Affairs in Europe, and to apply a Remedy to them, by a firm Peace with *Augustus*, and by accepting the Mediation of all the contending Parties, as he had formerly done at *Ryswick*. He concluded with complimenting his Majesty, in High Dutch, in a very high Strain, on the last Battle of *Cliffowa*. The King thanked him very graciously, in the same Language; and appeared very well satisfied with this Ambassador.

We have already observed, that this Minister not being able to obtain Audience at *Kielce*, had followed the Army to *Plinschow*; where his Majesty, who was weary of seeing him always at his Heels, sent Mr. *Ducker*, his Aid-de-camp-general, to make him a Compliment, and desire him to absent himself from the Army, till he could find some Place more commodious; representing to him at the same Time, that his Majesty could not allow him a Liberty which he refused all other Ministers. Count *Zinzendorff* repaired then to *Cracovia*, where he was at last admitted to an Audience

of the King, whose gracious Reception made him amends for all the Time which he had lost in Solicitation.

This Minister had, however, little Reason to be pleased at the Success of his Negotiation. He was charg'd to neglect nothing to effect a Reconciliation between the two Kings, with which View he offer'd the Mediation of the Emperor his Master. And observing the Civilities which mutually passed between these Princes, in sending back Prisoners to each other without Ransom, he thought he could not make Use of a more favourable Conjunction; flattering himself, that the King of Sweden would at last comply, and be brought to a perfect Reconciliation with the King, who was his Relation, and who protested, that he wish'd for nothing more ardently than Peace. To prevent any Doubts of these good Dispositions in *Augustus*, this Minister produc'd Letters from Count *Stratman*, who was his Imperial Majesty's Envoy to the King of Poland; in which he asserted, that this King was ready to give *Charles XII.* all the Satisfaction which could be requir'd of him. Lastly, to remove all Suspicion, he gave Assurances that King *Augustus* would, without Delay, withdraw all his Troops from Poland, to engage them in the Emperor's Service. And, that he might not give the least Room for any Umbrage, he engag'd, in no Manner to oppose the March of those Troops which Major-General *Maidel* was bringing to reinforce his Swedish Majesty's Army. Besides all these fine Promises, Count *Zinzendorff* produc'd a Letter, written with King *Augustus's* own Hand, by which his Polish Majesty left not any

Reason to suspect the Sincerity of his Intentions: But as this Minister fear'd that Letter might remain unanswer'd, he excus'd himself, at present, from leaving it in his Majesty's Hands.

Whilst Count *Zinzendorff* employ'd all his Engines to make these fair Propositions agreeable to the King of Sweden's Ministers, *Augustus* labour'd on his Side to re-unite Men's Minds at *Warsovia*, where he had call'd a Diet, that he might animate them against the King of Sweden, and bring them heartily to espouse his Cause. These Proceedings, which did not at all agree with the fine Promises of the Imperial Minister, broke all the Measures which he had taken, and involved him in very great Difficulties; till at last, not knowing which Way to turn himself, he cast all the Blame on the Cardinal Primate, and the Family of *Sapieba*, whom he suspected to be always good Frenchmen, and publicly accus'd to be the Cause of the Continuation of all the Troubles; in which Opinion he was particularly confirm'd by the Cardinal sending Colonel *Sauerbre* with a particular Commission to Count *Piper*. In Reality, Count *Stratman* knew so well how to infatuate King *Augustus*, that Mr. *Heron*, the French Minister, as well as the Cardinal, afterwards very much resented this, as we shall see a little lower.

About this Time Baron *Nils Gyllenstierna* arriv'd at *Cracovia*, and inform'd his Majesty that the *Pomeranian* Army, which had passed thro' the higher Poland, was but four Leagues distant from this Town. The King came hither the next Day, and was highly pleased with the fine Appearance of his Troops, which amounted

mounted to near 12000 Men, all well disciplin'd, and well cloath'd. As it was very easy to find Forage in these Quarters, which indeed very much abounded with it, the King left here the main Body of his Army, and detach'd Lieutenant-Colonel *Burenschild* on the other Side, towards the *Hungarian* Mountains, to lay all the Country under Contribution.

General *Gyllenstierna* remain'd not long with the Army. As the King wanted a Man of some Capacity in the conquer'd Provinces in *Germany*, he order'd that General to repair thither, as well to have an Eye over the neighbouring Powers, as to levy Troops, and put those Provinces in Posture of Defence.

As soon as all the Dispositions were made, the Body of the late Duke of *Holstein* was carried, with a strong Escort, to the Frontiers of his Dominions, where he was afterwards buried in the Tomb of his Ancestors at *Sleswick*, with great funeral Pomp. About this Time a great Number of invalid Soldiers, who were in no Condition to serve, were sent back to *Sweden*; his Majesty having before their Departure distributed Twenty Crowns to every one of them, to defray the Expences of their Journey.

Some Days afterwards the King gave Orders to the Army to hold themselves ready to march. As he intended to conduct the Sick and Trophies by Water on the *Vistula*, he detached Colonel *Axel Sparre*, with 300 Foot, to get together as many Boats or Vitines as he could pick up along that River; at the same Time ordering him to prepare Floats, which might be used in case the Boats should not be sufficient. The Night before Col.

Sparre's Departure the castle of *Cracovia* took fire, without any one's being able to discover how it happened. This Fire continued all the Day, and reduced the Castle to Ashes; several Persons being buried under its Ruins.

The News of Mr. *Sparre's* Departure being brought to the Crown Army, which still remained at *Sendomir*, Prince *Lubomirski*, Chamberlain of the Crown, began his March immediately, with Twenty-four Companies, to attack him. The Colonel was posted in a Town called *Usia*, four Leagues from *Cracovia*. The Enemy arrived about Noon, having with them a great Number of Peasants, to level the Hedges, and remove every Thing that might obstruct the Attack. Mr. *Sparre*, who luckily had received timely Information, drew up in the Place in order of Battle, and distributed Platoons through all the Streets, to divert the Enemy, who entered with a dreadful Outcry on all Sides. Our Platoons presently fired on these Troops, being almost close to them; and as they were usually afraid of our Foot, they soon gave Ground, and contented themselves with having set fire to some wooden Houses round the Market-place. This Enterprize not having succeeded according to the Enemy's hopes, they now began to retreat in great Confusion, and were briskly pursued by our People; some of them retreated into the Churchyard, and made a shew of intending to defend themselves there, others got into the Church, and climbed up into the Bellfry, whence they fired incessantly on the *Swedes*. Mr. *Sparre* ordered *Gustavus Stiernbock*, Captain of the Guards, to dislodge them. The

Captain attacked them so gallantly, that he was in a little Time Master of the Church-yard, and put them to flight, with the loss of several both killed and wounded.

On the other Side, General *Brand* gave continual Disturbance to the Garrison of *Pinschow*, which he made a show of attacking by Storm; to prevent which his Majesty gave immediate Orders to the two Majors of foot and horse Guards, *Gyllenkrok* and *Creutz*, to march with 2000 and some hundred Men, who were also to bring away from *Pintzchow* all the Sick, and the Saxon Trophies, which they were to guard as far as the *Vistula*; and as this Detachment was to use Expedition, they mounted the Foot on Horseback, in order to hasten their March: As soon as the *Polish* General was informed hereof, he changed his Resolution, and passing near *Pintzchow*, with 1000 Horse, went and posted himself at twelve Leagues distance; he surprized at *Drbrokowa*, and near the Castle of *Zarnowatz*, and in a third Place, 200 Horse, with two Captains and two Lieutenants, who were all made Prisoners. Colonel *Craffau*, of the *Pomeranian* Army, had sent that Detachment towards *Peterkow*, to levy Contributions. The Majors *Gyllenkrok* and *Creutz* finding no Enemy at *Pintzchow*, contented themselves with withdrawing the sick and wounded, most of whom were already recovered, whom they conducted, with the Cannon and Trophies, to *Oparowitz*, some Leagues from *Cracovia*, to wait the Arrival of his Majesty.

Our Troops subsisted every where at the Enemy's Expence. A large

Party which had been detached by Lieutenant-general *Stuart*, and which was commanded by Colonel *Adam Lowenhaupt*, made continual Incursions into *Samogitia*, where they committed great Ravages; the Colonel likewise made several Prisoners, among which were Colonel *Korff*, the Constable *Pusina*, and Captain *Russel*, whom *Lowenhaupt*, had sent to *Mittaw*, as Hostages for the Contributions which were laid on the Country. At his Return he was beset near the Pass of *Possuole*, by a large Body of *Lithuanians*, whom he routed with half their Number. This Party returned to the Charge with fresh Troops, near the Town of *Cheimen*, and attacked *Lowenhaupt* with all imaginable Fury, both fighting with great Obstinacy: the Victory was some Time doubtful, 'till the *Lithuanians* having lost their Commander, were put to flight; and *Lowenhaupt* pursuing them, they left great Numbers dead and wounded behind them. We had on our Side only one non-commissioned Officer and sixteen Soldiers killed, and two Lieutenants, some non-commissioned Officers, and twenty-four Soldiers wounded.

Every Thing was now ready at *Cracovia* for the Embarkation of the Cannon and Trophies on the Vitines and Floats, which they had there got together, when an Express arrived with Letters from the Cardinal Primate, and Mr. *Morstein*, who at the last Diet at *Sandomir* had been picked out as an Ambassador to the King. The former yet offered his Mediation, and the latter brought Advice of the Commission with which he was charged. But Mr. *Morstein* having

having used some haughty Expressions, and even such as were a little hard, in the Letter which he writ to Count *Piper*, the Express was presently sent back with an Answer, purporting, ' That his Majesty would not admit ' *Morstein*, in case that he had any ' Propositions to make, differing from ' those his Majesty had made on his ' Part ; that the Republic had besides ' shewn too much Partiality for him ' to accept of her Mediation ; that if ' she had desired to have had a share ' in determining the Differences be- ' tween the contending Parties, she ' should not have interested herself ei- ' ther on one Side or the other ; that ' several of her Members had com- ' mitted many Hostilities ; and lastly, ' if his Majesty should resolve on ' Peace, and to accept of the Repub- ' lic's Mediation, she ought first to ' punish those who had disturbed the ' publick Tranquility, and by their ' continual Excursions had hindred his ' Majesty from effecting his good De- ' signs.'

Mr. *Morstein* did not rest here, he writ back again, and once more de- sired his Majesty to allow him an Au- dience ; with Assurances, that as soon as the Negotiation should be on Foot, the Republic would not fail to punish those who had the Misfortune to dis- please him by their Conduct. The King remained unmoveable on this Article : he sent no Answer to *Morstein*, and gave him sufficiently to under- stand, that he would not fail to exe- cute the Resolution he had taken.

An Accident which happened to the King seemed likely to disappoint all his great Projects, his Majesty having had the Misfortune to break his left

Thigh ; that unfortunate Accident, which spread a Consternation through the whole Army, happened by the following Means.

Count *Stenback*, who was lately made Director-general of War, had formed a Company of *Towarches*, which was composed of 150 Men, all poor *Polish* Gentlemen, who were or- dered to perform their Exercises in his Majesty's Presence. The Count putting himself at their Head, to this purpose departed from *Cracovia* on a gallop, and passed by the King's Tent at the Instant he was sitting down to dinner ; his Majesty, instead of dining, ordered his Horse immedi- ately to follow them ; and being ar- rived at *Morner's* Regiment, his horse entangled himself in the Lines of the Tents, and falling on the King's left Thigh, broke the Bone quite off.

This unforeseen Accident brought Tears into the Eyes of all who were present, he alone seemed not to feel it ; and speaking to those who ap- peared the most frightened with won- derful Resolution, he told them it was nothing, and would be easily cured ; no one heard him complain, or give the least Token of that Pain which he must necessarily endure.

As he could not support himself on his Leg, some Drabans carried him into Mr. *Morner's* Tent, where the Surgeons applied their first Remedies ; from thence the King was carried in- to a House in the Suburbs. And as this Misfortune necessarily retarded the Departure of the Army, they were sent into Quarters in the Town and the Suburbs, the Season of the Year not permitting them any longer to keep the Field.

The news of this Fall soon became Publick; nor were any Pains omitted to spread abroad that *Charles XII.* was dead; his Enemies caused that News to be put in the foreign Gazettes. It is certain, that he appeared at first in extreme Danger, which put all the Army in a great Consternation. They were very much afraid of the coming on of a Fever, which is common enough on such Occasions, at least they thought he must pass his Winter at *Cracovia*. But the King's excellent habit of Body soon gave them Comfort; and in about eight Days he began to talk of his Departure.

To make the King's Voyage more commodious, they had prepared some large Vitines, in which they had built Cabins for his Majesty, and part of the Court, in order to carry them by Water; but the Evening before his Departure he changed his Resolution, and chose forty-eight Soldiers of the Guards, which were to carry him by turns on a Bed, and to whom he gave every Day of their March a Crown a-head. The King found this way of Carriage more convenient than a Litter, which would have shaken him too much.

Every Thing being ready for the Departure of the Army, and the Floats which the Colonels *Axel Sparre* and *Rank* had taken care to provide being got ready, four Regiments of Horse were ordered to go before towards *Sendomir*, and the King himself began his March with the rest of his Army.

They encamped at *Igolomia*, whence Count *Jaspar Sperling* was detached with some hundred Men over the

River, to take up Provisions, and to cover on that Side the Boats which came down from *Cracovia*. Some Days before the King had given Count *Zinzendorff*, who went to attend his Majesty's Arrival at *Warsovia*, an Escort of fifty Troopers, under the Command of a Captain, to secure him from the Insults of the *Polish* Parties; a Regard, with which this Minister seemed highly delighted, and which he very publicly extolled.

The Princes *Lubomirski* were much alarmed at the Rout of our Army, on account of their large Estates on the *Vistula*; and very far from continuing obstinate, as they had been, in the Demand of 9000 Ducats for the Ransom of Mess. *Dabldorff* and *Rosenstierna*, who were taken by the *Valockes* at *Bocunia*, *Lubomirski*, the Great-chamberlain of the Crown, sent them hastily back to *Igolomia*, under an Escort of some *Tartars* and his Aide-camp.

He took this Resolution as soon as he saw the King's Answer to Mr. *Dabldorff*, who informed his Majesty of the Pretensions of the *Lubomirski* touching his Ransom; the King signified to Mr. *Dabldorff*, that if the Great-chamberlain refused to set him and Mr. *Rosenstierna* at liberty, he would entirely destroy all his Estates. *Lubomirski* endeavoured to make a Merit with his Majesty of the Liberty which he had granted these Gentlemen. He writ to Count *Piper*, that he had taken great care of the Prisoners, and that he hoped they would shew the same Tenderness to his Estate; the rather, for those respectful Sentiments, and that Attachment, which he bore to his Majesty, and his Interest.

terest. This Declaration of *Lubomirski* carried no Appearance of Sincerity; and it was very easy to observe, that his present Circumstances, and his own Interest, had brought him to this Language: His Majesty therefore contented himself with giving him for Answer, that in sending back the Prisoners he had done no more than his Duty, and that he should see if his future Actions would verify the Desire which he expressed to gain his Majesty's good Graces. About this Time the *Cossacks* of the *Ukrain*, which were under a Dependence on the *Poles*, having begun to stir up a great Revolt, and kill their Chiefs, who endeavoured to oppress them, entered, to the Number of 20,000 Men, into *Podolia*, and cut off all those Lords who had the Misfortune to fall into their Hands. Some rich and powerful Persons, who were Enemies to the Gentlemen of the Country, were at the Head of this Revolt.

It was plain by those Letters which we intercepted, that the Czar and King *Augustus* underhand fomented this Rebellion, with Hopes, by those Means, to oblige the Nobility to mount their Horses, and to bring them against the King of *Sweden*. This Project had not the Success which *Augustus* expected; nay, he had the Mortification to see a Resolution taken in his Presence at *Warsovia*, to march a great Part of the Crown Army, under the inferior General *Siniasski*, to reduce those Rebels.

In the mean Time the King began visibly to recover; and the Army having marched from *Igolomia* to *Pikari*, he caused himself to be carried from Regiment to Regiment, by that Means to visit and encourage his

Troops, who were yet alarmed with the Danger to which his Majesty was exposed by his Wound. The Army remained at *Pikari* till the 29th of *October*; which Time the King employed in settling the Rout; and it was agreed, that the Troops should march but slowly during the Winter; and that they should always chuse the best Places to repose themselves several Days together.

Augustus, on his Side, seeing the Diet which he had convened at *Warsovia* was like to produce him as little Good as all the rest, the Senators and the greater Part of the Nobility not coming thither, caused his Army to march into *Polish Prussia*, in order to put them into Winter Quarters.

He soon followed them himself, and came to *Thorn*, where he was received with all the Honours due to him. He knew so well how to gain on the Magistrates of that Town, by his Eloquence and great Civility, that they consented, against their Privileges, to receive a strong Garrison of *Saxons*, to reinforce, as he pretended, those of the Town, in case of an Attack. The Magistrates of *Dantzick* and *Elbin*, fearing to be surprized in the same Manner, had the Precaution humbly to offer their Towns to that King; with a Request, that he would come as a Father of their Country, and not as Sovereign. He, however, obtained, by his Presence in these Provinces, infinite Advantages for his Army, greater than he could have had in *Poland*, had he remained there. It must be, however, confessed, that they granted them all this more thro' Fear, than any Love they had for him. The Marquis of *Heron*, the *French* Ambassador, suffered at that Time a

very sensible Affront. The Emperor's Minister had a long Time placed him in a bad Light to King *Augustus*, who suspected that he had by his Intrigues continued the War. Mr. *Heron* could not but observe the Discontent of this Prince; and seeing himself treated with great Coldness, he writ to the King of *Sweden*, desiring his Leave to repair to him, which his Majesty would not grant, after having refused it to other foreign Ministers. King *Augustus* having been informed of this Step which that Minister had taken, forbid him the Court, and ordered him to depart from *Warsovia*. Mr. *Heron* answered, that he did not think himself obliged to obey him, without an express Order from the Republic, to whom he was as well sent by his Master, as he was to his Majesty. *Augustus* was extremely shocked at the Answer of this Minister; and after having repaired from *Warsovia* to *Tborn*, he gave Orders to have him arrested: One Evening, as this Ambassador came out of the House of the Great-Marshal *Bielska*, where he had supped, twelve of the Body-Guards seized his Person; and without giving him Leave to return home to settle his Affairs, they carried him instantly from *Warsovia* to *Tborn*, where he remained Prisoner some Time, and was from thence conducted through all *Germany*, to the Frontiers of *France*.

The Marquis of *Bonac*, the French Envoy at the Court of *Sweden*, had at the same Time an Accident of much the same Nature. This Minister, after having stopped at *Riga*, according to the Orders of the King his Master, had set out for *Warsovia*, without an Escort, confiding in his Character,

which he thought would have protected him from all Insults. At his Approach to *Kauro*, he fell into the Hands of *Oginski*, who, without paying any Respect to the Right of Nations, killed his Valet-de-chambre, treated him as a Prisoner of War, and carried him about with him for some Time.

The most Christian King, incensed to the last Degree at the Insolence of the Republick, in suffering such Violences to be committed on two of his Ministers, tho' both of them had been set at Liberty, demanded a publick Satisfaction; and at the same Time imprisoned all the *Poles* of Distinction who were found in the Provinces of *France*.

After his *Swedish* Majesty had settled the March of our Army, he caused them to decamp from *Pikari*, and march to *Przimakow*, where they remained eight Days together.

The Loss of the Battle of *Embach* had changed the Face of Affairs in *Livonia*, where Mr. *Schlippenbach* was no longer in a Condition to keep the Field, till he had received a new Reinforcement, which he importunately solicited. The Czar, taking Advantage of the Weakness of the *Swedes*, caused his Army to defile towards *Ingria*, to besiege the little Town of *Noteburg*, situated on the *Nieva*, at the Mouth of the Lake *Ladoga*, which is the Key of *Sweden*, being her farthest Fortrefs on that Side. We had some small Vessels which cruised thereabouts, but the Enemy, whose Forces were superior to ours, obliged them to repass the *Nieva*, and to retreat towards *Wybourg*, so that the *Russians* became entire Masters of *Ladoga*.

Velt-Marſhal *Sobreremetoff* having approached this Place with the *Russian* Army, detached on the 26th of *September*, 400 of the *Preobrasinski* Guards to poſt themſelves before the Place. Two Battalions of the ſame Regiment followed the ſame Evening, with all the Army, and arrived there the next Day. The *Ruſſians* preſently opened their Trenches, and raiſed ſome Forts, to prevent any Succours being conveyed into the Town. However, three Veffels from *Carelia*, with ſome Soldiers and Proviſions, found Means to get in. But to ſhut up this Place the cloſer, and to hinder it from receiving any future Succours, the Enemy cauſed 2000 Men to paſs the *Nieva* on the 30th, and take Poſſeſſion of a ſmall Redoubt, ſituated on the other Side, which ſome few Soldiers who were there had abandoned. In this Manner the Town was ſhut up on all Sides.

The *Muſcovites* at the ſame Time raiſed three Batteries, placing twelve Mortars on the one, and mounting the two others with thirty-one Pieces of Cannon, the firſt with Nineteen-pounders, the ſecond with twelve Twelve-pounders. From theſe Batteries they made a continual Diſcharge, which ſet the Town on Fire in ſeveral Places. The Velt-Marſhal afterwards having ſummoned Governor *Schlippenbach* to ſurrender, he demanded a four Days Truce, to ſend to Major-General *Horn* at *Narva*, from whence he was to receive his Orders. *Schlippenbach* not obtaining this Favour, hoisted the Royal Flag, as a Signal of the extreme Diſtreſs to which the Place was reduced, and the Neceſſity he had of immediate Succours.

Major *Sion* was preſently detached with 400 Horſe, and four Field-pieces, to attack the Beſiegers on the Side of *Carelia*, and make his Way into the Town. In which Attempt he at firſt ſucceeded well enough, having beat the Enemy who encountered him, back into their Intrenchments: But at the Inſtant that he entered them, with a Deſign of making himſelf Maſter of them, he was attacked by all the Forces of the Beſiegers, with Colonel *Koningſeck*, whom the King of *Poland* had ſent to the Czar, at their Head. The *Swedes* now found themſelves obliged to retreat, with the Loſs of their Cannon, having had twenty Men killed, ſeveral wounded, and a Corporal, with ſeven Men, taken Priſoners. A new Battery of ſix Pieces of Cannon and two Mortars, which was in Readineſs ſome Days after, was appointed to fire on our Veffels, which lay at Anchor under the Cannon of the Town, but they did us no Damage.

The Breach being now made, the Enemy on the 10th of *October*, being *Sunday*, cauſed their Troops to give us an Affault, at a Time when a Fire raged in ſeveral Quarters of the Town. The Attack was carried on with all the Vigour imaginable; notwithstanding which, the Beſiegers were repulſed with wonderful Valour. So that after a Fight which laſted, without any Diſcontinuance, from two in the Morning till five in the Evening, they were obliged to give us ſome Reſt, after a very conſiderable Loſs. We now thought that they would return no more to the Charge; but ſoon after, ſeeing them make Diſpoſitions for a new Attempt, the Governor determined

ned to beat a Parly. He obtained an honourable Capitulation, and was permitted to march out through the Breach with 40 Men, which were all he had left, Drums beating, Colours flying, and to retire with four Field-pieces to *Narva*, whither he transported himself by Water, with all his Men, after having sustained a Siege of more than 15 Days.

In *Courland* continual Skirmishes passed between our Troops and the *Lithuanians*. Major *Safs*, whom Colonel *Poss* had detached from *Rauskenburg*, surprised at some Distance from *Pamusk*, four Companies of *Lithuanians*, commanded by one *Goes*, a Gentleman of *Courland*, whom he attacked, and entirely defeated.

The Enemy having posted themselves some Days afterwards in the Castle of *Dobeln*, whence they made Excursions into all the adjacent Parts, Lieutenant-Colonel *Wennerstedt* was ordered to dislodge them, with a considerable Detachment, with some Cannon and Mortars. He departed from *Mittau* on the 17th in the Evening, and the next Day presented himself before *Dobeln*. On his Arrival, he found the Enemy were retreated, having left some few of their Men behind them, whom he made Prisoners.

On the other Side, the Regiment of *Wasinski* and *Knesiewicz*, after having burnt the Lordships of the *Sapieha* in *Samogitia*, made an Excursion into *Courland*, taking their Way through *Sebrunden*. They invested *Goldingen* with 2000 Men, 600 of which made themselves Masters of the Town, and took there Lieutenant *Deflon*, who, however, escaped from them by Means of a Sally which Cap-

tain *Aderkass* made from the Castle with 30 Horse. The Captain dispersed them, and forced them to retreat, after leaving several killed and wounded on the Spot. The next Day, on an Account that Colonel *Paskul* was approaching from *Mittau*, they entirely abandoned those Parts, and repassed their Frontiers. But we will enter into no farther Detail of all the Rencontres, and other Particulars which passed amongst those little Parties, since it is now Time to follow the King into *Poland*.

The *Swedish* Army decamped on the 20th of *October* from *Przimakow*, and advanced two Leagues and a half, which is a little Distance from the Town of *Vislicza*, formerly famous in the last *Polish* War, in the Time of *Charles Gustavus*. Two Days afterwards the King detached Count *Stenbock*, with 2200 Horse and Foot, to pass the *Vistula*, and levy Contributions in the adjacent Parts. He advanced as far as *Lemberg*, and taxed the Lands in grievous Sums, especially those of the Prince *Lubomirski*, and their Adherents, to force them to give the King Satisfaction, and quit *Augustus's* Party.

These Lords were the more alarmed, as the Count threaten'd, in Case of Refusal, to put all to Fire and Sword. These Menaces brought from them all Kind of Submissions, by which they hoped to soften his Majesty.

Mr. *Stenbock* neglected nothing to gain over the Nobility of the Country, using gentle Methods with some, and rigorous with others. The Methods which he took produced all the Effects which he could desire. The Nobility, on all Sides, sent back the *Swedish* Pri-

Prisoners which they had taken in several Rencounters; the whole, including those which General *Brand* had made, amounting to upward of 400 Men.

The better to subsist the Army, the King made them take different Routs, keeping no more than the Drabans, and the Regiment of Foot-guards, near his Person. He made the Army march in Columns, himself marching to *Pierzicz*. Here Mr. *Meyerfeld*, who commanded the Party which had hitherto remain'd at *Opatowitz*, join'd us, with those other Officers and Saxon Soldiers which had been taken Prisoners at *Pinschow*, and which were entirely cur'd of their Wounds. The King gave them Money for their Journey, and sent them all back to Saxony.

As to the other wounded Saxons, who were not yet recover'd, his Majesty had the Goodness to put them with our own wounded Men, on the *Vetines* commanded by Mr. *Sparre*; and which were yet but a few Leagues from *Cracovia*, because the Waters of the *Vistula* were very low. The Colonel, the better to subsist his Sick, and his Detachment, sent out Parties on every Side to raise Contributions; he also sold, to that Purpose, at a very moderate Price, a great Quantity of Salt, which he had taken from the Salt-pits of *Bochnia*, belonging to the Demesns of the King of Poland. As soon as the Water began to rise, he continu'd his Voyage for *Casimir*, where he plac'd both the Swedes and Saxons in the Town, to be there kept till they were entirely cur'd.

Augustus, who remain'd still in *Prussia*, had little Reason to be pleas'd with

what now pass'd in his Kingdom. This King, enrag'd that the Nobility of Great Poland appear'd so attach'd to the King of Sweden, especially the Count *Leszinski*, who, after the Battle of *Cliffow*, had openly declar'd for his Swedish Majesty, detach'd 8000 Men to bring these Nobles back to their Duty.

These Troops liv'd at Discretion on the Lands of the Nobility, in which they committed terrible Disorders, and unheard-of Violences, by that Means so incens'd them, that Count *Leszinski*, putting himself at the Head of some Troops, fell on several Saxon Parties, in different Places, and defeated them. On the other Side, the Starost *Gembiski* surpriz'd *Egidii*, a Saxon Colonel, defeated all his Party, and kill'd him with his own Hand, because he had put his Brother under Arrest.

The Cardinal, who had long displeas'd King *Augustus*, felt, with several others, the Effect of his Anger. That King having rais'd more than 60000 Crowns of Contribution on his Estate, he complain'd bitterly; but finding that did him no Service, he writ the King a very severe Letter, which was all the Revenge he could get. In the mean Time, the King of Sweden was entirely cur'd of his Hurt, so that he could walk in his Chamber, by the Assistance of his Staff. When the Army decamp'd from *Pierszicz*, he would try to mount his Horse, but was soon oblig'd to dismount. The Army march'd thence to *Olesniga*, where they rested some Time.

On the 4th of November Captain *Funk* was detach'd from the Army, with 200 Dragoons, towards *Sandomir*, to establish a Magazine there; and the King

King following with his Column, arriv'd the 21st of the same Month at *Sczeka*, and the next Day march'd two Leagues farther to *Nawodzie*.

Here General *Maidel* join'd his Majesty. He came from *Riga* thro' *Lithuania*, with his Regiment of Dragoons, a great Number of Recruits for the Army, and three Regiments of Horse, viz. that of the *Swedish* Nobility, and those of *Craus* and *Patkul*. The two last had remain'd continually in *Samogitia* and *Lithuania*, to cover the Territories of the *Sapieha*; but being now order'd to join the Army, the Great-general *Sapieha* thought himself no longer secure; and therefore that he might not live at the Mercy of *Oginski* and *Wisniowski*, he follow'd these Regiments with a small Body of two or three thousand Men, and arriv'd at the same Time with them at the King's Quarters, whom he attended ever afterwards, throwing his Fortune entirely upon his august Protector.

In the mean Time, Count *Stenbock* had several Disputes with the Nobility of *Russia* and *Volhinia*. He arrested the Waivode of this latter Province, who having refus'd to pay Contributions, was afterwards oblig'd to buy his Liberty with a very large Ransom.

As the Nobility were very turbulent, the Count ask'd them, whether they intended to declare for the King of *Sweden*, or against him; and insisted on a categorical Answer. They were very much perplex'd with this Question, especially the *Lubomirski*, who were in great Fears for their Estates, which they incessantly intreated might be spar'd. They assembled at *Reisna* to debate on an Answer, the Result of which we shall see hereafter.

The King continuing his March, arriv'd the 4th of December at *Gorciszani*, Half a League from *Sendomir*, the Capital of the Palatinate of that Name, situated on the *Vistula*, where there had been a Castle, which *Charles Gustavus* blew up, and of which, at this Day, there remains nothing but the Ruins. The King, after a short Stay here, gave Orders to Baron *Rheinschild*, a Lieutenant-general, to march, with Part of his Army, towards *Warsowia*, to cover the Assembly of the Nobility, which the Cardinal had conven'd there, and to be ready to assist that of *Great-Poland* against the Saxons.

Some Days afterwards his Majesty pass'd by *Sendomir*, and march'd towards *Zawigost*, where finding himself entirely recover'd of his Fall, he threw away his Crutches, mounted his Horse, and began, as usual, to fatigue himself, and visit the Quarters of his Troops. All the Army shew'd an inexpressible Joy at the Dissipation of that long Fear in which the Accident that happen'd to that illustrious Hero had held them.

Neither the bad Weather, nor the frequent Storms, attended with Hail and Snow, which fell in Abundance; nor, in a Word, the severe and sharp Winter, could hinder the King, who was but just recover'd from his Fall, from paying regular Visits every Day to the several Quarters of the Army. The Troops were now encamp'd about *Zawigost*, which is situated on the *Vistula*, and where *Charles Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*, the Grandfather of our Hero, was join'd, in 1657, by *Ragotski*, the Prince of *Transylvania*, at the Head of a numerous Army of Hungarians and Cossacks. Here we remain'd

main'd during the *Christmas*; after which his Majesty pass'd the *Vistula* with the rest of his Army, leaving behind him only some Regiments, which afterwards pass'd the River about *Casimir*.

About this Time our Troops were much harass'd in different Places by the *Lithuanians*. Mr. *Stuart* detach'd several Parties to give them Chace. Captain *Hammelftierna*, who was posted at *Dobeln*, being join'd by Cornet *Anrep*, encounter'd them near *Schagern*, kill'd 50, and made 161 Prisoners. Some Days afterwards, the *Lithuanians* having shut up, at *Lamberts hoff* near *Bauske*, Lieutenant-colonel *Bruchner*, who was raising Contributions, he repuls'd them with great Bravery, put them to Flight, and safely join'd our Detachment from *Bauskenburg*.

On another Side, Major *Mentzer* surpriz'd a great Number in a Place where they had got together a Magazine, put all whom he met with to the Sword, and carry'd off their whole Magazine of Provision. Major *Meyerfelt*, Brother to the Colonel of that Name, and who was in Garrison at *Seelburg*, perform'd such another Exploit a few Days afterwards, having beat a *Lithuanian* Party from *Bandomir*, who were returning to *Livonia* with a great Booty, which he took from them, after having routed them.

Livonia after this was quiet enough for some Months; whilst *Ingria*, on the contrary, became the bloody Theatre of the most barbarous Tragedies, which were there acted by the *Russians*. After having burnt the Villages of *Zola*, *Kulla*, *Allekulla*, *Oneskulla*, and *Kleinbulla*, several Mills, and the Garden of the Senate of *Narva* or *Rath-*

hoff; they surpriz'd, with some thousand Horse, on the 4th of *January*, a little after Midnight, the advanc'd Posts at *Narva*, and penetrated quite into the Suburbs. To bring the Inhabitants out of their Houses, they made Use of a Stratagem, crying out, in the *French* Tongue, *Let us save ourselves, my Friends, the Russians are a-coming*; which Expedient had such Success, that these poor People having open'd their Gates, were all inhumanly massacred, without any Distinction of Age or Sex. The few Troops which were in the Suburbs made all the Resistance they could, but were with great Violence driven back to the Counterscarp, after a very stout Fight.

The *Russians*, as soon as this Expedition was over, seeing the whole Garrison ready to attack them, retreated, with all their Dead, after having for six Hours together done a great deal of Mischief, and exercis'd all Sorts of Cruelties.

The King continu'd his March the 3d of *January*, on the Road of *Lublin* towards *Dzircowizza*. Here his Majesty met the two *Polacks*, Sons of the Great-general of the Crown, who had Audience of his Majesty, and very humbly begg'd his Protection. His Majesty receiv'd them very graciously, and made them a very considerable Present of Money; which they so ill requir'd, that instead of employing it, as they had promis'd, in raising Men for his Majesty's Service, they put it to a quite contrary Use.

At this Time Count *Stenbock* return'd from his Expedition, with Advice that the Assembly at *Wisnia* had at last declar'd for his Majesty, and had already nam'd Deputies to demand his

Protection, in the Names of the Nobility of *Volhynia* and of *Russia*. Count *Sienbock* was now order'd to write to the Magistrates of the Town of *Lublin*, to signify to them his Majesty's Dissatisfaction at the Injustice the Inhabitants had done the Year before to General *Morner*, as he was passing with his Body of the Army near the Town; for which they were tax'd at 50000 Crowns as a Penalty; and Colonel *Meyerfelt*, with some Foot and Dragoons, were sent to raise it.

The Army decamp'd on the 22th, and march'd to *Katynia*, a Gentleman's House, near the little Town of *Belziz*, from thence to *Wagelboro*, afterwards to *Lublin*, where the Magistrates came out to meet the King. He march'd thro' the Town with his Army, and encamp'd at *Jacobowicz*, a Castle situated Half a League from *Lublin*, and which belongs to Prince *Lubomirski*. Here the King fix'd his Head Quarters, and distributed the Drabans, with the Regiment of Guards, among the Villages and neighbouring Houses.

Some Days afterwards his Majesty dispatch'd an Express, with a Letter to the Cardinal, in the following Terms:

CHARLES, &c.

AFTER our long Expectation, we do not see any Remedy propos'd capable of putting an End to those Troubles, which have so unprofitably retain'd our Armies in this Kingdom; whereas we have nothing more at Heart, than to find out Measures proper for that Purpose. For

tho' there be no Rupture between the Republick of *Poland* and ourselves, this Delay is however attended with Inconveniences which must be very pernicious to both Kingdoms, unless speedily prevented.

In Reality, we are not so jealous of the Glory of our Arms, as we are desirous to give Repose to the People whom we love. For this Reason we wish that Expedients might be found to procure as well Tranquillity for the People of *Poland*, as Advantage and Security for those of *Sweden*. But as we cannot hope for Success in a Place where the Hatred, Envy, Hope, Fear, and Animosity of the Parties have entirely taken away all Freedom of Debate, we think it may be very wholesome, in so important an Affair, to convene an Assembly, in which the Nation, being entirely at her Liberty, and without any Constraint, may freely, and without Constraint, speak her Sentiments, take proper Measures for a lasting Safety and Repose, and provide for the common Good.

We have therefore thought proper to acquaint your Eminence with our Intention, as being the first Minister of the Republick; and to put it into your Power, not only to deliver this Country from the Danger of utter Ruin, which threatens it, but likewise considerably to increase her Power, by a Conjunction of Arms, to recover those Provinces which the common Enemy hath taken from her, and is now in Possession of. Lastly, after recommending your Eminence to the Divine Protection, we wish you long Prosperity. Given

ven at *Jacobowitz*, the 24th of *January*, 1703.

Your Eminence's most
affectionate Friend,

CHARLES.

And underneath,

PIPER.

The Cardinal, who arriv'd the 26th of *January* at *Warsovia*, having receiv'd this Letter, and being incens'd, as we have already seen, against King *Augustus*, publish'd an Order, convening the Convocation on the 5th of *February*: Which Order contain'd in Substance what follows:

That he lamented the Negligence and Inflexibility of the *Poles*, who look'd without Emotion on the Ruin of their Country, which was become a Prey to foreign Troops, and a Jest to her Neighbours. That they appear'd to have neither the Laws, nor the Justice, nor the Liberty, nor the Courage, nor, indeed, any of the Virtues of their Ancestors. That nothing was to be found among them but Weakness and Dejection; they being all dispers'd, and keeping themselves at a Distance, as if they had no Concern in the Destruction of the Kingdom.

That he had repair'd to *Warsovia* to consult with the Pope's Nuncio, and the other foreign Ministers, on some Means to remedy such pressing Evils; but they had all assur'd him that it was impossible to find any, unless the *Poles* themselves would set their Hands to the Work. That

therefore, for the Discharge of his Conscience, and by the Authority inherent in his Dignity, he conven'd all the Senators, and those who had been Deputies, to treat of a Peace, to *Warsovia*, on the 5th of *February*, that they might deliberate on the best Means of saving the Republick, and appeasing the Tumults with which he was agitated, &c.

Very few, however, of the Grantees, repair'd to *Warsovia*. The Great-treasurer, Count *Etienne Leszinski*, and *Sapieha* the Great-treasurer of *Lithuania*, were almost the only Persons there: So that the Cardinal was oblig'd to adjourn the Assembly to the 27th of *March*, and thence to the 16th of *April*.

The Cause that the Convocation came to so little was, the *Senatus Consultum*, which King *Augustus* had appointed at *Thorn* the 16th of *March*, and which he remov'd to *Marienburg*, for the Conveniency of the Quarters. This King, being dissatisfy'd with the Cardinal's Conduct, tax'd him in his Turn with Partiality to the *Swedes*, and accus'd him of being the Cause, by his Obstinacy, of all the Confusion and Troubles which had rag'd in *Poland*. He concluded with saying, that it did not belong to the Cardinal to call a Congress; and that the Assembly at *Warsovia* was contrary to his Rights, and the direct Way to overturn the State.

Towards the End of the Month the Deputies of the Palatinate of *Russia*, in Conformity with the Decree of the Assembly at *Wisnia*, fearing to be sack'd, as they were threaten'd, came to *Jacobowitz*, and had an Audience of the King, who took them under his Protection;

Protection; and after a gracious Reception, sent them back with a very favourable Answer.

Hostilities continu'd daily between the Parties of the two Armies. In Courland, General *Stuart* detach'd Lieutenant-colonel *Bruchner*, with some Troops, to oppose *Oginski's* Party. He met with six Companies at *Janiska*, put 100 of their Men to the Sword, made nine Prisoners, took two Standards, twenty-four Lances or Copies, three Pair of Kettle-drums, two Trumpets, and above 300 Horse, with some other Booty.

A few Days afterwards Count *Adam Lowenhaupt*, entering *Lituania* with a Detachment, surpriz'd, under the Favour of a thick Mist, four Companies of *Lituanians*, which guarded an advanc'd Post before *Janiska*; he killed forty, made several Prisoners, and carry'd off a Standard, with two Pair of Kettle-drums. Those who escap'd having carry'd the Alarm to *Oginski*, that Commander retreated hastily, without drawing far, however, from *Janiska*, which was in the Possession of *Lowenhaupt*. The Enemy, on their Side, some Days afterwards attack'd a small Party detach'd from *Janiska* to raise Provisions, but were repuls'd, with the Loss of two Captains, and some Soldiers kill'd.

Whilst these were harrassing each other, King *Augustus* set all his Engines to work to gain over the Nobility and Senators assembled at *Marienburg*. This Assembly was very numerous; nor were King *Augustus's* Endeavours absolutely vain. The Crown-army under Prince *Lubomirski* the Great-general, who remain'd faithful to him, notwithstanding the Desolation

of his Territories, sent Deputies to assure his *Polish* Majesty that they were resolv'd to sacrifice under him their Lives and Fortunes for the Maintenance of the Republick and their Religion. The whole Army then took an Oath of Fealty, according to a Formula which King *Augustus* drew up, as well for the Generals of the Crown, as the Subalterns and Soldiers.

At the same Time Prince *Lubomirski* publish'd with the Sound of Trumpets in the City of *Leopold*, at *Reschow*, and other Places, that the Nobility should mount their Horses within a Month's Time, in order to join the Crown-army against the *Swedes*, under Pain of being declar'd guilty of High Treason, Traitors to their Country, and punish'd accordingly.

This Affair was brought on the Tapis in the Diets of all the Palatinates, where they deliberated on the Choice of Deputies, which were to be sent to *Marienburg*. The Palatinate of *Lublin* did not dare to declare herself openly, on Account of the *Swedish* Garrison which was in that Capital, and the near Neighbourhood of our Army. They however assembled some of the Nobility, who demanded an Audience of the King of *Sweden*; which Favour his Majesty willingly granted them, and promis'd them his Protection, which they desir'd.

Count *Stenbock* having finish'd his Levy of Contributions, follow'd his Majesty with his Troops; and passing near *Zamosk*, a Town included in the Number of the Fortresses of *Poland*, a great many of the Nobility, who were fled hither with all their Effects, were strangely alarm'd with the Apprehension of an Attack by the Count; which

Fear

Fear carry'd them to set Fire to the Suburbs, and to rely entirely on the Defence of the Place, which they were resolv'd to make in the best Manner possible. But the Count pass'd by them, contenting himself with laying all the Country under Contribution, which he continu'd to do, till he at length join'd his Majesty's Army.

Some Days afterwards the King detach'd Lieutenant-Colonel *Charles-Gabriel Horn*, with the Regiment of Foot of *Pomerania*, towards *Breszisz*, to secure that important Pass, which is situated on the Confines of *Poland* and *Lithuania*; and the same Day his Majesty, after a Stay of six Weeks at *Jacobowitz*, march'd to *Lewarthoff*.

Mr. *Robinson*, the *English* Envoy, who came to speak with the King, met him half Way, attended by several Generals. This Minister had no sooner saluted his Majesty, but he demanded his Permission immediately to disclose the Orders of the Queen his Mistress; to which the King consented, and remain'd uncover'd while Mr. *Robinson* made his Speech in the *Swedish* Language, which he spoke perfectly well, having been a long Time a Resident at the Court of *Sweden*. As the King well knew this Minister, he gave him a very gracious Answer; nor could he keep himself from laughing at the pleasant Figure which he made, having turn'd the Fur of his *Polisse**, as well as his Cap, on the Outside, which, join'd to the great high Road where this sudden Audience was given, put the King into a very good Humour.

The Day after his Majesty's Arrival

at *Lewarthoff* he perceiv'd in himself some Symptoms of a Fever; but as this slight Indisposition produc'd no ill Consequence, the Army continu'd their March, and encamp'd at *Czermenick*, after having pass'd the little River *Wieper*, which empties itself into the *Vistula*.

The same Day the Council of *Marienbourg* was open'd; it was in some Respects imperfect, as well thro' the Absence of the Primate, as of several other Senators, who excus'd themselves from coming on Account of the *Saxon* Garrison, which hinder'd the Freedom of their Debates. *Augustus*, however, propos'd to them seven Articles, of which the following is the Substance.

1. What was to be done for the Defence of the Kingdom and the Republick, since there was no longer an Appearance of Peace.

2. What Means were to be employ'd to oppose the Diet which had been conven'd at *Warsovia* to the Prejudice of his Majesty's Rights, and to the Subversion of the State.

3. What Method they should take to punish the Adherents to, and Supporters of the *Swedish* Party, who stubbornly persisted in their Designs.

4. If any Regard should be had to the Demand of some of the Palatinates, who desir'd the calling of a general Diet.

5. How to encourage more and more the Army of the Crown, and accommodate their Generals.

6. If Alliances should be made with the neighbouring Powers who mediated them, offering Succours of Troops

* A Fur or Leather Jacket.

and Money, and in what Manner their Offers should be accepted.

7. It was propos'd to settle their Limits with the *Turks*.

After eight Days Deliberation on what was to be done in the present unhappy Conjunction, the Council agreed provisionally on the following Articles:

1. That by Virtue of the Convention of *Sandomir*, of *Great Poland*, and *Lithuania*, the whole Republick ought to oblige themselves by Oath to concur in their Defence of Religion and Liberty, and the Safety of the Republick and the Kingdom.

2. That the *Russia* Pospolite should be assembled.

3. That they would in the mean Time agree on a general Diet for fifteen Days.

4. That the *Swedish* Partizans should be declar'd Enemies of their Country, and their Effects confiscated towards paying the Army.

5. That the Assembly call'd by the Cardinal should be deem'd unlawful.

6. That in order to neglect nothing which might advance Peace, the Embassy, which had been nam'd a long Time ago for that Purpose, should have fresh Orders to sound the King of *Sweden*'s Dispositions, and endeavour speedily to procure Peace, without engaging themselves, however, in any Projects which may cause a dismembering of the Republick, or the plunging her into a foreign War.

7. That they would debate farther on the Alliances to be made with foreign Powers, in order to extricate the Republick out of the Perplexity in which she was entangled.

This Convention was sign'd by all the Assembly, except the Bishop and the Palatine of *Culm*, who refus'd it; and they afterwards dispatch'd the Commissaries of *Poland* to the King of *Sweden*, as we shall see presently.

This King, who continu'd to advance towards *Warsowia*, march'd thro' *Razin* to *Lukow*, thence to *Wisniow*. But scarce had he quitted *Lublin*, when *Potocki*, who had made him such fine Promises, began his Hostilities, by disturbing the *Swedish* Posts in the very Suburbs of that Town, where Colonel *Meyerfeld* had remain'd with some Troops; and as this Colonel was escorting the Contributions which that Town had been oblig'd to furnish, *Potocki*, whose Courage was perhaps something elevated with the Hopes of carrying off that Sum, continually harass'd this Detachment in their long Marches towards *Cazimir*, but that in so weak a Manner, that, thro' the great Care and Vigilance of Mr. *Meyerfeld*, they arriv'd safely at *Cazimir* with all the Baggage, and without the Loss of a single Man.

At *Cazimir* they met the *Vitinas* which had carry'd the Trophies and Sick upon the *Vistula*; Mr. *Meyerfeld* join'd them, and continuing his March along the River Side for their Security, they all arriv'd safe at *Warsowia*, without having lost the least Thing by all the Efforts of *Potocki* to traverse them, and give them Disturbance.

On the 13th of March the King decamp'd from *Wisniow*, and march'd to *Zelischow*, where the Army remain'd some Days; and afterwards to *Ceglau*, and thence thro' the Town of *Mincko* to *Okniow*, which is 3 Leagues from *Warsowia*.

The Nobility of *Samogitia* began now to disband, and retire in whole Companies, being weary of making War with so little Success, and in which they got nothing but Blows. *Oginski*, who was in Despair at seeing them take a Resolution to make no farther Head against our Troops, did all he could to prevent them; but when he found that all his Efforts were in vain, and fearing that after this Desertion he should be inclos'd by the *Swedes*, who would not fail to make their Advantage of this Conjunction, he thought the best Measures he could take were to procure himself an advantageous Retreat.

With this View he took with him his best Troops, and went directly to *Birsen*, which he took Possession of, tho' that Town belong'd to the House of *Neuburg*. He resolv'd at the same Time to draw thither a Body of 3000 *Russian* Foot, which had been in Winter Quarters at *Drugen* near the *Duna*, flattering himself, that with this Reinforcement he should be able to form a good Garrison, and to assure himself a Retreat, where he should be able to resist all our Efforts.

As this Neighbourhood must have given great Disturbance to our Troops in *Courland*, Baron *Stuart*, their Governor-General, being desirous to prevent the *Russians* who were on their March towards *Birsen*, took a Resolution to send thither a large Detachment, which were to make themselves Masters of that Town before their Arrival. To this Purpose, Count *Adam Lowenhaupt*, a Colonel, who was posted in *Samogitia*, ten Leagues only from *Birsen*, receiv'd Orders to march thither with all Expedition; and in Case

he should find the *Russians* already enter'd, to endeavour to bring them to a general Engagement. Colonel *Gloot* was sent at the same Time to reinforce him; he was to join him without Delay with some Artillery and 400 Foot, which Count *Frolich* had drawn out of the Garrisons of *Riga* and *Mittau*.

Colonel *Lowenhaupt*, with 900 Foot and Horse of his Detachment, having join'd Mr. *Gloot* at *Janiska*, turn'd towards *Birsen*, and was attended the whole Way by fourteen Companies of *Lithuanians*, who only harass'd him from Time to Time, without ever daring to come to a formal Attack. But nothing retarded so much the Count's March, as the horrible D-files, and almost impassable Roads thro' which he was oblig'd to pass, which gave the *Russians* Time to get into *Birsen*, when our Troops were about four Leagues off.

Mr. *Stuart* having receiv'd Advice, and knowing likewise somewhat of himself, that these were some of the *Czar's* best Troops, being old *Strelizes*, which were very full of Bravery, and who had serv'd in the last War against the *Turks*, sent the Count Orders to return the same Way he came; the rather, as several of our Men were sick, thro' the Fatigue of their tiresome March.

The Enemy looking on this Retreat as a Flight, march'd out of *Birsen* to the Number of 6000 and odd Hundred Men, both *Russians* and *Lithuanians*, with some Artillery, to cut off the Count's Passage, whom they encounter'd near *Salat*. They presently possess'd themselves of all Sides of the Wood thro' which he was to pass, and shew'd themselves only in Platoons, to

make him quit his Advantage, and draw him to an Engagement. *Lowenbaupt* observing their Design, presently recall'd all his detach'd Parties, and that Night lodg'd himself with his Men in the best Manner he could in the little Village of *Salat*, and held himself ready against all Events. The Enemy, tho' much his Superior in Strength, made no Motion, but contented themselves with kindling large Fires, to preserve themselves from the Cold, which was then very piercing. The next Day the *Poles* appear'd in greater Numbers. The Count, on his Side, drew up his Men, and, after he had caus'd Prayers to be said, he exhorted them to conquer, or die. He then march'd boldly up to the Enemy, and, under the Favour of a very thick Mist, made himself Master of a D-file which the *Russians* had neglected to possess themselves of. These, believing they might easily repair the Fault which they had committed, pass'd a small River, and rang'd themselves in Battalia on the other Side, where they stood expecting us. The Count, who had with him about 1000 Men only in a Condition of fighting, pass'd the River likewise, and drew up in one Line, mixing his Foot with his Horse. The Baggage was plac'd in the Rear, and form'd the second Line. The *Russians* under the Command of the two Colonels *Nizeschof* and *Protopon*, had the Precaution to barricade themselves with their Waggon, which they guarded on the Outside with *Chevaux de frise*, and within by their Artillery. The *Poles* were on the two Wings, commanded by the Regimentary *Gordon* and two Gentlemen, whose Names were *Karper*.

Count *Lowenbaupt*, being advanc'd within Cannon-shot, gave Orders to attack the *Russians* in their Intrenchments. At the same Instant the *Poles* began to charge our Left Wing under Colonel *Cloot*, who receiv'd them so briskly, and gave them so many home Charges, that they were oblig'd to retreat in Confusion. Whilst our Left Wing, under the Command of Count *Lowenbaupt*, continu'd advancing, 6 or 700 *Poles*, who were in the Dress of *German Dragoons*, and who attempted to take us on our Flank, were likewise repuls'd with Loss by our Cannons and Granades.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Baneer*, having had two Horses kill'd under him, put himself at the Head of the Infantry with Major *Wrangel*, who was kill'd soon afterwards, and march'd Sword in Hand towards the *Russians*, who were intrench'd up to their Teeth behind their Waggon. As there were a great Number of them, they made a terrible Fire, but without Effect, most of their Shots flying over the *Swedes*, who were now ascending a Hill, at the Top of which the Enemy was barricaded. Our Fire, on the contrary, did great Execution, very few Shots miscarrying; and our Foot, having at last broke thro' and forc'd their Intrenchments, began to make a dreadful Execution, in Spite of all the vigorous Resistance of the *Russians*, who, seeing themselves press'd and lost, fought with the But-ends of their Muskets, Halberds, and Pikes, and at last threw themselves under the Waggon, where they made a most desperate Defence.

The long Pikes of our Foot were now so extremely useful, that the *Ras-*
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fians, seeing themselves unable to make any longer Resistance, took to their Heels in the Rear of their Intrenchments, and fled in great Confusion thro' the Village of *Ziaggerini*, which is situated some Miles off towards *Birsen*. Great Numbers of them were kill'd in their Flight; and it is certain, that not one would have escap'd if the Count had had more Horse, the whole Complement which he had with him amounting only to 300 Men.

As to the *Poles*, they made not the least Motion during the whole Action, contenting themselves with very quietly looking on; but as the Count did not know what might be their Intention, he call'd back those who had pursu'd the Enemy, and presently drew up all his Men in Order, that he might be ready in Case they should think proper to attack him a second Time. But as they thought of nothing less than so rash an Enterprize, after they had observ'd our Disposition, and gather'd together those *Russians* who had had the good Fortune not to fall into our Hands, they ran away full Speed, and by that Means about Noon put an End to a very obstinate and bloody Battle.

The Count now order'd a double Discharge of 16 Pieces of Cannon, as a Signal of his Victory, and then commanded his Men to conduct all the Wounded to *Ziaggerini*, together with all the Cannon and the Trophies, which consisted of 12 brass Culverins and Field-pieces, 1058 small Banners of Taffety or Damask, embroider'd with Gold, Silver, and Silk, and 33 Drums, without reckoning the rest of the Booty, which was considerable.

Six Hundred *Muscovites* were slain on the Spot, besides those kill'd in the

Flight; so that of all this Body, 1200 *Russians* only return'd to *Birsen*, having lost in this Rencontre a Colonel, a Lieutenant-colonel, and several other Officers. Of all the Prisoners we spared only 8. On our Side, 2 Majors, and 40 Men, were kill'd, and about 100 Officers and Soldiers wounded.

The Night after the Battle the Count remain'd in the Village, and gather'd together his Dead and Wounded; the next Day he decamp'd on his Return thro' *Bausk* to *Mittau*.

This Victory, gain'd over an Enemy six Times our Superior, and intrench'd, was much applauded, and pleas'd his Majesty so greatly, that he sent Count *Lowenbaupt* a Commission of Major-General, and a little While afterwards that of Vice-Governor of *Courland*, in the Absence of Mr. *Stuart*, who was gone to drink the Waters in *Germany*.

The King was now at *Okniow*; but being desirous to speak with the Cardinal, he set out with a few Attendants for *Warsovia*, and had an Interview with that Prelate at *Villanova*, where the Conference lasted three Hours, namely, from Four in the Afternoon till Seven.

Immediately after this Interview, General *Rheinschild* was order'd to march with his Army towards *Rava* and *Lenzici*. We have already remark'd, that this General, when he quitted the King at *Sandomir*, had set out to cover the Assembly of the Nobility, conven'd at *Warsovia*. He had pass'd thro' *Janowitz* by *Radom*, and came to *Blonia* the 9th of *January*, where he had canton'd his Army in the adjacent Houses and Villages. The 16th of the same Month he detach'd Lieutenant-Colonel *Rathleib* with 200

Horse towards *Zukazow*, who defeated a Party of *Poles* and *Saxons* in a little Town call'd *Clodowa*, and took a Captain and two Lieutenants, with 22 *Pancernes*.

Rheinschild having receiv'd Orders to march towards *Rava*, decamp'd from *Blonia*, and arriving at *Rava* the 24th of *March*, he quarter'd his Troops in the Neighbourhood of that Town; and judging that it would be convenient to prepare a Magazine at *Wladislaw*, situated on the *Vistula*, and on the Road to *Tborn*, he detach'd Major *Laurence Creutz* with 270 Horse, to possess himself of that Place, and presently to get together whatever might be necessary for the Subsistence of the Troops, in Case his Majesty should take that Road; and as he apprehended a Surprise from the Enemy, Colonel *Lilliebock* was order'd some Days afterwards to reinforce him with his Regiment of Foot.

As soon as the Floats were arriv'd at *Warsovia*, the King went to *Prague* to see them, and caus'd a Bridge to be thrown over the *Vistula*, at the same Place where he had pass'd before, which was perfected in a few Days. His Majesty was now again attack'd with some feverish Symptoms, which did not however prevent him from continuing his Exercises, which, join'd to his excellent Habit of Body, contributed much to the entire Re-establishment of his Health.

The King, having decamp'd from *Okniow* on the 7th of *April* with the Court and Drabans, took up the same Quarters at *Prague* which he had been in the preceding Year, and gave some Days afterwards a publick Audience to

the Imperial, *French*, *English*, and *Dutch* Ministers.

The Army having follow'd his Majesty, all the Regiments were distributed near the Town, and in the Suburbs of *Warsovia*, the better to guard against the Insults of *Potocki*, whose Parties continually scour'd the Country, and had lately carry'd off some of the Horse belonging to the Regiment of *Smoland*, and some Foot from another Regiment: They were desirous of doing the same by the Regiment of Horse-Guards, whom they closely attended in their March, but had not the Courage to attack them.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Charles Horn* was order'd at the same Time to return to *Breszizi* with the Regiment of *Pomeranian* Foot, that the Army might not be too much scatter'd, since we had entirely chang'd the Plan of Operations for the Campaign. We had, however, so well succeeded in all our Marches, that the River *Bug* only separated our Army from that of *Saxony*, the latter being encamp'd near *Pultowck* along that River, while ours was posted between that and the *Vistula*.

The King, burning with Impatience to come to Blows with the Enemy, thought on all imaginable Methods to oblige them to defend themselves, and stand their Ground: To this Purpose, commanding Prince *Wurtemberg* and some others to follow him, he repair'd to the *Bug*, from whence he could reconnoitre the *Saxon* Camp, the Sight of which extremely animated him; but whilst he was riding backwards and forwards, the better to remark their Situation, and the Ground thereabouts; he perceiv'd at a Distance a *Saxon* Cor-
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poral with some Dragoons, who had pass'd the River in Quest of some Provisions in a neighbouring Village. The King presently pursu'd them, but could take no more than two; the Corporal, with the rest, having had Time to recover their Boat, and save themselves. His Majesty, on his Return to *Warsovia*, being firmly resolv'd to attack the Enemy, set his Men to Work about a Bridge which was to be thrown over the *Bug*, and at the same Time gave private Orders to get together all the Boats which they could find, small and great, to place them on Waggon, and, when every Thing was ready, to carry them to *Nowodwor*, a Village where the *Bug* discharges itself into the *Vistula*, and where *Charles Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*, had formerly pass'd that River, and defeated his Enemies.

Whilst these Preparations were carrying on, his Majesty made a Promotion of General-Officers. Lieutenant-General *Rheinschild* was made General of Horse; Lieutenant-General *Liewen* General of Foot; and the Major-Generals *Meidel*, *Stuart*, and *Stromberg*, were made Lieutenant Generals. Some Days afterwards Count *Morstein*, who had been deputed by the Assembly at *Sandomir* in the Quality of first Ambassador to his Majesty from the Republick, arriv'd at *Marienburg* with two other of our Commissaries, namely, *Zudowsky*, Ensign of *Cracovia*, and *Stephen* Count of *Leznic Lescinsky*, according to the 6th Article of the Result of the Council which they had held. They demanded an Audience of his Majesty, which was granted them; but as their Propositions were by no Means agreeable to that Satisfac-

tion and Security which he requir'd, they receiv'd the next Day a very short Answer, by which they were given to understand, that his Majesty apprehended that the Orders or Members of the Republick would have immediately enter'd on such Measures as might have produc'd a firm Peace, and that his Majesty might, in Consequence thereof, have regulated his Proceedings, and taken such Steps as he should have thought proper. As to the rest, they were referr'd to a Declaration made in the King's Name by Count *Piper*, to the Cardinal Primate, of the same Date with the Day of their Audience, and which laid down the Deposition of King *Augustus* as a Preliminary Article.

This Embassy having incens'd, instead of appeas'd his Majesty, he now resolv'd to push his Enemy to the utmost. As soon as the necessary Preparations were made for the Expedition in Question, the King departed from *Prague* on the 18th of *April* at Four in the Morning, without speaking to the Cardinal, to whom Count *Piper* afterwards sent a Letter, when the Battle of *Pultowck* was gloriously determin'd.

The King took with him all the Horse and Foot, except the Regiment of *Upland*, which remain'd at *Prague*, to cover the Court, the Chancery, and the Artillery. The Colonels *Axel*, *Sparr*, and *Clerk*, were likewise order'd to stay at *Warsovia*, to take Care of the Sick, and have an Eye on the Conduct of the *Poles*. The *Vitines* began in the Night to fall down the *Vistula* under the Command of Colonel *Rank*; and the Waggon, which carry'd the Boats for the Bridge, took the same Road

Road with his Majesty, and with the Horse, being all arriv'd at *Nowodwor*, which is four Leagues from *Warsovia*, they began in the Evening to work upon the Bridge, under the Direction of Count *Stenbock*.

The 19th the Saxons having appear'd in the Morning on the other Side opposite to the Bridge, where they threw up some Breast-works with a Shew of intrenching themselves, his Majesty caus'd 16 Pieces of Cannon to be brought down to the Banks of the *Bug*, which play'd so well on the other Side, that the Enemy were oblig'd to abandon their Works, which were just begun. This determin'd the King immediately to pass over 1500 Men to take Possession of them. Lieutenant-Colonel *Poss* pass'd the River in Front with 500 of the Foot-Guards on Boats which they had ty'd together, and on the Floats. *Poss* was supported by Count *Jasper Sperling*, a Lieutenant-Colonel, at the Head of 1000 Men of the same Regiment, who all landed safely, without any Opposition from the Saxons, who, tho' they were all Horse and Dragoons, had no Disposition to engage, and retreated out of Musket-shot to at least 150 Paces Distance.

The King, who plainly saw by this that the Enemy were afraid to try the Fortune of a Battle, pass'd hastily over the River, follow'd by the Princes of *Wurtemberg* and *Saxe-Gotha*, several Generals and Officers; but as the Boats could not be push'd fast enough to the Shore, his Majesty threw himself into the Water some Distance from the Bank, and led his Troops after him, who were all up to their Middle.

This bold Action so intimidated the Saxons, that they ray away full Speed, without a single Discharge, nor were we able to overtake one of them, except a few *Poles*, for want of Horse. The King, however, pursu'd them Half a League Home to the Village *Ponikowa*, where he left the Detachment, which posted itself there, and return'd the same Evening on Foot to *Nowodwor*, with the Princes and other Officers.

The next Day the King pass'd the Bridge, in order to find out the Enemy. His Majesty was attended by the Princes, Generals, Officers, and Volunteers, and follow'd by his Drabans, his Regiment of Horse-Guards, with the Regiments of Horse of *Smo-land* and *Scania*, and 200 of Colonel *Buchwald's* Dragoons. He knew the chief Forces of the Enemy were posted at *Pultowfsk*, under the Command of Veldt-Marshal *Steinau*.

He took the Road of *Ponikowa*, where our Detachment ead pass'd the Night. Before this Village runs a little River, not wide, but deep, over which was a Bridge, which the Saxons had broke down in their Retreat. The King, who saw their advanc'd Guards on the other Side, was so animated, that he resolv'd to pass it instantly, whatever Price it cost him. A *Polander*, who offer'd to found the Depth, had all the Difficulty in the World to get over to the other Side; where, as some Saxons were approaching to lay hold of him, the King order'd some of his Men to make ready to fire on them, which check'd them, and gave our People Time to fetch him back in a small Boat which they had

had at last found in a little Village. His Majesty order'd 30 Ducats in Gold to be immediately paid down to the *Polander* on his Return.

The King, seeing the Impossibility of passing at this Place, went Half a League farther to find out another near a Mill; where, having sounded the Ground himself, he found it firm, and threw himself the first into the Water; whose Example was presently follow'd by all his Men, only one of whom was drown'd, notwithstanding the Rapidity of the Current, and that a great Number of our Cavalry were oblig'd to swim over their Horses.

His Majesty then march'd thro' a neighbouring Wood, without the Enemy's having the least Suspicion. We took some *Valoches*, with a Kettle-Drummer, Prisoners, who were far from believing us so near. At last, after a Moment's Halt, we arriv'd at a little Village, where a *Saxon* Officer was posted with some Dragoons, who were all taken, except a very few that escap'd, and carry'd the first News to Mr. *Steinau* of the Approach of a large Body of *Swedes*. The King, who follow'd on a full Trot at their Heels, arriv'd at *Pultawsk* before Break of Day, without having stopp'd a single Moment during the whole Night, after having surpriz'd several advanc'd Guards who were posted on that Road.

Steinau, at the first News of our Approach, came forth at the Beginning of the Night to reconnoitre us; but he thought us not so strong as we were; nor did he imagine that we intended to attack him, much less had he the least Suspicion that the King was there in Person. However, at his

Return he drew out his Squadrons in Battalia on a Hill before the Town, and gave Orders, out of Precaution, that all those who were posted in different Places should mount their Horses, and come immediately to his Assistance; which they did, but it was now too late.

The King being arriv'd in Sight of the Enemy, found them busy in making the proper Dispositions to receive us. His Majesty presently examin'd the Ground, and the Defile which led to the Town, as much as the Darkness would permit him, and afterwards rang'd his Horse in several Lines.

Steinau, whom the Break of Day now undeceiv'd, surpriz'd at the Number of our Horse, which were superior to his own, thought of taking the necessary Measures for a Retreat. With this View, he gave his Men Orders to return to the Town, which is surrounded with Water, intending to defend himself by pulling up the Draw-Bridges on all Sides; but the King, who presently suspected his Intention, detach'd the Dragoons to cut off his Passage, who attack'd him so briskly, that Colonel *Buchwald* was with his Squadron on the Bridge at the same Instant as the last Saxons were pressing to pass. *Buchwald* made himself immediately Master of the Gates of the Town, after a very slight Resistance.

The Saxons now fled full Speed thro' the Town, passing near the Castle to save themselves over the Bridge on the River *Narewa*; but they were so smartly pursu'd by the Dragoons, that falling over one another, those who were once pass'd broke down the Bridge, and abandon'd such as remain'd in the Town to the Mercy of the

the Conqueror. These now made no longer Resistance, and throwing down their Arms, begg'd humbly for Quarter, which was presently granted them by his Majesty himself, who was now come up with the Drabans and the other Regiments. We afterwards refitted the Bridge, and Colonel *Buchwald* pursu'd the Enemy Half a League farther, but was not able to overtake them.

The King having pass'd himself with a small Number, attack'd Lieutenant-General *Beust*, who seeing no Possibility of escaping, had hid himself, with some Dragoons, in a Water-Mill. His Majesty took him Prisoner himself, and without making himself known to him, left him his Sword on his Parole; and hearing a new Fire on that Side where we had enter'd, he hasten'd up to us, where he found a Party of our Horse, which had stood to observe the Enemy, engag'd with a *Saxon* Regiment which was just come from their Quarters, and knew nothing of what had pass'd. Our Horse receiv'd them so gallantly, that after having lost many of their Men both kill'd and wounded, they were utterly broken, and put to Flight in great Disorder.

As to Mr. *Steinaw*, he had the good Luck to save himself over a little Bridge, and thence thro' a Convent of *Jesuits*; but all his Baggage, with that of his Officers, a great Number of Horses, two Pair of Kettle-Drums, and five Standards, were taken by the *Swedes*.

Amongst the Prisoners, were the Count *de St. Paul*, 3 Majors, several other Officers, and between 6 and 700

Men, who were all conducted under a Guard to the Castle. Several Officers were kill'd on the Spot; but the Place where the Enemy suffer'd the greatest Loss was in their Passage over the last Bridge, where, rushing one upon another, more than 1000 of them were drown'd. It is almost incredible, tho' it be a certain and well-known Truth, that we had but eleven Men, in all, either kill'd or wounded.

In the Evening Mr. *Beust* being conducted to pay his Respects to the King, was very much surpriz'd to see the august Person who had taken him Prisoner. He had the Honour to sup with his Majesty, who ever afterwards gave him many Instances of his Goodness.

The next Morning, early, the King commanded Colonel *Wrangel* with the Drabans, 100 of *Buchwald's* Dragoons, and four Troops of the Horse-Guards, to go and look after the Enemy. His Majesty, attended by the Princes, and several Officers and Troopers, soon after follow'd this Detachment, after having given his Orders, and left the rest of the Horse at *Pultowsk* under the Command of Major-General *Ridderbielm*, they march'd all that Day without hearing any other News of the Enemy, than that they had abandon'd all the Places where we came.

We continu'd our March on the 23^d, and his Majesty about Noon being inform'd that the Enemy was at *Ostrolenka*, presently took that Road. After having march'd all Day, we arriv'd in the Evening at a Village one League distant from that Town, where the King himself made an Officer, and some *Saxons*, Prisoners, who inform'd

inform'd his Majesty that 3000 Saxons were advantageously intrench'd at *O-linka* with the *Litbuanian* Army.

As it was dangerous for so small a Number to give an Enemy Battle, who was so much their Superior, and reduc'd to defend themselves in Despair, and besides that the Person of his Majesty would run too much Risque, where the Loss appear'd inevitable; the Princes, the Counts *Wrangel* and *Stenbock*, and all the other Persons of Distinction, join'd in their Intreaties to dissuade his Majesty, who, at last, on their lively Instances, resolv'd, tho' with some Regret, to return back again.

We retreated two Leagues that Evening, to a Village which is five Leagues from *Pultowsk*, and where his Majesty caus'd the Detachment, which had great Need of Repose, to halt. We plac'd, however, very strong Guards on all Sides, to prevent a Surprize from the Enemy, who thought of nothing less than attacking us. The next Day, at 9 in the Morning, after Prayers, his Majesty continu'd his March, and arriv'd in the Evening at *Pultowsk*.

The Cardinal took this Opportunity to answer Count *Piper's* Letter, in which he had acquainted him of the King of *Sweden's* Departure. This Answer was very moving, and is a lively Picture of the Extremity to which the Affairs of *Poland* were at this Time reduc'd. It was written in the following Words:

I Flatter'd myself with the Return of his Majesty from his glorious Expedition, till the Moment that I receiv'd the Honour of that Letter,

which your Excellency writ me when you set out to join him. So sudden a Farewel could not be otherwise than very afflicting to me, as it depriv'd me of the Pleasure of embracing you in a closer Manner, and at the same Time threw me into a very great Anxiety on the present Posture of our Affairs, which seem to be entirely abandon'd to the Mercy of Fortune.

I have waited patiently five Months at *Warsovia*, in order to obtain a more agreeable Separation, and which might yield a greater Consolation to the two Kingdoms: Nor will I yet despair of the Piety of a Prince, who, conforming his Actions to the Will of God, will not disdain to hearken to the Voice of one, who neither ought to have, nor can have any other View than the Glory and the Interest of his People. The Angels were the first that proclaim'd Peace at the Birth of our Saviour. The first Word which he spake to his Apostles after his glorious Resurrection was Peace; it is this we are order'd to preach; a Circumstance which must excuse me before his Majesty, if I always talk in that Language. I doubt not but your Excellency will assist me with your Authority, and support that little Credit which I have always endeavour'd to merit of his Majesty; and that your Excellency will on your Part give me Reason in all Places in a real, not a ceremonial Manner, to express with how much Esteem and Tendernefs I am, &c.

Warsovia, May 4, 1703.

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Some Days afterwards the Assembly came to an End, and the King of Sweden appear'd as little satisfy'd as the Enemy, who had so loudly cry'd out against the Cardinal on the Account of their meeting. His Majesty, particularly, express'd great Impatience on their continual Delays touching the Proposition which had been made them of dethroning King *Augustus*. In a Letter dated the 5th of May, in which the Cardinal answer'd the King of Sweden's Declaration, he avoided even the Mention of this Article; which Silence determin'd his Majesty to have the Cardinal written to on this Subject a few Days before his Arrival at *Thorn*. Count *Piper* therefore writ to him in Substance as follows: 'That the Republick would do well to declare themselves as soon as possible by his Eminence, and positively to represent what Satisfaction she intended to give his Majesty, to procure from him a firm and solid Peace. That as his Majesty was always inclin'd to a strict Friendship with the Republick, so he would take Measures to prevent any future Disturbance being given to the Troops of Sweden; and to punish such as had had the Boldness to give them any hitherto.'

As the King never lost Sight of the great Object which he had constantly propos'd for the Determination of the War, he apply'd himself, immediately on his Return to *Pultowfsk*, to put the Army in a Condition of undertaking the Siege of *Thorn*, where the best Foot of the Enemy were shut up, and to penetrate afterwards into the Heart of their Estates. His Majesty had the Goodness the Day after

his Return, after having made Mr. *Beust* dine with him, to take that General alone with him into his Chamber, where he convers'd with him several Hours in the most gracious Manner in the World.

The Day following a Polish Count arriv'd on the Part of the Commissaries of the Republick, with Letters for Count *Piper*, whom he expected to find at *Pultowfsk*; this Count was very well entertain'd at Court.

The King having permitted Count *St. Paul*, who was a Colonel, and another Captain of Dragoons, to go on their Parole to *Warsowia* to be cur'd of their Wounds, gave Orders to Mr. *Greutz*, Major of the Horse-Guards, to escort all the rest of the Prisoners with good Horse, and a Squadron of Dragoons, and sent them on before; but his Majesty kept Lieutenant-General *Beust* near his own Person, and would have him always eat at his own Table.

The same Day, in the Afternoon, the King decamp'd from *Pultowfsk*, and march'd to *Szjotozin*. All the Regiments that had remain'd on the Bug, as well as that of *Upland*, being Foot, which was at *Prague*, had already receiv'd Orders to join his Majesty's Detachment. All these Troops were immediately put in full March. As to the Floats and *Vitines*, which were under the Command of *Ranck* and *Clerck*, they fell down the *Vistula*, keeping themselves always opposite to our Army in their March.

The 29th his Majesty proceeded thro' *Novamiasko* towards a Place where General *Welling* waited for him with a Party of Foot. They repair'd thro' *Plensko* to *Razimino*, where they

halted the next Day, on which Count *Piper* join'd the King. The Army march'd hence to a little Town call'd *Bodzenow*, being two Leagues distant, where we waited some Days for the entire Conjunction of all the Regiments.

Whilst the King was every Day thus gathering fresh Laurels in *Poland*, our poor Frontiers of *Livonia* lay expos'd to the Plunder and Barbarity of the *Russians*, who, as soon as they had open'd themselves a free Passage by the taking of *Noteburg*, exercis'd the most horrible Cruelties. They likewise laid Siege to the little Fort of *Nyenschanz*, a very bad Fortification, and very weakly maintain'd; which, nevertheless, defended itself so well, that they could not carry it but after a long Siege, and three subsequent Assaults. They allow'd the Governor, upon beating a Parley, very honourable Conditions; which the Enemy, however, did not think proper to keep, but made all the Garrison Prisoners of War.

Some Days afterwards they laid Siege to *Jama*, an old Castle two Leagues from *Narva*. They began to bombard it the 12th of May, and took it the 14th by Composition, the Governor retiring with his Arms and Baggage to *Narva*.

In this Manner the Czar made himself Master of all this desolate Country, whence he was afterwards able to make continual Irruptions into *Livonia*.

The King's Army having decamp'd from *Bodzenow*, pass'd by *Plozko* towards *Tschurs* on the Road to *Thorn*. As 7000 of the best Foot of King *Augustus* were here in Garrison under

the Command of General *Robel* and Major-General *Canitz*, the same who had commanded the Year before in the Fort of *Dunamund*, we hasten'd our March to shut them up, and prevent them from any Possibility of escaping.

We came then to *Camin*, near the Town *Drobozin*, where some Gentlemen being got together, fell on our Baggage, but without Success; for instead of the Booty which they were in Hopes of carrying off, they got nothing but Blows; and, for a Punishment of their Bravado, they had the Vexation to see all those Houses and Villages, where they retir'd, set on Fire.

The Army continu'd its March towards *Salmetz*, and the next Day came to *Bobrownika*, five Leagues from *Thorn*, where Count *Stenbock* was detach'd a few Days afterwards with some Horse and Foot to post himself a League from the Town on the River of *Dribentz*, and there to build a Bridge.

The *Saxons* had no sooner receiv'd Information of the King's Approach, than they gather'd up all the Peasants of the Country, whom they employ'd together with the Garrison, which was very numerous, to repair the old Fortifications, and add new ones. The Day following his Majesty coming with the Army to *Slotoriza* on the *Dribentz*, found the Bridge almost finish'd, as it was effectually a few Hours afterwards.

In the mean Time the advanced Guards of the Enemy were retreated under the Cannon of the Town. The Governor caus'd all the Houses of the Suburbs, which were nearest the Fortifications,

tifications, to be burnt; nor did he even spare the Church itself.

The King seeing this Fire afar off, without waiting till the Bridge was finish'd, pass'd the River at a Ford with his ordinary Retinue and some Dragoons, and approaching within a Quarter of a League of the Town, he attack'd an advanc'd Guard, and forc'd them to a hasty Retreat. The same Night 500 Horse were order'd to post themselves where the King had advanc'd the Evening before. They were reforc'd the next Day by another Detachment; so that the Enemy being oblig'd to quit all their Avenues, and shut themselves up within the Walls, his Majesty pass'd all his Foot over the *Dribentz*, and brought them to an Encampment almost under the Cannon of the Town.

His Majesty rode round the Town to reconnoitre it, and advanc'd up to the Glacis of the Counterscarp. To keep the Town block'd up, we posted a Guard on the *Vistula* on the Side of *St. James's Gate*, amongst the Ruins of those Houses which had been burnt, under the Command of a Major. We likewise plac'd another Guard on the other Side of the Town opposite to the Gate of *Culm*, in a Garden near the Church which they had burnt, under the Command of a Colonel.

Several other Guards, of less Consequence, were distributed in several other Places, so near to each other,

that they could soon join for their mutual Support. They were reliev'd every Day by the two first; so that on the Side of the *Vistula* and the Palatinate of *Culm* nothing could either enter or go out of the Town.

To hinder likewise all Communication on the Side of the City *Dantzick*, all Avenues to the Town on that Quarter were possess'd by the Horse, reforc'd by a Regiment of Foot. In the Monastery of the Village of *Putgurse*, opposite to the Town, his Majesty plac'd *Albedhyl's* Dragoons, under the Command of Major *Traut-fetter*. As to the Floats, the *Vitines*, and the other Boats which were on the *Vistula*, they were plac'd near the Quarters where the Horse were posted on the Road to *Dantzick*, and were cover'd by the two Regiments of Foot of *Smoland* and *Calmar*. The Saxons, who were taken Prisoners at *Pultowsk*, were conducted into an Island of the *Vistula* under a strong Guard of Foot.

The Town being thus block'd up, the King repair'd with the Princes of *Saxe* and *Wurtemberg* to the Colonel's Quarters, who was posted before the Gate of *Culm*, and beheld over a Garden-Wall the Manner in which the Saxons carry'd on their new Ravelin. General *Liewen* being now come up, and standing by the Side of his Majesty * a little too openly, a Saxon Gunner perceiving him, pointed his Cannon that Way, and took off

* *Liewen* had impolitickly distinguish'd himself by the Richness of his Dress, which the King perceiving, and imagining he might on that Account be pick'd out by the Enemy, he order'd him to stand behind himself; and *Liewen*, who was afraid of endangering his Majesty, hesitated on obeying him. The King then took him by the Arm, and pull'd the General behind him, at which Instant he receiv'd the mortal Wound from a Cannon which was fir'd on his Flank. This Accident, says *Voltaire*, confirm'd the King in his Opinion of an absolute Predestination, and that his Destiny had so singularly preserv'd him for the Execution of very great Actions.

one of his Legs, of which Wound he dy'd the same Evening, much lamented, on Account of his Bravery and Experience in the Art of War.

The same Day twenty Soldiers, with a Captain, having been detach'd towards *Slotoriza* on the *Dribentz*, to bring up the Timber which was to be employ'd in building a Bridge over the *Vistula*, were attack'd by sixteen *Litbuanian* Companies, against whom they defended themselves with so much Bravery, that, after a continual Fire, they had the Happiness to gain the Bridge, and repulse the Enemy, with the Loss of a great many, both kill'd and wounded. This Action so extremely pleas'd the King, that he rewarded the Officer very liberally, and gave ten golden Ducats to every Soldier. These 16 Companies had been lately detach'd from the Town of *Pultowsk*, where the *Litbuanian* Army was posted after the Departure of the King of *Sweden*, in order to procure Intelligence.

Some Days after this Skirmish, 16 other Companies having pass'd the *Vistula* partly on Prames, and partly by swimming, near *Bobrownika*, to have an Eye on General *Rheinschild's* Army, which was collecting a Magazine at *Wladislaw*, as we have said above, and where Colonel *Liellieboek* was in Garrison with his Regiment, they took it in their Heads to attack them, which Design they executed at Day-break, under the Favour of a thick Mist with all imaginable Fury, and at first kill'd some Soldiers whom they met in the Streets; but the rest of the Garrison presently getting together, soon repuls'd them out of the Town with Loss, without giving

them Time to set Fire to a single House, much less to the Magazine, as they had propos'd. At last, to compleat their Misfortune, as they were reposing themselves in a neighbouring Wood, one *Vitting*, a Captain of Horse, who had been sent out to levy Contributions, by Accident surpriz'd them on his Return, and entirely defeated them: He kill'd above a Hundred of their Men, and took from them almost as many Horses, and all the Booty as they had plunder'd in so many different Places.

As to General *Rheinschild*, who commanded this Army, he went from *Rava* on the 4th of April, where we left him, and having pass'd thro' the Towns of *Gezew*, *Glowno*, and *Piontek*, he came on the 7th to *Lencici*, where he stay'd till the 14th of May, when he took the Road of *Zoravice*. The 15th he pass'd thro' the Town of *Britzia*, whence he departed for *Mievice*, and march'd on the 16th to *Radzieuf*, whence he came to pay his Respects to his Majesty before the Town of *Thorn*; he afterwards rejoin'd his Troops, with whom, on the 25th, he took the Road of *Konari*, as we shall see hereafter.

King *Augustus*, who had stay'd all this Time at *Elbing*, now set out for *Warsovia*, making his Tour thro' the Bishoprick of *Worms*, with Design of being at the Diet which he had conven'd at *Lublin*. He lodg'd in the Suburbs of *Prague*, in the same House which his formidable Enemy had quitted, not being willing to venture within the Town itself.

But the better to decry the *Swedes* as a Nation which trampled all Laws under their Feet, he complain'd to the foreign

foreign Ministers, and in all their Courts, on the Subject of the Battle of *Pultowsk*, which he would have look'd upon to have been a Breach of a Suspension of Arms, which he suppos'd to have been concluded between the two Armies. This Affair made so much Noise, that as the Cardinal had writ to *Sapieha*, the Great Treasurer of *Lithuania*, the King was so enraged, that he ordered Count *Piper* to write to the Cardinal, which he did on the 15th of May in pretty sharp Terms. This Letter from Count *Piper* entirely undeceiv'd the Cardinal, giving him very plainly to understand the Falsity of the above-mention'd Imputation.

While all this pass'd, the Saxons compleated a new Ravelin at *Thorn*, on which they had work'd with so much Diligence, without any Interruption from the King. For as he had resolv'd to keep this Town closely block'd up, he was well persuaded that such laborious Work, join'd to the Want of Provisions for so strong a Garrison, and the Distempers which rag'd among them, would not fail to reduce them in a little Time, without any Necessity of using Force, or exposing the Troops. We therefore suffer'd them to carry on their Works, and they had all the Liberty they could desire to strengthen them with as many Gabions and Guns as they pleas'd.

They fir'd incessantly on all our Quarters, especially those of the King and his Drabans near the Village of *Mockre*; those of the Town discharged their Artillery at the same Time. They did us not, however, any great Mischiefs; and, except some Horses which they kill'd, with an old Suttler, who had his Head carry'd off, and a

Scullion, who was divided in two by a Cannon-ball, none of our Men were much hurt. The King would never permit the least Breast-work to be rais'd before his Tent for the Security of his Person.

The Day following the Bridge was finish'd, which the King had caus'd to be built over the *Vistula*, out of Cannon-shot from the Town, to open a free Communication with the Troops encamp'd on the opposite Side.

At the same Time the Major-Generals *Ridderhielm* and *Nierob* were detach'd with their Regiments of Horse, in order to penetrate farther up into the Country, as well to furnish us with necessary Forage, as to escort the Provisions which should be brought to the Camp, and, above all, to have an Eye on the *Lithuanian* Army, which pretended that they would march towards *Thorn*, and attack us.

Some Time afterwards the Regiment of Horse-Guards, with Colonel *Axel Sparr* at the Head of some Hundred Foot, were order'd to join the Major-Generals, which they did without Delay, and posted themselves all together in the little Town of *Straßburg* on the *Dribentz*, whence they laid all the Neighbourhood under Contribution; and in order to have always a free Communication with the Army, they put a Garrison into *Gollup*, which is on the *Dribentz* half way, or thereabouts.

At length, as the Time approach'd for the opening of the general Diet, conven'd at *Lublin* on the 9th of June, King *Augustus* came thither from *Warsovia*, where he had remain'd some Weeks. He arriv'd on the 7th, and was follow'd by the *Englisch* and *Dutch* Mi-

Ministers, who presented him with their Credentials on the Road, without being able, however, to give him the least Hope of any Accommodation.

The Diet being assembled on the 9th, while the *Russian* *Pospolite* met, likewise, some Leagues from thence; the first Thing they did was to elect a Marshal of the Chamber of the Provincial Deputies; and the Choice fell on Prince *Wisniowski* the Younger, a *Lithuanian*, and consequently, of King *Augustus's* Party.

The King then propos'd to them 16 Articles, which all turn'd on this Question, *Whether the Republick ought to prefer the Friendship of Muscovy to that of Sweden, in order to arrive at a firm and immediate Peace?* It is easy to imagine to which Side their Inclinations lean'd. The Exclusion of the Deputies of the *Higher Poland* came next on the Carpet. It was alledg'd, as a Pretence, that their Provincial Diet had been broken; but the true Reason was, that this Part of the Kingdom had always vehemently oppos'd the War with *Sweden*, and they fear'd lest those Deputies should be sent, by the Adherents of *Sapieha*, to kindle a Faction in their Favour. This Exclusion of the Deputies gave them such a Shock, that, binding themselves closely together, they at last concluded a formal Confederacy.

After the Deputies had retir'd, a great Outcry was rais'd in the Diet against the *Sapieha*, and against the Cardinal; but, to the great Surprize of the Court, that Prelate arriv'd six Days after the Opening. He set out from *Warsowia*, after having writ a Letter to the King of *Sweden* on the 2d of *June*, to dissuade him from the

Siege of *Tborn*, as it was a Town belonging to the Republick. The Court was much troubled at his Arrival, for they had flatter'd themselves with his Absence, by which Means they might more easily have succeeded, either by Persuasion or Force, in their Projects, which were, to declare War against *Sweden*; to make an Alliance with the *Czar*, and with *Denmark*; to condemn the *Sapieha*; and to annul the primatical Dignity.

The Cardinal enter'd the Town, as it were, in Triumph; attended by his own Retinue, and a numerous Train of several Senators and Lords, who went out to meet him. He immediately sent one of his Relations to the King to compliment his Majesty, and demand an Audience; but was much surpriz'd at the Coldness with which his Relation was receiv'd, and to hear, at the same Time, that the Audience was refus'd him; which Refusal was founded on, an Imagination that the Cardinal would not come to the Senate. He took, however, a Resolution to go thither without having paid his Respects to the King, which determin'd his Majesty to give him an Audience three Days afterwards. They had us'd many Endeavours to bring him into the Views of the Court, but that Prelate always strongly oppos'd them, and would never take the least Step which might be look'd on as an Effect of Weakness or Cowardice. He had his publick Audience when the King was on the Point of going to the Senate, whither he accompany'd him, and took his Place, without waiting till he was call'd.

The Affair of the Cardinal coming on the Carpet, some of the Deputies would

would have declar'd the Dignity of Primate vacant, as well as that of Archbishop, being desirous to make him pass for a Traitor to his Country, and a Partizan of *Sweden*. Tho' he was accus'd of enormous Crimes, and loaded with Injuries, he did not attempt to defend himself, but heard all with Patience, as he saw the Assembly prejudic'd and enrag'd against him, flattering himself that he should be able, by that Means, to appease the first Emotions of their Anger. However, to exculpate himself, he desir'd that he might conform with the rest, and take an Oath to the King, and to the Republick; which he instantly did, and all the Senators, and Members of the lower Chamber, even those who had not assisted at the great Councils of *Thorn* and *Marienburg*, follow'd the Example of the Primate, and took an Oath of Fealty.

The Party of King *Augustus*, surpriz'd at the Cardinal's Constancy, sought after new Opportunities to raise a Storm against him, as well as Mr. *Towianski*, Palatine of *Lencini*, and his Son, who was the Cardinal's Mission. But after his Eminence had given a full Scope to the Animosity of the Nuncios, he ventur'd to speak at another Sitting, which he did with so much Force and Vivacity, that he entirely remov'd from the Assembly all the Suspicions which had been rais'd against him.

It was remark'd, that the profound Silence of the lower Chamber, and the Attention which they gave to the Primate's Discourse, caus'd great Uneasiness in the King. He afterwards spoke twice himself, and dwelt much on the Blindness of the Republick,

her Disquiet, and Weakness in the Support of the Liberty of her Country. This he did with such Violence, that the Tables were soon turn'd.

The Nuncios, embolden'd by this Discourse, recover'd their Vigour, and spoke with more Freedom: They exaggerated the Elogiums of the Cardinal so far, as to call him the Father of his Country.

The Diet, however, came to a Resolution, which we shall mention a little lower, and the Affair of the *Sapieba* was concluded with more Moderation. The Alliances with the Czar and *Denmark* were carry'd in the Negative, as was the incorporating the *Saxon* Troops with those of the Crown.

During these Transactions, the King of *Sweden* answer'd, on the 29th of May, the Letter which the Cardinal had writ to him, to dissuade him from the Siege of *Thorn*. His Majesty, a little afterwards, sent Count *Stenbock* to *Dantzick*, to hasten the Transport of the Artillery, which would be necessary for that Siege, in Case the Garrison would not capitulate before they were attack'd in Form.

The Count, immediately, on his Arrival at *Dantzick*, sent Couriers to *Riga* and *Carelsroon* to press the Transportation; but as the Convoy did not arrive in the Road of *Dantzick* till the End of June, Count *Stenbock* made, in the mean while, his Propositions to the Magistrates, to pay a pretty considerable Sum of Money to the King, in the Form of a Contribution. The Town appear'd strangely alarm'd with this Demand, and would willingly have avoided the taking a Step which must be very disadvantageous, and of great Consequence to them for the future,

future. But as they enter'd immediately into serious Reflections on the past Wars, where their Obstinacy in not paying had drawn great Inconveniencies on them; and as they heard, besides, that a new Fleet was on the Point of appearing in their Road from *Sweden*, they conform'd to his Majesty's Will, and agreed with the Count to pay him in all 100,000 Crowns; desiring, nevertheless, to reserve certain Articles very favourable to their Commerce, but which were entirely refus'd them.

The Town of *Elbing* was summon'd at the same Time by the Count to pay their Contributions to the King, which the Magistrates had the Boldness to refuse, tho' the Citizens offer'd willingly to comply; and we shall soon see the Severity with which that Town was punish'd for their Refusal.

The Garrison of *Thorn*, in the mean while, began by little and little to diminish, by the Distempers occasion'd thro' their Fatigues, and Want of necessary Refreshments, not to mention their Magazine, which was infinitely exhausted. They were oblig'd to keep from the Troops a Part of their ordinary Allowance. However, as they had a large Provision of Powder and Ball, they were extremely prodigal on that Head, and fir'd on our Quarters without Cessation.

It is astonishing that his Majesty, who with his usual Intrepidity visited the Posts every Day, and approach'd

so near the Town that the Gunners were (if I may so express myself) oblig'd to fire several Times at his little Body of Attendants, during the whole Siege receiv'd no Wound, nor did any of his Attendants; for the Balls flew either over their Heads, or between the Legs of their Horses, or else pass'd by them.

But what is as surprizing, and what is rarely practis'd among polite Nations, was, that they spar'd the King's Quarters no more than the others, tho' it is usual to have the same Regard and Respect for those Tents, as for crown'd Heads. At their Morning and Evening Fire they never fail'd to distinguish the Head Quarters, where every one was in the greatest Danger of their Lives; and one Morning, particularly, a Bullet flew directly towards the King's Tent, but as it was wet, had not sufficient Force to pass thro' it*.

To replace the Regiments of *Ridderhielm* and *Nieroth*, the King brought up Major-General *Mörner*, with his Regiment of Horse, from *Rheinisch*'s Army, which lay at four Leagues Distance, and order'd them to encamp on the *Vistula*, below the Town, where the Regiment of Foot-Guards was likewise posted soon afterwards. His Majesty sent Orders also to the same Army, to bring up two Companies of *Lithuanians*, one of which, after having been some Time at the Camp, was detach'd with Co-

* There is a Circumstance in my Father's Journal, in Regard to this, which I think not proper to be omitted. • One Morning, (*says he*) as I was in Bed in my Tent, near the King's Quarters, I rais'd myself in my Bed to give some Orders to my Servants. I had scarce laid down again, when a Ball pass'd by, and broke a Case of Pistols to Pieces which I had plac'd at my Bed's Head; the Pieces of which fell on the Bedsted with a violent Noise. If I had not soon laid down again, this Ball would infallibly have taken off my Head.

lonel *Meyerfeld*, to join *Ridderbielm* and *Nieroth*, and to assist in the levying Contributions.

About this Time the Crown Army, which might amount to 4000 Men, joined the *Saxon* and *Lithuanian* Bodies, who were posted at *Pultowsk*.

As these last had formed a Resolution to deliver the Town of *Thorn*, they thought that the Conjunction of all those Troops would furnish them with means of executing their Project; a very fine one, if they had had Courage to support so noble and bold an Undertaking, which ended in only sending out Parties with great Diligence to discover what *Ridderbielm* and *Nieroth* were doing in their Neighbourhood. A Curiosity which cost them dear. For one of their Parties, consisting of about 1000 *Poles*, under the Command of *Potocki*, had the Misfortune, together with some *Saxons*, to fall in with a *Swedish* Detachment, who made Ten of them Prisoners, and killed a great Number. This Shock took from them all desire of giving us any farther Trouble; nor did they any longer dare to think of raising the Siege of *Thorn*, though they had given the strongest Assurance of it to *Robel* and *Cantiz*, by a Letter which they had found means to convey into the Town.

The Enemy had, however, their Revenge in *Ingria*. After they had taken *Noteburg*, *Nyenschantz*, and *Jama*, and built the Fort of *S. Petersburg*, the Czar turned towards *Finland* with part of his Army, to attack Major-general *Cronbiort*, who had not quite 4000 Men, both Foot and Horse. That General performed, nevertheless whatever could be expected from an experienced Officer.

To stop the Torrent of so numerous an Army, *Cronbiort* took Possession of the Pass at *Systerbek*, nine Leagues from *Wibourg*, where he was attacked by 25,000 *Russians*, who had marched through *Defiles*, *Morasses* and *Woods*, which were believed impassable. The Battle lasted from Six in the Morning till two in the Afternoon, with great Obstinacy on both Sides.

The *Russians*, who returned always to the Charge with the fresh Troops, at last won the Day, and forced the Major-general to think of a Retreat before it was cut off, which was performed with so much Order and Boldness that the Enemy could never break the least Line of our Men, nor take from them their Baggage and Artillery. *Cronbiort* then posted himself half a League from the Field of Battle, where he always repulsed the Enemy, who undertook to force his new Post.

His admirable Disposition astonished the *Russians*, who lost all Appetite of returning to the Charge; and Mr. *Cronbiort* thought proper to take an Opportunity, in the Night, of retreating three Quarters of a League from *Wibourg*. He lost in his whole retreat but 200 Men killed, with four Officers, but we do not include those who fell in the Battle.

The Regiment of *Tisenhausen* suffered much in this Action. We had 171 Men wounded, besides Lieutenant-colonel *Glasenapp*, Aid-de-camp-general *Armfelt*, Lieutenant-colonel *Leyon*, who lost an Arm, with thirteen other Officers.

When *Cronbiort* had arrived safely in the Neighbourhood of *Wiburg*, he placed a Battalion of Foot in the Town, which were followed by some others, who

who were all set to work on the Fortifications. Baron *Lindbielm*, Governor of that Province, was charged with the Direction of the Works; for they had no Doubt of being visited by the *Russians* with the first Opportunity. However, these undertook no such Matter; but after burning *Walkisari*, and some other little Places, killing or carrying away all they could find, they returned to *Nyen*, where they employ'd themselves in recruiting those Regiments which had suffer'd the most at the Battle of *Systenbek*. They provided themselves likewise with a good Number of Floats and Bridges, to convey them into *Esthonia*, where they intended to attack *Schlippenbach*, as we learned from their Deserters, and at the same Time to take Advantage of the Harvest.

With this View they reinforced their Detachment posted between *Nyen* and *Andowa*, and drew together a considerable Force near *Pitschur*, to make an Irruption into *Livonia*, on that Side near *Dorpt*.

But to return to the Diet of *Lublin*, which concluded with great Satisfaction to King *Augustus*; the Articles of the Convocation which we mention'd above, purported,

1. That, to augment the Crown Army to 30,000 Men, and that of *Lithuania* to 12,000, the fourth Penny should be paid on all Liquors; that a Poll-tax should levied to pay the Arrears due to the Army; and, for an Acquittance of the Elector of *Brandenburg's* Pretensions on the Town of *Elbing*, every Mill in the Kingdom should pay two Crowns.

2. That they should give the King

of *Sweden* six Weeks, to declare either for Peace or War.

3. That the *Sapiebas* should be declared Rebels, if after six Weeks, which they further allowed them, they did not surrender themselves to the King; that they might in that Case hope to preserve some of their Offices and Goods, otherwise the whole should be confiscated.

4. That no more Thoughts should be entertained of dethroning King *Augustus*.

5. That, if the King of *Sweden* would not accept a reasonable Peace, but would continue the War, King *Augustus* might enter into an Alliance with what Powers he thought proper.

6. That, when the Troubles are quieted, the King shall be permitted to visit his hereditary Dominions, as often as he thinks convenient, without being obliged to consult the Republick on those Occasions.

The Cardinal was afterwards obliged, by a *Senatus Concilium*, to reply to the King of *Sweden's* Letter of the 29th of *May*, which was in Answer to one from his Eminence of the 23d of that Month: But the Primate would not undertake it, at least unless the Commissaries of the Republick would write at the same Time, which they did on the 12th of *July*, acquainting his *Swedish* Majesty that they had been confirmed in their Commission, and expected that he would send Deputies, to enter into a Negotiation for Peace, in Behalf of the Republick.

They at first declared, that as the Republick had by a new Oath bound themselves to the King her Master; and that his Majesty had by a new

Diploma engaged inviolably to preserve all her Laws, Liberties, Immunities and Treaties of Peace, they were charged, by virtue of the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and of this new Diploma, to make the following Propositions in the Name of the Republick.

1. The Articles of *Oliva*, as well as all the other Treaties concluded with the Kings and Kingdom of *Sweden*, should be religiously observed, renewed and confirm'd by a new mutual Engagement on Oath.

2. It shall be so ordered, that the auxiliary Troops shall not remain in the Kingdom, and the Great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, any longer than the Continuance of the War, and shall return thither no more, on any Pretence whatsoever.

3. Care shall be taken that his *Polish* Majesty, or his Successors, shall not make any Alliance with the neighbouring Princes, nor any foreign Potentate, without the Consent of the Republick; and that any such Alliance shall be declared void on the Part of *Poland*.

4. His *Polish* Majesty, and his Successors, shall be hinder'd from bringing, either directly or indirectly, by themselves or others, their own Troops, or those of foreign Powers either by Sea or Land, into the Kingdom of *Sweden*, and the Provinces under her Dependence; and they shall make no War or IncurSION there, much less suffer any Troops to pass through *Poland*, or her Frontiers.

5. Nothing shall be neglected to prevent his *Polish* Majesty, or his Successors, from furnishing any Sub-

sidy or Troops to the declared Enemies of *Sweden*.

6. Matters shall be so regulated, that for the future none of the *Polonese* shall undertake Enterprizes of this Nature, without the Knowledge of the Republick; and that if any one should dare to enter on such forbidden Measures, he shall be declared a Disturber, and punished as a Criminal.

7. Lastly, That the foregoing Propositions, and those which shall be interchanged by the Commissaries, may be faithfully observed, and the Estates of the Kingdom of *Poland*, and of the Great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, and of the allied Provinces, engage, in Case of any Breach whatever, to unite against those who break it, and to send their Troops to the Assistance of the Party offended, for the Preservation of Peace and the Laws; for which they desire a reciprocal Security may be given.

The Cardinal before he quitted *Lublin*, writ at the same Time with the Commissaries, a very respectful Letter to the King of *Sweden* on this Head, who answer'd on the 21st of *July*; and at the same Time order'd Count *Piper* to write to the Commissaries of *Poland*, that his Majesty would willingly hearken to their Propositions, but remained firm in his Resolutions, absolutely to place no Reliance on the Promises of King *Augustus*, though seconded by all the Guaranty and Assurance that the Republick could give him. At last, though the Commissaries, and particularly Count *Morstein*, did their utmost to renew the Affair, and though the foreign Ministers joined their Endeavours also to bring

bring it to an Issue, they could gain no Ground, and the Negotiation was entirely broke up by the Steadiness of the King, who demanded the dethroning his Enemy, who had so often broke his Word, and of whose Promises he could make no Account. After the Diet was separated, the Imperial, English, and Dutch Ministers, sent their Secretaries to *Thorn*, who went down the *Vistula*, to inform his Majesty of all that had passed in this Assembly.

Notwithstanding all the fair Promises of the *Poles* to assist King *Augustus*, we continued to push the Siege of *Thorn*, with all possible Vigour. The Transports from *Sweden* were already arrived in the Road of *Dantzick*; and, some Days after, others came from *Riga* with the heavy Artillery. As the Recruits for the Army were without Officers, his Majesty dispatch'd a proper Number out of the Drabans and Foot-guards, with Orders to conduct them to the Camp forthwith.

King *Augustus* being arrived from *Lublin* at *Olsock* (a Castle belonging to Mr. *Biclinski*, Grand Marshal of the Crown, and situated a League from *Warsaw*) ordered a Bridge to be thrown across the *Vistula* at *Prague*, over which he filed off the *Lithuanian* Army, and the *Saxons* who came from *Pultowsk*, in order to be nearer *Thorn*. Their Design was to attack our Troops, which were encamped on that Side, while the Garrison made a vigorous Sally, and endeavoured to join them at the same Time: By this Expedient *Augustus* hoping to preserve his best Infantry, which he deemed in extreme Danger in Case it failed.

In the Interval that Prince ordered

a Detachment to march into *Upper Poland*, both to reduce the Nobles, who began to be regarded and were now to be treated as Rebels, and likewise to observe more closely the Movement of the Army under General *Rbeinschild*, which gave him great Uneasiness.

Prince *Wisniowski* had obtain'd the chief Command of the Troops sent on this Service, which had given such Umbrage to Prince *Lubomirski*, that he continued at *Warsaw* without any Inclination to follow it. He pretended 'twas against the Laws of the Realm, to admit the *Lithuanians* without the Consent of the Republick. But this gave the King so little Pain, that he left him to cool at leisure, persuading himself he would be easily regained, which actually succeeded soon after.

On the other Side, General *Brand* was on the Watch for all Opportunities to surprize the *Swedes*, who were encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Strasburg* and *Neumarck*, and who had sent out Detachments as far as *Lauterburg* to raise Contributions: Intelligence of which being brought to that General, and that one of these Parties still remained there, he marched immediately with all his Forces, amounting to 6 or 7000 Men, in quest of them. As all the Inhabitants were fled, and Major *Charles Creutz* of the Horse-Guards, who was the commanding Officer, could not be apprized of the Enemy's Approach, he was attacked by them so suddenly, that he had scarce Time to put his little Troop, of about 400 Horse, in a Posture of Defence.

They however behaved with such Gallantry, that Mr. *Brand*, having made

made his utmost Efforts to break thro' them, and being always repulsed with Loss, at last gave Orders for all his Dragoons to alight, while the Horse entered the Town in another Place, to attack them on all Sides at once. *Creutz* then seeing himself surrounded, had now nothing to do, but force his Way Sword in Hand; which he executed with all imaginable Bravery, bearing down all before him, and plunging into a pretty rapid Stream, which he swam across, and happily landed on the other Side; losing in the Action, and in the Water, a Captain, a Lieutenant, and near 180 Troopers, of which some were made Prisoners, and conducted to *Warsaw*, whence they were afterwards exchanged against the Saxons taken at *Thorn*. The Enemy, extremely surprized at the prompt Resolution and Intrepidity of *Creutz* in passing the River, durst not pursue him, but let him return quietly to *Neumarch*, having received but a slight Contusion in the Action.

Immediately upon his Arrival there, Major-General *Nieroth* put himself at the Head of his Regiment, and, taking *Creutz* with him, marched full Speed towards *Lauterburg*, where *Brand* yet remained in Suspence; but, fearing at last he should be attacked in his Turn, retired as fast as possible, not caring to hazard a second Engagement. Mr. *de Nieroth*, at his Arrival, having caused the Dead to be interred, and gathered together certain of the wounded, who had hid themselves in the Wood, returned to *Neumarch*, whither the King a few Days after sent a Reinforcement of 500 Men, to secure them more effectually from the Insults of the Enemy.

Upon another Side, Prince *Wisniowski* and Mr. *Steinau* approached with their Army, within seven Leagues of *Thorn*, to put in Execution the Project which they had formed, to save, if possible, the fine Garrison inclosed in that City. But, as they had learned his Majesty had thrown yet another Bridge over the *Vistula*, to render the Communication more easy with the Troops encamped on the other Side, they had not the Courage to attack us. Their Parties however approached frequently so near our advanced Guards, that they were obliged to fire upon them. The Saxons in *Thorn* on their Parts likewise made a Sally; but, in passing over the Boats, to see if the Succours promised them were arrived, and also to conduct certain Head of Cattle into the City, were repulsed and compelled to give over their Design.

Prince *Wisniowski* seeing then the Impossibility of saving that City, wheel'd all at once towards *Great Poland*, in Order to dissipate the Confederates, who increased in Numbers every Day; and had not only elected a Marshal, but even assembled publicly in the little City of *Skroda*, deliberating on the State of the Republick, protesting against all the pernicious Decrees of the Diet of *Lublin*, and entreating the Cardinal to place himself at their Head.

General *Rheinschild*, who had marched from *Konari* to *Ruski*, June the 3d, from thence to *Scarzino* the 15th, the 17th to *Colo*, and the 1st of July to the City of *Camia*; from whence he turned towards *Great Poland* to procure Intelligence of the Confederates; proceeding the 13th to *Jagorow*, and the

16th

16th to *Zirkzow*, an Estate belonging to the General of *Great Poland*, a Partizan of King *Augustus*; where having rested 'till the 13th of *August*, he marched on to the little Town of *Pizdri*; and, being here inform'd of the March and Approach of Prince *Wisniowski*, he decamped the next Morning, and marched strait on to *Wrezna*, a small Town two Leagues from *Skroda*, in Order to protect the Confederates: Some Days after which he detached Lieutenant-Colonel *Konigsheim* to observe the Motions of the Enemy.

Who, having had Advice about five Leagues from thence, that *Wisniowski* was yet thirteen Leagues off, and that a Party of 500 *Valoches* had passed within half a League of him to reconnoitre the Army of *Rheinschild*, belived it his Duty to attack them. Accordingly he marched after them, encounter'd and defeated them, taking a Pair of Kettle-Drums, and certain Prisoners; after which he posted himself in the Village of *Mielezun*, and intrenched himself in the best Manner he could.

But as Misfortune would have it, a famous *Lithuanian* Leader, called *Bandonir*, who, by the Order of *Wisniowski*, had lain concealed in an adjoining Wood with twelve Companies of *Valoches*, six Troops of *Pancernes*, two Companies of *Tartars*, 280 *Ger-Horse*, 400 *Dragoons*, and 600 *Saxons*, rushed out suddenly on Mr. *Konigsheim*, and attacked him so briskly, that, finding himself surrounded on all Sides, and oppressed with Numbers, he was obliged to surrender himself Prisoner, together with Mr. *Funk*, Captain of *Dragoons*, having first seen an hundred of his Men killed. General *Reinschild*,

who was soon apprized of this Incident, flew thither with two Regiments of *Dragoons* to sustain his Party, and repulse the Enemy, but arrived too late, they being already retired to the little Town of *Sluppie*, and, tho' he pursued them even thither, found it impossible to overtake them, they having thought proper to make the best of their Way, to avoid a second Combat. Some Days after the General made another Visit to the same Place, in Hopes they would venture to return; but, finding the Town deserted, he marched on to *Mielezun*, and the 29th to *Merossaw*, a League and a half from *Skroda*, to be nearer the Confederates, who, in the Interval, had sent Deputies to *Wisniowski*, to beseech him not to treat them as Enemies.

Rheinschild, being obliged to decamp for Want of Forage, marched the 2d of *September* to *Kurnitz*, the House of a Nobleman, near the Town of *Buny*, two Leagues from *Poznan*. In passing by the Camp of the Confederates, they sent to desire he would not remain in that Palatinate; which Message was owing to their Chiefs, who, having fair Estates in those Parts, were fearful those Troops would prove but bad Neighbours: But as Mr. *Rheinschild* gave them to understand, it was absolutely necessary for their Safety that he should continue there, the Enemy waiting only 'till his Back was turned to waste all before them with Fire and Sword, they readily consented, and were afterwards highly pleased to be under his Protection.

The Count *de Stenbock* had left *Oliwa*, where he had been some Time with his Recruits, which amounted to some thousands of Horse and Foot, and

and a little after arrived happily in the Camp before *Thorn*. His Majesty immediately distributed the Infantry among the different Regiments, and detached the Cavalry under the Command of *Ransford*, Adjutant of the *Drabans*, beyond *Dribeniz* towards *Plockzco*, to oblige the Nobility to pay the Contributions imposed upon them.

Some Days after, the Artillery and Ammunition arrived on the Vessels used in going up the *Vistula*, but could not reach *Thorn* by three Leagues, because the Water was then so extremely shallow; which obliged the King to transport the whole in Waggon: the rest of the Way, not without infinite Difficulty and Labour; his Majesty himself attending to give the necessary Orders, and exposing his Person all the while to the Fire of the Enemy's Cannon, one of which they actually levelled at him; and with so good an Aim, that the Ball grazed him in its Passage, and imminently endangered his Life. In the mean while a new Reinforcement of Troops arrived in the Road of *Putsik*, a Place seven Leagues from *Dantzick*, in the Possession of the King, who had caused it to be fortified, that he might have the Command of a Sea-port to serve him on all Emergencies.

As soon as the Artillery was in a Condition for Service, the King proceeded to attack the City with greater Vigour than ever; and, not content with holding it blocked up, ordered a Battery to be erected in a Garden near the *Culm-Gate* of four Mortars and eight Pieces of Cannon, and, upon an adjoining Eminence, another of six.

His Majesty order'd the Trenches to be opened the 9th of September, between the Hours of nine and ten at Night, in two different Places; viz. on the Side of the *Vistula*, where a Major was posted, and at the Foot of a Hillock called *Bekersberg*; and, placing himself at the Head of 800 Infantry, who covered the Pioneers, defeated the advanced Guard of the Enemy, taking a Lieutenant and six Soldiers Prisoners, and having six of his own wounded.

The Works were carried on all Night in profound Silence, but being perceived at Day-break by the Saxons, they made a terrible and continual Fire upon us, both from the Ramparts and a Tower, where the Citizens had mounted some Cannon: Notwithstanding which the King was always foremost to encourage the Pioneers with his Presence and forward the Works. It happened the same Day, that while he leaned with his Elbow on a Parapet of Fascines, and talked to the Colonel upon Duty, a Bullet passed between his Arm and the Parapet without doing him any Harm; he barely smiling at the Incident, without betraying the least Emotion beside. As he every Day visited the Trenches, for the most Part on Horseback, it drew upon him a Hail of Musquet-Balls from the Enemy, which made every Body tremble round him; but he always preserved the same Tranquillity even in the midst of the greatest Dangers.

On the Side of the *Vistula* the Trenches were carried on with the like Industry. But the Saxons believing they should meet with fainter Opposition there than at *Bekersberg*, made a Sally with 200 of their best Grenadiers, falling

falling upon the Peasants, who were cleansing the Trench along the *Vistula*, and obliging them to retire. But the Baron *Erich Sparr*, who commanded that Day, coming up, soon put these Adventurers to Flight, after having killed ten of their Men, wounded a great many more, and pursued the rest to the very Glacis of the Counterescarp, the Garrison looking coolly on from the Top of the Ramparts, without taking a Step to sustain or relieve their Fellow-Soldiers. We had four Men killed in this Rencontre, and near upon twenty wounded.

We were never troubled with Frolick of this Kind on the Side of *Bekersberg*, but the Garrison continued a dreadful Fire from their Cannons and Mortars, discharging from the last such a Quantity of Stones, that we were obliged to build certain little Out-works for our better Security.

We had now a third Battery erected near the *Vistula*, which was mounted with twelve Pieces of Cannon; a fourth on the other Side of the River with six 12 Pounders; and a fifth close under the City upon the Hill of *Bekersberg*.

As soon as these were in a Condition to play, the King order'd them to fire from all at once. This began between four and five Hours after it was dark, and continued without Intermision till Break of Day; and with such Success, that we had scarce fired two Hours before we saw the Flames break out in three different Places. One Cannoneer in particular fired so exactly on the Town-house with a red-hot Ball, that the Steeple blazed out immediately like a Flambeau, and set fire to that whole fine Building. All the Merchandizes laid up there were

consumed, as was likewise the Corner of the Market-Place, where King *Augustus* had lodged; a Magazine and several other Houses shared in the same Fate.

This terrible Fire continued all the following Day till Night, because of the great Number of Bombs which we discharged incessantly. The Damage which the poor City suffer'd, by the Ruin of its Churches and other fine Buildings, was irreparable; and the Mischiefs spread the farther, as the Inhabitants dare not stir out to extinguish the Flames.

In this Distress, as they had several Times already in vain solicited the commanding Officer for Leave to send Deputies to the Camp, they resolved to expose themselves to no more Refusals; but, crowding in great Numbers to the Steeple nearest the Walls, they sounded a trumpet, to express the Extremity to which they were reduced. But this Step so exceedingly incensed *Mr. de Camitz*, that he put them all into Prison, and treated them with great Severity.

The same Day the King caused certain Mortars to be transported from the Battery before the *Culm-Gate* to that near the *Vistula*, which was commanded by *Mr. de Bunaw*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Artillery; because the Magazines of Powder, which the Saxons preserved in the Cloisters of the *Dominicans*, and in their Neighbourhood, were more remarkably exposed on that Side; after which we began again to bombard the City with great Violence, and fired it in several Places; but the Flames were almost as soon extinguished as they broke out, by the indefatigable Endeavours of the Governor,

Governor, who had now learned more Experience, by having suffer'd so greatly from the first Bombs that were thrown.

It was during this Siege, that by Order of General *Rheinschild* the Baron *de Mardfeld* took Possession of the City of *Posnania*, by whom the Fact was related in the following Manner.

' After the Arrival of General *Rheinschild* the 2d of September with his Army at *Kurnik*, situated about two Leagues from *Posnania*, he detached the same Evening Lieutenant-Colonel *Wrangel*, of the Regiment of *de Horn*, with 200 Horse, to escort Captain *Funk* of the Regiment of Dragoon-Guards, who in Quality of Commissary, was to make certain Propositions to the City of *Posnania*; because no Question was made of its being disposed to submit on any reasonable Terms that should be offer'd.

' The Detachment being arrived, and Mr. *Funk* with two other Persons admitted and heard by the Magistrates, they told him, *They would consider of it*, without any farther Explanation. The Captain having waited several Days without bringing them to Reason, or obtaining any positive Determination, sent Advice to the General of all which had passed, that he might take such farther Measures as he thought proper; who, seeing there was no longer any Hope of obtaining any thing by fair Means of the Inhabitants, resolved on the 6th of September, towards Noon, to dispatch thither Colonel *Lillieboeck* and Lieutenant-Colonel *Waidenbeim* with 200 *Smolanders* and 200 of the Regiment *de Sudermanlande*, all Infantry, and four Field-pieces, with

' Orders to be there towards Evening, and endeavour to carry the Place by Surprise; adding by Way of Reinforcement 100 of the Dragoon-Guards, commanded by Captain *Ornstedi*.

' The next Morning, when it was broad Day-light, an Officer of the Party returned to the General, to acquaint him that there was more Difficulty than he could foresee to execute his Orders; upon which I was commanded to repair thither forthwith with certain Horse for an Escort, to deliberate on the Affair, and act as Occasion offered. I got there by Noon, and found Messieurs *de Lillieboeck*, *de Waidenbeim*, *Wrangel*, and *Funk*, meditating how to execute the Orders they had received. They told me they had Ladders, together with Boats and little Prames, all ready to pass the *Warta*, which washed the Walls of the Town, but believed it necessary to wait the Return of the Night before the Attack was made. Captain *Funk* likewise laid before me a Plan of the City and its Works, which I found sufficiently exact, as near as I could guess, by surrounding the Place.

' While I was yet employed in making this Tour, I received a Letter from General *Rheinschild*, signifying, that the Magistrates had solicited some Days Respite to consider more maturely what was to be done: But having received Intelligence that they had sent to *Wisniowski* for Succours at the same Time, he had thought proper to allow them but one Hour.

' When this Term was expired, without waiting for the 200 Men, which the General purposed to send

'to me towards Night, I determin'd
 'to make two Attacks on the Place;
 'one under the Command of Colonel
 'Lillieboeck with 200 Men, on the
 'Gerber Schantz, and the other with
 '200 more, commanded by Lieuten-
 'nant-Colonel *Waidenbeim*, on the
 'Work of *Breslau*. Having regulated
 'the Order of the March, Lieutenant-
 'Colonel *Wrangel*, at the Head of 100
 'Horse, posted himself before one of
 'the Gates, *Ornstedt* with a like Num-
 'ber before a second, and a Captain,
 'who had 100 more under his Com-
 'mand, was order'd to observe all
 'that pass'd round the whole City,
 'to prevent all Surprize from the
 'Enemy. I made this Arrangement
 'behind the *Bernardine*-Cloisters,
 'whence we could march under Cover
 'within forty Paces of the Fortifica-
 'tions, which were all filled with
 'People with Pikes and other Arms,
 'who seem'd to threaten us with an
 'obstinate Defence. then gave Or-
 'der, in case of Resistance, to spare
 'none who were found in Arms; but
 'at the same Time expressly forbid the
 'firing on the wretched Out-works of
 'the City, or on a Party of Beggars,
 'about 60, which the Citizens had
 'for Soldiers, neither of which were
 'worth Powder and Shot.

'About four a Clock in the After-
 'noon I gave Order for the Assault;
 'but, when I was arriv'd at the Town-
 'ditch, I saw issuing out of *Breslau* a
 'Person with a Flag of Truce, who
 'blew a Trumpet, and cried out, *The*
 '*City would surrender*. To which I
 'answer'd, the Magistrates should then
 'immediately bring me the Keys:
 'But as they demurr'd to this Reply
 'too long, I ordered the Scaling-

'Ladders to be fixed, and the Ram-
 'parts to be mounted Sword in Hand.
 'The Consternation of the Citizens
 'was then so great, that, being like-
 'wise at Variance among themselves,
 'they knew not what they did; some
 'inclining to fire, and others forbid-
 'ding it; and one among the rest at-
 'tempting to discharge a Cannon, a
 'second caught him round the Mid-
 'dle, and threw him off the Walls.

'While all this was transacting I
 'was before the Gates, and forced
 'them open without Delay. The
 'Horse being enter'd, drew up, toge-
 'ther with the Infantry, in the Mar-
 'ket-Place; after which having posted
 'sufficient Guards on the Gates, I or-
 'dered the Magistrates to attend me,
 'who immediately obeyed; and pre-
 'senting me with the Keys of the
 'City, I reprimanded them severely
 'for not having sent them at my first
 'Approach, and for their having be-
 'haved in so stubborn a Manner. I
 'then put them all under arrest in the
 'Town-house, and order'd the Citi-
 'zens to surrender their Arms, as like-
 'wise to pay instantly 1000 Crowns
 'to the Soldiers to redeem the City
 'from Plunder.

'After having given the necessary
 'Orders for the Defence of the Place
 'in case of an Attack, I sent back in
 'the Morning to the Camp at the
 '*Kurnyk* the Reinforcement of 200
 'Infantry, which came in the Night
 'with Mr. *de Wrangel*, the 200 Horse,
 'and the four Field-pieces; and some
 'Days after repaired thither myself.

ARWID AXEL MARDEFELDT.

In this Manner, without losing a Man, or striking a Blow, we became Masters of a City well furnished with Cannon and other Arms, and populous enough to have made a brave Defence, if the Burghers had been united among themselves.

Some Days after the Reduction of the Place, a Letter from King *Augustus* to the Magistrates was intercepted, in which he exhorted them to hold out as long as possible, promising them immediate Succour if they behaved as valiantly as might be reasonably expected from them. But this Encouragement came too late, and the City was obliged, for having so long delay'd opening her Gates, to pay a considerable Sum of Money, and furnish large Contributions to the Army. This Conquest was so much the more important, as it enabled us to cover the Assembly of the Confederates, and, at the same Time keep them both in Respect and Awe, in Case they took any Measures contrary to the Interest of his *Swedish* Majesty; and as it afforded us beside a safe Retreat both for our Baggage and wounded Men.

But Care was taken to render it more defensible; and the Works, that were most debilitated, were put in Repair forthwith. Colonel *Lilliebock* had the Command of it; and the General *Rheinschild*, to take away all Suspicion from the Confederates, immediately imparted to them his Success; which was received even better than there was room to hope; they not only declaring themselves satisfied, but intreating the General to continue a strong Garrison there, in Case he himself should be obliged to march at a greater Distance from it.

He likewise concluded, very reasonably, that the King of *Sweden's* Manifesto, which he communicated to them at the same Time, and by which he assured the Confederates of his Protection, had contributed to render them so tractable; and so much the more, as his Majesty threatened to use with the utmost Rigour all such who declared themselves in favour of the Diet of *Lublin*. This extremely rais'd their Courage, and animated them to pursue their Design with Vigour; which they declared was chiefly to maintain Religion, preserve their Liberties, and the publick Peace, without any Prejudice to the Duty they owed King *Augustus*. They likewise proposed to mediate a stable and solid Peace between the Kings of *Sweden* and *Poland*; in which View they had already sent a Deputation, as well to King *Augustus*, to assure him of their Fidelity, to the Cardinal, to the Army of the Crown, as to the King of *Sweden*, to acquaint them all with their genuine Sentiments.

Tho' it was with Regret King *Augustus* gave these Deputies Audience, he submitted to it notwithstanding: But the Concession had not Force enough to soften the Resentments of the *Poles*; on the contrary, as tho' it was by Contagion, many other Palatinates joined with *Great Poland*, till the Confederacy insensibly became universal, and tended finally to declare the Throne vacant.

At the same Time the Palatine of *Posnania*, whom the Confederates had sent to Prince *Wisniowski*, so effectually persuaded him that his Principals had no other End in View but the publick Good, and consequently
very

very ill deserv'd to be treated as public Enemies, that, all at once, he took a Resolution to return into *Liibuania* with his whole Army. According the Crown Troops immediately divided from the *Saxons*, taking their Rout to *Lemberg*, and the *Saxons* theirs to *Cracow* by the Way of *Pierekow*.

While the Enemy's Forces in *Poland* were thus dispersing, the Czar prepared to make an Irruption into *Livonia* and *Esthonia*, and actually effected it in the Beginning of September, when he departed from *Nyen* with considerable Forces and twenty-four Pieces of Cannon; and in his Way passing over the River near *Narva* to *Wesenberg*, he reduced that Place to Ashes, and laid all its Appendage in Ruins.

Major-General *Schlippenbach* was posted at *Summershausen* near *Wesenberg*, and immediately dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel *Freiman* at the Head of a Party to reconnoitre the Enemy. *Freiman*, having encountered their Advanced Guard while preparing a Bridge, destroyed it; but, as *Schlippenbach* found himself too weak to hinder the repairing it, much less resist such formidable Forces, he retired under the Cannon of *Revel*, to throw himself into that City in Case the Enemy threatened him with an Attack.

The *Russians*, not thinking themselves obliged to run their Heads against Stone Walls, and aiming at nothing but to ravage the open Country, marched with all their Forces from *Wesenberg* to *Kolka*, from thence to *Wittenstein* and other Places, where they committed great Disorders, and laid all waste with Fire and Sword.

Another Body of these Troops having enter'd *Livonia*, on the Side of *Pinschur*, behaved there in the same dreadful Manner, carrying away all the young People, and massacring all the old. After having spent the whole Campaign in destroying the Districts of *Gerven* and *Wirlande*, which make full half of *Esthonia*, and reduced to Ashes the Suburbs of *Dorpt*, with the Towns of *Wolmar*, *Wenden*, *Walk*, *Kalkus*, *Felin*, *Oberpablen*, and half-burnt *Ruygen*, with *Mentsen* and *Sagnitz*, they repassed the Frontier with Threats to return very speedily to *Narva*, which they proposed to besiege in Form, having held it in a Manner blocked up ever since the taking of *Jama*; from whence they made continual Inroads, and hinder'd all Provisions from being thrown in for the Support of the Garrison.

It is true, the *Dutch* greatly contributed to these Devastations of the *Russians*, by having furnished them with all Sorts of Arms and Ammunition. Mr. *Schlippenbach* having himself seen no less than nine large Ships of that Nation under Sail near *Affariem*. Very lively Complaints were made to the Minister of the States at *Stockholm* on this Proceeding; but he threw all the Blame on private Adventurers, whose Conduct was highly disapproved by the Republick.

The Siege of *Tborn* still continued, and the King (Sept. 27.) growing impatient of wasting so much Time in reducing it, resolved to make a third Attack near the new Ravelin of the *Saxons*, and the Garden which led to the Tile-kiln. Having possess'd himself of the last during the Night, he order'd a Line to be drawn towards
the

the Tile-kiln, which, in the Morning so greatly surpris'd the Saxons, that they thought fit to capitulate, and accordingly beat a Parley forthwith. But the King, who was then in the Trench, would give no Ear to it; but pushing on the Work with Vigour, caused a new Battery to be rais'd, mounted with 48 Pounders, which were soon in a Condition to play.

The next Morning a Drum from the Besieged presented a Letter from the commanding Officer, but was answer'd, that his Majesty accepted no other Terms but that of surrendering at Discretion. But though the Garrison were extremely weakened by Sickness and Scarcity of Provisions, they thought those Conditions so severe, that they resolv'd to defend themselves to the last Extremity.

A new Battery on the *Vistula* being now compleated, the whole fix'd at once began a most terrible Fire upon the City, which was return'd by the Enemy with wonderful Ardour. The same Day his Majesty resolv'd to attack an Island over-against the City, which the Saxons had fortified both from the *Vistula* and the opposite Shore, ordering the Infantry for this Purpose to march down to the Side of the River, and embark themselves near the Bridge of Boats.

The Governor, perceiving all these Movements, as likewise that the Trench was advanced within a Stone's Cast of the Counterscarp, thought it high Time to submit to the King's Pleasure; for which End he desired a Conference with certain Officers of Distinction. The King then countermanded his Troops which were pre-

paring for the Assault, and sent Mr. *Ducker*, his Aid-de-Camp-Général, into the City to confer with the Saxon Generals, who at last agreed to surrender at Discretion.

Mr. *Ducker* returned with this News to the King, who complimented both the Generals and Officers of the Enemy with their Swords and Baggage. In the Morning his Majesty order'd Count *Gasper Sperling* to take Possession of the City Gates with one Battalion of the Guards, and disarm the Garrison at the same Time. Towards Noon the Generals *Robel* and *Canitz*, with the Counts *de Reufs* and *Goltz*, Colonels, and many other Officers, came out to pay their Compliments to the King. His Majesty kept the Generals and Colonels to dine with him, and received Mr. *de Canitz* in particular in the most gracious Manner. Count *Sperling* also magnificently regaled in the City all the Officers of the Garrison, the King having order'd 50 Dishes out of his own Kitchen for that Purpose. At the same Time a great Number of Sheep and Cattle were drove into the City for the Relief of the poor Soldiers and Citizens, who were almost famished.

In this Manner King *Augustus* lost his best Infantry, who could make no farther Resistance, as having scarce any Bread remaining; the rest of their Provisions being likewise consumed, the Garrison were reduced to live upon rotten Herrings, which spread so inveterate a Scurvy among the Troops, that no more than 1583 Men were capable of Service, the remaining 2499 being disabled by the Disease, and in their Beds. 100 of their Dragoons out of 188, were in the same Condition,

tion, as were 282 Artillery-Men out of 500.

Among the Prisoners were 2 Generals, 2 Colonels, 6 Lieutenant-Colonels, 9 Majors, 46 Captains, and 113 Lieutenants and Ensigns, all which had the Compliment of their Swords on their Parole.

A great Quantity of Ammunition was yet remaining in the City, but the Cannons and Mortars were near worn out by the continual Fire which had been made from the 16th of May, when the Place was first blocked up, to the 3d of October, when it surrendered; towards the Evening of which Day, the whole Army being under Arms, his Majesty order'd a double Discharge to be made, both from the Cannons of the Ramparts and those of the Batteries.

At the Instances of the *Saxon* Generals, the King afterwards permitted Colonel *Goltz* to repair to King *Augustus* at *Warsaw*, to acquaint him with all the Particulars of the Siege.

'Tis easy to judge how ill that Prince must have relished such disagreeable News, and above all the Loss of his best Infantry, which he regretted extremely. Some Days after he departed from *Ostfok*, where he had been during that whole Interval, and took the Road to *Leopold*, to assemble

the Senators and hold a Council at *Javarow*.

In the mean Time the King ordered the Fortifications of *Thorn*, which the *Saxons* had newly raised, at a great Expence and much Labour, to be totally demolished, as likewise the Towers, from whence the Citizens had annoy'd our Troops; no more than the Wall being left, just to defend the Inhabitants from the Inroads of the *Cossacks* and other military Thieves. The Magistrates and Burghers were likewise obliged to lay down their Arms, and likewise pay a large Contribution to the King*.

The happy Success of his Majesty's Arms, made so much the greater Impression on the Confederates, as their Deputies, being in the Camp, were Eye-witnesses of the Glory which the King had acquir'd. They departed soon after, on the Hopes he had given them of sending a Person with certain Proposals regarding the Measures he expected them to pursue; and Mr. *de Wachslager* was accordingly appointed that Service.

A great Number of Deputies from the neighbouring Palatinates, as of *Dobrzin*, *Cujavia*, *Plotzko*, and of *Polish Prussia*, came to compliment his Majesty, and intreat they might be admitted into the Number of the Con-

* During the Siege of *Thorn*, it was confidently affirmed in the publick News, that a *Saxon* Officer, named *Muhlheim*, having quitted the City, and repaired to the *Swedish* Camp, pretending to be a Deforter, and offering his Service to the King to discover the weakest Places of the Fortifications, the King had twice walked out, accompany'd by him only, to be let into those Discoveries; and that the third Time the counterfeit Fugitive threw himself at his Majesty's Feet, declaring, that he was employed by General *Robel* to assassinate him, producing at the same Instant, a Poniard from underneath his Clothes, prepared for that Purpose; and adding, he was ready to die, as believing himself unworthy to live, after having embarked in so execrable a Design.

It may have been thought, that there was some Truth in the Narration; but there is not the least Authority for it in the Journal of my Father, who would not have fail'd, according to his usual Exactness, to have mention'd it, if it had had the least Foundation.

federates. His Majesty received them all very graciously, tho' it was easy to perceive, that nothing but Fear, and a Desire to be soon discharged from the Contribution exacted by our Troops, had prevailed with them to act in this Manner. Nevertheless they deceived themselves in this Particular, the King refusing to remit those Levies, to keep them within the Bounds of Respect and Obedience.

It was about this Time that his *Swedish* Majesty publicly acknowledged the Elector of *Brandenburg* as King of *Prussia*, which gave immediate Rise to a Report, that an important Alliance was formed between the two Monarchs; a Circumstance by no Means favourable to the Republick, in case she refused to enter chearfully into a general Confederacy.

The *Swedish* Troops in *Courland* had frequent Skirmishes with those of *Oginski*, which, though always worsted, appeared nevertheless desirous of new Trials. They for some Time harassed Colonel *Banneer*, who was then ordered, together with Lieutenant-Colonel *Glasenay* and 300 Horse, to pass the Frontiers and attack them, which he did *October* the 30th near *Janiska*, and gave them an entire Defeat.

The same Night Lieutenant-Colonel *Lorentzen* marched from *Seelburg* with a Detachment of Infantry and 25 Grenadiers, and, passing the *Duna*, proceeded to *Slaboda*, where he carried off the Advanced Guard, composed of certain Companies of *Valoches*; after which he surprized the rest, 50 of whom were put to the Sword, and 20 taken Prisoners, together with a great

Number of Horses, without the Loss of a single Man on our Side.

Some Days after, Colonel *Poss* order'd Captain *Frommerie*, with 60 Foot, to depart from *Bauske* to levy Contributions. In his Return he fell in with 500 *Polanders*, conducting 20 Waggon's laden with Provisions from *Courland* towards *Birsen*, who attacked him immediately, but were so warmly received, and so many of them killed, that they thought proper to retire, abandoning their Convoy, which the Captain happily conducted into *Bauske*.

About the same Time eight Companies of *Dragoons* and *Polanders*, commanded by a Major named *Broms*, carried off a Party of ours posted at *Polangen*; which induced Colonel *Skytt*, who commanded at *Libau*, to detach 300 Foot and Horse, under the Conduct of Major *Patkul*, with 100 of the Troops of *Sapieba*, to give them Chace. Captain *Metz*, who conducted the Van with 50 Horse and the *Polanders* of *Sapieba*, having fell in with them at *Cretingen*, attacked them immediately, killed 40, took 19 Prisoners, and all their Horses and Baggage. Major *Patkul* being come up, they pursued the Enemy, who, having been likewise reinforced, met us half way, and attacked *Patkul* in a certain Village, but were repulsed with the Loss of 40 Men.

In the Morning, the *Swedes*, being on their Return to *Libau*, the Enemy followed; and, overtaking them in a level Field, near a Bridge which they had already passed over, and where they drew up in Order of Battle, began their Attack forthwith, but were repulsed and put to Flight, returning over

over the Bridge in Confusion, and leaving above 50 Men dead upon the Spot. *Patkul* then continued his Rout, but was again harassed by the Enemy, who charged his Rear, and were once more defeated with the Loss of ten or a dozen Men; after which they gave over the Pursuit, and *Patkul* arrived happily at *Libau*.

After the Reduction of *Tborn*, the Count *de Steinbock* had been sent to *Dantzick*, to take the necessary Measures for transporting into *Sweden* the *Saxon* Prisoners, and all the Trophies achieved in *Poland*; for which Service several Men of War were already arrived from *Carelsroon* in the Road of that City.

At the same Time his Majesty ordered one Regiment after another to file off into the Quarters prepared for them on the Side of *Dantzick*; he himself still continuing before *Tborn*, 'till the sick *Saxons* were embarked, together with the Artillery, to go down the *Vistula*, under the Command of Col. *Rank*, who was to escort them by Water with his Regiment. The other Prisoners, with the three Generals *Beust*, *Robel*, and *Canitz*, and all the Officers, followed some Time after, guarded by a large Detachment of Dragoons. Some few were exchanged against the *Swedes*, who were taken at *Warsaw*. The Count *de St. Paul*, Colonel, who had been made Prisoner in the Affair at *Pultowsk*, and was permitted to repair to *Warsaw* on his Parole, for the Cure of his Wounds, obtained his Liberty in Exchange for Lieutenant-Colonel *Konigsheim* and Captain *Funk*, who returned to the Army.

When the City of *Tborn* had paid the

Sum agreed upon, the King, Nov. 11, set out at the Head of his Drabans, and crossed the *Vistula* near *d' Alibufen* and the Town of *Culm*, after having distributed his Army along the Borders of the River. His Majesty chose for his Lodging the Cloister of *Topolno*, five Leagues from *Tborn*; the Drabans took up their Quarters in the nearest Villages on the Side of the River, and the Regiments of Foot-Guards in the Towns of *Culm* and *Schwetitz*.

In the Morning the King repaired to *Dirschow*, about four Leagues from *Dantzick*, to have an Interview with the Count *de Steinbock* on the Subject of the Winter Quarters; when it was resolved upon to dispose the Troops as well in the Neighbourhood of *Dantzick*, *Marienburg*, and *Elbing*, as in the Bishoprick of *Warnice*. After which his Majesty returned on Horseback, accompanied by the Prince of *Wurtemberg* and certain Officers, having rode 32 Leagues in two Days.

The Czar returned to *Moscow* at the End of the Campaign, after having sufficiently provided for the Security of the Frontiers, especially on the Side of *Narva*, thinking of nothing now but how to render his Entry into his Capital more splendid, and like a Conqueror; for this End four triumphal Arches were erected, under which he passed in a Sledge, Nov. 22, followed by a superbe Train of Generals, and other grand Lords. The poor Peasants of *Livonia* and *Ingria* being led as in Triumph between the Ranks of the Regiment of Guards *Preubasinski*, to induce the People to believe that it was a glorious Campaign, which entertained them

with the Sight of such a Number of Prisoners.

King *Augustus*, on his Side, being set out for *Jawarow*, as before mentioned, assembled there all the Senators of his Party, to whom he strongly represented, that, having been authorised by the Diet of *Lublin* to contract Alliances with foreign Princes, he could not believe they would dispute with him the Privilege of sending a solemn Embassy to the *Czar*, for the good of the Republick, who, being a Prince of great Power and their near Neighbour, and one who interested himself in the Welfare of the Republick, might, by that Means, be induced to exert himself in procuring her a safe and advantageous Peace with *Sweden*.

He concluded with proposing the Palatine of *Culm* to negotiate this Affair, and declaring that he was already on the Road to *Moscow*. But Prince *Lubomirski*, with 12 other Senators, protested so vehemently against this Measure, alledging, with great Reason, it would be the Means not only to retard the Peace, but set the whole Kingdom in a Flame, that the King was obliged to withdraw his Motion, and recal immediately the Palatine of *Culm*, by a solemn Declaration made in Council at *Jawarow*, Nov. 24. Upon which Occasion he extremely flattered the Nation on the Liberty he left in their Hands, and added, that he would never violate it in the like Circumstance. He was, however, so offended at the Opposition that he had met, that, under the Pretence of the Incommodiousness of so small a Place to lodge so numerous an Assembly, and of the Court itself's

being greatly straitened in Conveniencies, he adjourned the Council, and retreated nearer *Saxony*, but without giving over his Design of sending his Ambassador to the *Czar*, as will presently be made appear.

As many Gentlemen had refused to join themselves with the Confederates, under the Pretence of being obliged to reside at Home to raise their Quota of the Contributions imposed upon them, General *Rheinschild*, who had Orders to humour them as much as possible, removed the 19th of September from *Kurnik* to *Kroischin*, from thence the 24th to the little Town of *Bibigecofki*, the 25th to *Klaskow*, the 1st of October to *Zornick*, and on the 3d gave his Troops a few Days Rest at *Leknow*, two Leagues from *Gnesen*, being then out of the Palatinate of *Posnania*, arriving the 22d at *Gorkidombfski*, where he began to canton out his Troops, and, having sent Advices of his march to his Majesty, he proceeded the 2d of November to the Lordship of *Sizrelte*, and on the 24th to that of *Lubin*, where he was greatly surprised to see the King arrive the same Day.

His Majesty departed from *Topolno*, accompanied only with his Drabans and his Aid-de-Camp General, all whose Horses he so effectually jaded in so long a march, that only one Page *Klinkowstrom*, accompanied him into *Lubin*.

Mr. *Rheinschild* trembled, when he came to reflect on the Danger to which the King his Master had exposed himself, the Country being filled both with the Enemies Parties and Robbers. To prevent therefore all Accidents and Misfortunes, when he saw his Majesty fixed to return the next Morning, he detached

detached certain Troops for his Guard, by which means his Majesty returned happily, Nov. 25, to *Topolno*, after having travelled 34 Leagues in two Days; neither did he condescend even then to allow himself any Repose, but set out the very next Day for *Dirschow*, many Regiments being already in full March to their Winter Quarters.

In *Great Poland* several riotous Parties embodied themselves to raise certain military Contributions called *Hybernes*; and *Smigelski*, Starost of *Gnesnen*, at the Head of a great many Gentlemen, made continual Inroads into the Lands of the Confederates, who complained bitterly to General *Rheinschild* of these Outrages, and demanded Succours; upon which several Detachments were dispatched immediately to give the Enemy Chace, and one of these, under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Zulig*, had the good Fortune to surprize a large Number, of whom the greatest Part were made Prisoners.

Soon after this the General set out himself from *Lubin*, to be the better able to take the Confederates under his Protection; the Army marching in two Columns, first to *Ziernowo*, a Gentleman's Seat, December 11, to *Skodra*, where the Confederates had their Rendezvous; the 12th to the little City of *Zzin*, the 14th to *Ziondz*, the 15th to *Zarodzin*, the 17th to *Plesko*, the 19th to *Kalis*, and Jan. 1, 1704, to *Blasice*, and from thence to *Siradia*, where the General seized upon the Castle, that nothing might be omitted that could beget a Confidence in the Confederates, and at the same Time convince the Palatinate

of *Poznan* how nearly he regarded their Welfare.

He was scarce arrived at the last mentioned Place, before the Province to which it belongs sent their Deputies to beseech him to lessen the Contributions with which they were charged, in Consequence of their acceding to the Confederacy. Those of *Lencize* and the Territory of *Vielune* demanded likewise the same Favour; and Part of their Demand was complied with, to encourage them to unite and continue firm to the Article of deposing King *Augustus*, which was on the Point of taking Place.

All being ready at *Dantzick* for transporting the *Saxons* Prisoners, Trophies, and Artillery, the Squadron, under the Command of Baron *Glaes Sparr*, Vice-Admiral, which was come from *Carlskroon* to escort them, set sail from the Road of *Putzig*, with so fair a Wind, that they soon came in Sight of the Coast of *Sweden*: But the Joy on that Occasion was but short-lived; a dreadful Tempest the next Day, Nov. 28, coming on, which dispersed the Fleet, and every Ship was glad to make away for the nearest Port. However, after they had long contended with the Winds and Waves, Mr. *Sparr* made a Shift to re-assemble the greater Part of them, and thought it most expedient to steer for *Dantzick*.

One of these Vessels, with 500 *Saxons* on Board, arrived at *Pilkaw*; but they all made their Escape as soon as the Captain had set them ashore at the Entreaties of his Crew. There was but one Ship wrecked, which was on the Coast of *Courland*, and which was freighted with Powder and Ball.

Many Saxons, who, by the Situation of their Country, are little used to Sea-Voyages, lost their Lives upon the Occasion, testifying great Apprehensions of Death, and atoning, after a Rate, by their incessant Prayers, for the horrible Oaths they had uttered to the very Moment of their Embarkation.

A little while after the Fleet set sail again, and arrived in *Sweden* without any farther Loss. As to the *Saxon* Generals and Officers of Distinction, they were permitted to repair thither by Land, as they thought proper, provided they arrived at the Time prefix'd by his Majesty.

Count *Steinbock* having demanded of the Magistrates of *Elbing* free Passage for the *Swedish* Troops, who were upon their March to their Winter-Quarters in the Bishoprick of *Vermia*, and, likewise, that they should immediately throw a Bridge over the River near that City for that Purpose; they did not presume to refuse it openly, but nevertheless made no Preparations to put it in Execution, alledging in Excuse a great many false Pretences, and, among the rest, that the *Brandenburg* Troops, quartered in their Suburbs, had forbid their Compliance with that Demand. Count *Steinbock* immediately resolved to advise his Majesty of this Incident; to which he was the more moved, as he easily perceived that the sole Reason of this Delay was the Fear of being punished for having refused some Months before to pay the Contributions imposed upon them.

The King, provoked with all those Delays, but more especially that they should call in foreign Troops to their

Succour, dispatched thither Lieutenant-Colonel *Von Scheven* and Major *Morner*, with a Letter from Count *Steinbock* to the Magistrates in his Majesty's Name, enjoining them to answer categorically, whether they were instantly disposed to receive a *Swedish* Garison, or not; who, on their Return to the Count, informed him, that they behaved as haughtily, as if Pride and Insolence had turned their Brain. Of which the King being advised, he gave secret Orders to Major-General *Stromberg* to furnish his Regiment of Infantry with Horses, and conduct them forthwith to a Place called *Ruschow*, situated between *Marienbourg* and *Elbing*, whither the Regiment of Horse-guards, with that of Major-General *Morner*, Horse likewise, had Orders to repair at the same Time. On the other Hand Lieutenant-Colonel *Schewen*, at the Head of an hundred Men, was commanded under Cover of the Night, and by marching a long Way about to seize upon two Sluices a League and a half from *Elbing*, by the Help of which that City might lay all the Adjacencies under Water.

When all these Preparations were made, we began to march at 11 o'Clock at Night, having first given Notice to the *Prussian* Commander at *Elbing* of his Majesty's Design to pass through that City.

The King was accompanied by the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, General *Morner*, Count *Steinbock*, and Colonel *Lagerskrona*. As to Major-General *Stromberg*, he had pushed on before with some Horse to take Possession of certain Prames, by the Help of which he proposed to pass the River in the

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Dark,

Dark, and post himself on the other Side. But, when he came to the Place, all these Prames were already on the other Side; upon which he called to the *Prussian* Guards to send them over; and being answered, that they durst not without express Orders from their Officers; he sent a Captain of Horse, with some few Troopers, to cross the River in a little Shallop with all possible Silence, who, after some warm Language on both Sides, returned with the Prames at the Instant that the King arrived with the Horse-Guards. His Majesty, the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, the Generals, and about 30 Horse, passed over immediately, and advanced towards the City to examine the Avenues, as far as the Ditch, without being suspected: But the Guard at one of the Gates at last taking the Alarm, demanded the Word; and receiving no Answer, fired several Shot, by which one Horse was killed.

The King, to avoid a Discovery, then retired full Speed to the Suburbs, where he lay as close as possible; but soon after sent Colonel *Lagerkröna* with a Trumpet to the Magistrates, to demand once more whether they persisted in their Refusal to satisfy his Majesty, by admitting a *Swedish* Garrison. In this Interval the King, who had passed over all his Cavalry, posted them in all the Avenues round the City; and, about 9 o'Clock in the Morning, Mr. *Lagerkröna* returned, and signified to his Majesty, that the City desired three Hours Time to deliberate on the Proposal, when they would send Deputies with the Resolution they had taken. The King took Advantage of this Oppor-

tunity to advance his Troops as near the Walls as possible, which were so concealed behind the Houses, Gardens, and Hedges, that the City perceived nothing of the Matter. Which done, the Term demanded expired, and no Deputies appearing, his Majesty, growing impatient, sent Count *Steinbock* into the City, with express Orders to stay but one Quarter of an Hour, and to demand absolutely, and in few Words their final Resolution. The Count found the Senate still assembled, and, having made a lively Representation of the extreme Peril which their Obstinacy would expose them to, if they exasperated his Majesty any farther, and that in such Case the utter Ruin of the City would be unavoidable, he induced them at last, partly by Arguments, and partly by Menaces, to open their Gates, and submit themselves to the King's Clemency; with which Resolution the Count returned to his Majesty, whom he found surrounding the City, and examining the Fortifications.

As soon as the Gates were opened, the King made his Entrance, and immediately visited the Ramparts, &c. giving Orders for the three Regiments to march in at the same Time. His Majesty then made Choice of his own Quarters, and, by mere Chance, pitched upon a House where his illustrious Grandfather, *Charles Gustavus*, of glorious Memory, had formerly lodged with his Spouse *Hedwige-Eleonora*, born Princess of *Holstein-Gottorp*.

After the King had given what farther Orders he thought proper, the Magistrates, terrify'd for the Mistake they had committed, in exposing themselves

hemselves so rashly to the Resentment of so formidable a Conqueror, besought the Honour of throwing themselves at his Majesty's Feet, together with their Fellow-Citizens, to implore his Forgiveness. To this they received an Answer in Writing, which exemplified all the Provocations they had given, and thence insinuated how unworthy they had rendered themselves of his Majesty's Clemency: In Conclusion it condemned them to pay 200,000 Crowns Contribution-Money, besides the 50,000 imposed at first, and 10,000 more for not having sent, last Summer, the hundred Waggon which had been demanded of them, for transporting to the Camp before *Tborn*, the Ammunition sent from *Sweden*.

This Writing spread a general Consternation through the Inhabitants of *Elbing*; but, as they knew their Collusion, with Respect to the *Brandenburg* Troops, was discovered to the King, they durst not alledge the least Thing in their own Excuse, and, at the End of two Days, offered to pay the whole Money required of them; after which they were admitted to kiss his Majesty's Hand.

When we were thus Masters of the City, we visited the Arsenals, where we found 180 Pieces of Cannon, great and small, (what belonged to the Republick and the *Saxons* included) Abundance of Ammunition, and 160 Quintals of Powder; all which was put under a strong Guard of *Swedes*. We then disarmed 500 Soldiers in the City pay, and made 400 *Poles*, who were Part of the Troops of General *Taube*, Prisoners of War, together with the military Commander of the City. The

next Step we took was to demand of the *Prussians* in the Suburbs to surrender their Quarters to the *Swedes*, who wanted Room in the City, and were besides to be reinforced by a Regiment of Foot, then in full March to the Place; which arriving a few Days after, the King ordered two Regiments of Cavalry to march to their Winter-Quarters in the Bishoprick of *Warmia*.

Count *Schlippenback*, Major-General of *Prussia*, repaired about this Time to *Elbing*, and had an immediate Audience of the King; after which, and certain Conferences had passed between him and Count *Steinbock*, he order'd his Master's Troops to retire, excepting only a few Men, who, for the Sake of certain Pretensions of his *Prussian* Majesty on the Territory of *Elbing*, were permitted to remain.

The Court, the Drabans, the Regiment of Foot-Guards, and that of *Dahl-Carlia*, having quitted their Quarters at the same Time, which were in the Neighbourhood of *Topolna*, marched through *Neuberg*, *Meve*, and *Mariembourg*, towards *Elbing*. Some Troops were left at *Grandentz* to levy Contributions. Colonel *Axel Sparr* continued at *Straßburg*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Claes Bond* joined him with certain Cavalry, to lay all the Country above *Dribentz* under Contribution.

As to the King of *Poland*, ill satisfied with what had passed in Council at *Jawarow*, Decemb. 10. he set out for *Cracow*, where he kept his *Christmas*, and afterwards repaired to *Saxony* to convene the Estates of that Country, and demand of them a free Gift and Succours.

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The ill State of his Affairs, however, did not hinder him from passing his Time agreeably at *Leipsick*, where he did not seem to regard much what happened in *Poland*; having only order'd 5000 of his Troops to assemble themselves in the best Manner they could in the Neighbourhood of *Cracow*, there to wait his Return.

The King of *Sweden*, on his Side, having waited only at *Elbing* the Arrival of his Court and the Drabans, set out the next Morning (*Dec. 15*) for the Village of *Neukirchen* (3 Leagues) proceeding thence to the Village of *Braunsberg* (2 Leagues,) where the *Prussian* Troops then were, but decamped at our Arrival. From *Braunsberg* we marched on through *Toldorff* and *Lichtenau* to *Hielsberg*, the Residence of the Bishop of *Warmia*; where the King took up his Quarters, *Decemb. 22.* and continued all the Winter.

The Troops attending his Majesty were lodged in the Houses of the Gentry and Peasants, where they were quite at Ease, and fared well. The rest of the Army extended from *Warmia* as far as the Country of the *Casubes*, and from thence along the *Vistula* as far as *Thorn* *.

The Morning after his Arrival at *Hielsberg*, his Majesty, who never lost Sight of his Design to dethrone King *Augustus*, propos'd to the Confederates, who were more and more exasperated every Day, Prince *James Sobieski* to be Head of the Republick,

by a publick Declaration, dated *Decemb. 23.*

The Cardinal had already publish'd his *Universalia* to convene all the Nobility of the Kingdom at *Warsaw*, *Jan. 14.* But as he found there only a few Deputies, he deferred the Opening of the Diet to the 30th; when the Deputies of the Confederates being there assembled from all Parts, and seeming disposed to deliberate seriously on the Means to procure a solid Peace, and give all imaginable Satisfaction to the King of *Sweden*; he, who saw well enough their Inclinations, but, to all Appearance, did not believe they had taken the necessary Measures to dethrone King *Augustus*, or for some other Reasons, so well concealed his Sentiments, that the Assembly did not intend at first to declare the Throne vacant, though some Persons propos'd it.

This Prelate, to keep up the strictest Decorum, did yet more; and even sent King *Augustus* Advice of all that pass'd. The Intention of the Diet, as has been said, was only to establish a firm Peace with the King of *Sweden*; and, as the Cardinal had intreated his Majesty to send thither his Commissioners to begin the Treaty, Baron *Arwid Horn*, Major-General, had a Commission for that Purpose, together with the Resident *Wachslager*, who arriv'd at *Warsaw* first, and had immediate Audience of the Cardinal.

The Congress was opened some Days after with a Procession, at which

* All our Troops in *Poland* and *Prussia*, at the End of this Campaign, amounted to 17,700 Foot, 9,500 Horse, and 4,000 Dragoons, without reckoning the four new Regiments which the King had rais'd

the Cardinal assisted at the Head of the Deputies, with a Taper in his Hand. To this Ceremony succeeded a solemn Mass and Sermon, at the Conclusion of which his Eminence repaired to the Place of holding the Assembly, where he expressed himself to this Purpose :

That though the Councils of Thorn, Marienbourg, and Jawarow, as well as the Diet of Lublin, were not able to effect the Peace so much desired; but, on the contrary, had produced nothing but Afflictions and Disappointments, he had nevertheless made it his Study to remove the Obstructions; that, for this End, he presented himself, as one bearing his Cross, and called upon to contend for that Liberty, which was the sole Support of the Republick: That he thank'd the illustrious Confederates of Great Poland for having united themselves to him, as the Children of Peace, and exhorted them to persevere: That, tho' his Majesty was retired, he would not however abandon the Throne, desiring to represent, if not Majesty, at least the Idea of Majesty, as having always had the Good of his Country at Heart, even to the Prejudice both of his Health and Interest.

After he had finished, the Marshal of Great Poland complained, that that Part of the Republick had been treated as if in Rebellion, both by the Contempt thrown upon it by the Diet of Lublin, and the Excesses committed there by the Saxons; and that, for these Reasons, the Confederates had thought proper to put themselves under the Protection of his Eminence.

On December 31, in the Morning, they proceeded to the Election of a Marshal of the Confederacy; and the Choice fell upon Mr. Bronitz, Starost

of *Pisdriski*, and Marshal of Great Poland, the same who had before declaimed with such Vivacity and Courage; who immediately took the Oath, and received his Staff of Office. Some Days after they enter'd into Conference with Major-General *Horn*, who was now arrived at *Warsaw*, and produced his Credentials in Quality of Commissary, authorising him to negotiate a Peace with Poland, and receive Proposals for that Purpose.

During these Transactions, the King levied new Contributions, as well in the Bishoprick of *Warmia*, as in the *Werders* of *Dantzick* and *Marienbourg*, which were to defray the Expences of a new Regiment of Foot and four of Dragoons. Count *Steinbock* raised one of these Regiments, Colonel *Meyersfelt* the second, and the Aid de-Camp-Generals, Messieurs the Barons *Taube* and *Duker*, in Compliment to their distinguish'd Merit, the other two. Lieutenant-Colonel *Ekeblad* had the Regiment of Foot, which consisted of 1200 Men.

At the same Time a Promotion was made of Colonels and General-Officers. Baron *de Spens*, Lieutenant-General, and Colonel of the Horse-Guards, was made General of the Horse, and Inspector of the Fortresses and Reviews in the Realm of *Sweden*. Baron *Frolich*, Lieutenant-General, was created General of Foot, and Governor of *Riga*. Baron *Charles Morner*, Major-General, was made Lieutenant-General, and Inspector of the Reviews and Fortresses of *Sweden*. *Alexander Stromberg*, Major-General, was promoted to be a Lieutenant-General, and Gover of the Province of *Geole* in *Sweden*. Major-General *Rid.*

Ridderbielm was appointed Lieutenant-General and Governor of *Wismar*, in the Room of the late General *Liewen*, killed at the Siege of *Thorn*. The Majors-General *Nieroth* and *Horn* were made Lieutenants-General; the last being continued notwithstanding in his Post of Captain-Lieutenant of the *Drabans*.

Baron *Charles Creutz* was made Colonel of the Horse-Guards in the Room of General *Spens*. Lieutenant-Colonel *Burensholt* had the Regiment of *Ostrogothia*, Cavalry, before commanded by General *Morner*. Baron *Gustavus Horn*, Quarter-Master of the *Drabans*, succeeded Mr. *Ridderbielm* in the Regiment of *Norder-Scania*, Cavalry; and Lieutenant-Colonel *Charles Ornstedt* to that of *Suder-Scania*, after General *Stromberg*.

Some little Time after this, by a new Promotion, the Colonels *Lager-skrona*, *Hummerbielm*, and *Meyerfeldt*, were declared Major-Generals. As for Mr. *Hummerbielm* he had been detained Prisoner all this while in the Hands of *Wisniowski*, after the Affair of *Dorsuiki*, nor was exchanged till March, against Mr. *de Golitz*, a Saxon Colonel.

King *Augustus*, after having dispatched the Palatine of *Culm*, Jan. 6. as his Ambassador to the Czar, in Spite of all the Remonstrances of Numbers of Senators and Generals of the Crown to the contrary, had still continued in his hereditary Dominions, as hath been already said, to assist at the Opening of the Assembly of the States; which, at length, taking Place, he demanded of them, among other Aids, 500,000 Crowns and 16,000 new Levies, all which was cheerfully granted. Hav-

ing then received by several Couriers a melancholy Account of the general Confederacy of the Nobles at *Warsaw*, he repaired forthwith to *Cracow*, where he had the Shadow of an Army, both to cover that Place, and expect the Issue of a Crisis which held all *Europe* in Suspense, tho' not believed to be so near a Decision: Nor had he been there long before it reached him in the most forbidding Shape, signifying, that the Confederacy, with the Countenance and Support of the Cardinal, were on the Point of declaring the Throne vacant: That the Marshal had proposed to reduce it into an Act; that the *Swedish* Commissaries absolutely refused to treat before the Article of the Deposal of *Augustus* was confirmed; and that at last, Feb. 6. after some slight Debates, the following Resolution had been taken.

Since the most serene King Augustus, Duke of Saxony, has neither observed our Laws, nor regarded our Rights, and that, by the Tenor of the Pacta Conventa, we are absolved from our Allegiance, we now renounce it, and take the Exercise of Justice into our own Hands. We likewise discharge his Senators and Ministers, and will no longer adhere to him. We declare all those to be Enemies to their Country who assist in his Councils; and we intreat the most eminent Primate to publish the Interregnum, to officiate in the Distribution of Justice and the Care of the Finances, and to prepare the Conditions of a new Election.

Some Days after, this Declaration was confirmed by the subsequent Resolutions.

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1. That

1. That two Forms of an Oath should be agreed upon, one for the Senators and Officers, and the other for the Nobles, which all, who joined the Confederacy, should be obliged to take.

2. That the said Oath should be taken before the Marshal and Deputies of each Palatine, of which they should give a Certificate.

3. That, when they had provided for their Safety at home, they should proceed to guard against what might happen from abroad; and that the Marshal should convene the Commissaries of the Republick to assist at the Treaty, the Project of which shall be framed by Men of Experience and Capacity, and afterwards referred to the Marshal.

4. That, during the Inter-regnum, his Eminence should convene the Russian Pospolite.

5. That, as the Dietines of Little Poland approached, the Instrument of the general Confederacy should be signed, and deliver'd into the Hands of the Cardinal Primate, the Marshal, and the Deputies, to be sent to each of the said Dietines respectively.

Agreeable to these Resolutions, the Oath was forthwith taken by the Senators and Deputies, and instant Advice of all was given to his Majesty by the Starost *Wiouski*, to whom it was sent to *Hielberg*. King *Augustus* now seeing Affairs take so malicious a Turn, preconceiving beside his Enemies would not stop here, but proceed to the Choice of a new King, resolved, with the Council of those Senators, who still attended him, to consider the Assembly at *Warsaw* as illegal, and consequently both to treat them as Rebels,

and declare all their Resolutions null and void.

The Czar, at the same Time, writ to the Cardinal, the Senators, and the Orders of the Republick in the most pressing Terms, and even menaced them with the utmost Rigour, if they persisted in their Design of dethroning King *Augustus*.

As *Augustus* suspected that Prince *James Sobieski*, Son of the late King of Poland, would cabal for the Crown, and likewise knew he was both greatly favour'd by the Nobles, and esteemed by the King of Sweden, he thought it expedient to find out Ways and Means to arrest him.

Prince *James* received Notice in Time; but, whether he did not believe it, or despised the Danger, as not imagining they would dare to seize upon the Emperor's Brother-in-law in *Silesia*, the Dominions of the Emperor, he continued quite at Ease as before, and took no one Measure to avoid the Snare: So that one Day, being in the Road from *Breslaw* to his Castle at *Wolaw*, 30 Saxon Horse, with certain Officers under the Command of Mr. *Wrangel*, who had lain perdue, arrested him, and, without Loss of Time, conducted him to *Leipsick*, together with his youngest Brother Prince *Constantine*, who would not leave him. They were both lodged in the Castle, and were treated with all the Honours due to their Rank.

King *Augustus* did not fail to send the News to the Emperor, and ordered a Memorial, at the same Time, to be laid before the Diet at *Ratisbon*, containing the Reasons which induced him to proceed to this Extremity:

What

What Effect it produced in *Poland* we shall see presently.

The King of *Sweden* now saw himself solicited on all Hands not to drive his Enemy to Extremities. The Queen of *England*, in particular, writ to him in the most obliging Terms, to persuade him to a Reconciliation: Count *Zinzendorf* likewise presented him a Memorial on the same Subject some Time after. But neither had any Effect; his Majesty sending Orders notwithstanding to General *Rheinschild* to march towards *Cracow* in Order to surprize *Augustus*, who, after having persuaded the Palatines of *Siradia* and *Lencizi* to accede to the Confederacy, advanced with his Troops, Jan. 11. from the City of *Siradia* to *Zlozow*, the 13th to the little City of *Wielun*, the 21st to *Irzebutzow*, a Gentleman's Seat near the City of *Jalupu*, and from thence to *Czenstakowa*, a very rich and potent Monastery, where *Rheinschild* posted Colonel *Horn* with his Regiment; marching with the rest of the Army from the other Side of *Czenstakowa* to *Redziny*, where he learn'd *Augustus* was still at *Cracow*, and that his Troops were encamped round the City. In order to surprize them before he push'd on to the Lordship of *Krusnia*, and, the next Morning to *Radomski*, where two Companies of the Starost *Bobrowski*, belonging to *Sapieba*, and commanded by *Grusinski*, joined the Army.

The *Valoches* here likewise made certain *Saxons* Prisoners, who confirmed the Intelligence from *Cracow*, which induced *Rheinschild* to hasten thither with the greater Speed. Accordingly, Feb. 22. he decamped from *Radomski*, and marched to *Zitna*,

thence to *Koniespoli*, the 24th to *Siekuzewo*, and the 26th to *Wolbrun*, where our Van surprized a *Saxon* Ensign with certain Soldiers, whom General *Venediger* had detached to observe our Motions. But whatever Diligence *Rheinschild* used, he could not hinder the Enemy from being informed of his Approach; and, being arrived the 27th at *Jangorad*, he learned King *Augustus* was already retired from *Cracow*, having first broke down the Bridge of Communication. The General however marched on a little farther, but finding it to no Purpose, he returned to *Jangorad*, from whence he detached in the Morning Lieutenant-Colonel *Funk* with 300 Horse towards *Cracow* for a Supply of Provisions for the Army. March the 1st, he advanced himself to *Zierkowitz*, within two Leagues, where he learn'd that King *Augustus* had taken the Rout of *Sendomir* to throw a Bridge over the *Vistula*, as well to keep the Communication free with certain Nobles, who had assembled by his Orders at *Osiecz* was confirmed; upon which, (the 7th) he hastened his March towards *Slota*, and from thence (the 10th) to *Piesnitz*, the 12th to *Shieditz*, and the 14th to *Klimentow*, where he had Advice, that, after the Bridge near *Sendomir* was broke down, King *Augustus*, not caring to wait the Arrival of the *Swedes*, had posted on to *Zavigost*. *Rheinschild* then instantly detached a Captain with forty Horse to observe the Enemy, who took a *Saxon* Corporal and four Soldiers Prisoners, by whom he was informed, that King *Augustus* was marching on toward *Pietrowin*, to throw a Bridge at that Place over the *Vistula*.

In this Interval Prince *Alexander Sobieski* had writ from *Breslau* to the Cardinal, to complain of the King of *Poland's* seizing his two Brothers; at the same Time aggravating the Action, as being committed in the Dominions of the Empire, and imploring the Protection of the Republick both for them and himself.

This Incident did not a little contribute to irritate the Resentment and inflame the Animosities of the Assembly at *Warsaw*, where the Letter was several Times read, and the Arrest canvassed.

They regarded this Step of King *Augustus* as an Outrage; and the Cardinal writing a very poignant Letter to the Pope on the Designs of King *Augustus* on the Liberties of the Republick, concluded with the Seizure of the Princes; *Children*, said he, of a great King, who had delivered Vienna and guarded Italy from the Turk; who was the Idol of his Country, the Admiration of Strangers, and the Terror of the Barbarians.

Prince *Alexander*, on his Side, not believing himself safe at *Breslau*, and, hearing on all Hands the Sentiments of the King of *Sweden* in his Favour, thought it necessary to throw himself into the Arms of a Prince, from whose Friendship every Thing was to be expected, as he had once already made manifest. But, at his Intreaty, to avoid running any Risk on the Road, a Detachment of 100 Horse and 150 Foot, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Weidenheim*, was sent from the Garrison of *Posen* to be his Guard; who, after having left the Foot at *Ranitz*, on the Frontiers of *Silesia*, marched on to *Breslau*, and thence

conducted the Prince to *Poznania*, without incurring any Accident by the Way.

Smigelski was extremely desirous of making an Attempt, but was too timorous to undertake it, and the Prince with a second Escort arrived happily at *Warsaw*.

If the Seizure of the Princes *Sobieski* caused such violent Agitations among the Confederates, the Treaty, lately concluded with the Czar by the Palatine of *Culm*, exasperated them yet much more. It contained in Substance, *That there should be an Alliance offensive and defensive between the Czar, King Augustus, and the Republick of Poland: That the first should furnish the Republick with 12,000 Men at his own Expence, together with two Millions of Florins per Annum; and that the Cities of Poland, of which he was Master, should be ceded to Poland.*

Unquestionable Intelligence however was received, that the Treaty contained secret Articles, contrary to the last Stipulation, the Czar having reserved to himself the Sea ports; all which augmented their Jealousies and Resentments to such a Height, that they no longer spared King *Augustus*, but proceeded at last to a new Election.

In *Lithuania* Count *Lowenbaupt* dispersed every where a Manifesto, dated at *Mittau*, March 1. which was addressed to the Nobles of that Province, and invited them to join the general Confederacy at *Warsaw*. *Lowenbaupt* then repaired to *Samogitia*, having first received a Reinforcement of 400 Foot from the Garrison of *Riga*, commanded by Colonel *Stakelberg*. The Count led with him all his Troops, which amounted

amounted to about 3000, Horse and Foot; his Design being both to supply himself with Provisions, and likewise reduce the Inhabitants to Reason.

To this Purpose he marched thro' *Samogitia* towards *Lithuania* and the City of *Chelm*; and, that he might have nothing to fear from the Garrison of *Birsén* and the Parties of *Oginiski* behind him, he left Col. *Stakelberg* and Major *Appelman* at *Linkau*, which is three Leagues from *Bauske*, and six from *Birsén*, with some hundreds of Infantry and a thousand Horse; who surprized the Regimentary *Odakowski*, and 600 *Poles* not far from *Birsén*, and totally routed them. In the mean while *Lowenhaupt*, having continued his March from *Chelm* towards the City of *Keydan*, so managed it, that all the Nobles of those Parts appeared disposed to declare for the Confederacy; designing to proceed farther still, if Mr. *Stakelberg* had not given him Hope, on the Credit of certain Deserters from the Garrison of *Birsén*, that he might render himself Master of that City only by appearing before it. He resolved therefore to try what might be done, and returned with all his Troops towards that City, but found the Garrison in so good a State, and so disposed to defend themselves to the last Extremity, that he gave over the Enterprize. It was however attended with this Advantage, that he discovered by it what were the Designs of the Enemy: For he was scarce approached, but the *Russians*, posted on the Frontier, began to make such Motions, as obliged him to return into *Courland*, to observe their Measures, and suit his own accordingly.

The King, who had never yet quit-

ted *Heilsberg*, about this Time took a Resolution to visit the Quarters of the Army. Setting out therefore the 12th of *March*, accompanied by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, and his ordinary Train, he repaired first to *Dantzick*, where the Guard in the Suburbs refused him Admittance, as not knowing he was the King; upon which his Majesty put Spurs to his Horse, and rid over the Centinel, passing through the Suburbs without Interruption, and continuing on his Way to *Putzig*, where Col. *Clerk* and his Regiment were in Garrison, and where he arrived very late.

The Guard admitting no Body after it was dark, before they had given Notice to the Commander; and the King growing impatient, found, after a little Search, a Place in the Palisades, where he could pass through; and, taking the Prince of *Wurtemberg* with him, scaled the Ramparts, and went strait on to the Quarters of Mr. *Clerk*, whom he found in Bed, and greatly surprized to see his Majesty, without having been advertised of his Arrival. The King made but a short Stay, only visiting the Fortifications, and giving Orders for the Transportation he designed; after which he returned directly to *Heilsberg*, where he found Count *Stanislaus Leszcinski*, Palatine of *Pesnania*, who was arrived from *Warsaw* with several Propositions from the Confederates.

Stanislaus was a young Lord, between 20 and 30 Years of Age, perfectly handsome, well made, and polite. He was the Son of the General of *Great Poland*, who was afterwards made Treasurer of the Crown. The famous Count *Raphael Leszcinski*, his great Grandfather by the Mother, was the

the grand General *Jablienowski*, so loved and honoured by the Republick.

The young Count *Lescinski* was made Senator of the Realm and Waywode of *Posnania* at the Age of twenty-one, as well in Compliment to his personal Merit, as his high Birth.

He had Audience of the King the next Morning after his Return, being commissioned to entreat his Majesty to honour the Confederacy with his constant Protection, and to declare himself in Favour of the Person whom the Nobles should proceed to elect; as likewise to represent the Necessity of gaining over the Crown-Army, which was to be done by distributing among them certain Sums of Money.

The King replied to the Count, *That he would confirm the Instrument of Security which he had given out the Year before, without pretending to dismember the Provinces or Lands of the Republick. That, when the Inter-regnum should be declared, and they should elect a new King, he would withdraw his Troops, and lend the Republick 500,000 Crowns for the Payment of their Army. That, when Poland had joined her Forces to those of Sweden, his Majesty would leave to the Confederates all the Conquests they should make; and lastly, that he would release all the Prisoners that were yet in the Hands of the Swedes.*

The 500,000 Crowns were however never paid to the Army; for Prince *Lubomirski*, great General, who was now among the Confederates, and had repaired to *Warsaw* with such Views, as we shall speedily unfold, having changed Sides again after the Election, and declared anew in Favour of King *Augustus*, his Swedish Majesty look'd

upon himself as under no Tie, to Persons whose Love or Hatred were equally insignificant, and from whom he had nothing to hope or fear.

This Occasion furnished Count *Stanislaus* with such Means to insinuate himself into the Affections of the King, that it paved his Way to the Throne, his Majesty being positive for him only, after Prince *Alexander Sobieski* had refused it.

General *Rheinschild*, having now quitted *Klimemtow*, March 17th advanced to *Loftow*, and the 19th to *Bossosum*. In passing by the City of *Opatow*, a great Number of Baggage-Boys and Suttlers, being left at some Distance behind, were fallen upon by a Party of Saxons and *Valoches*, who put the greatest Part to the Sword, and made Prisoners of the rest. The 21st we continued our March to *Tarlow*, where the General learned that King *Augustus* was at *Pietrowin*, that his Bridge over the *Vistula* was completed, and that a great Part of his Troops were already passed over to our Side, with Intention, as it was said, to attack us.

Upon this Intelligence the Army was ranged in Order of Battle; and, after having left the Baggage near a Pass with some Troops for a Guard, we marched to the Village of *Solecs*, which is situated opposite to *Pietrowin*. When we were yet a League off, the General, accompanied with several Officers on Horseback, advanced to reconnoitre the Enemy with the *Valoches*, who having discovered certain Persons on the Side of the *Vistula*, galloped thither full Speed, and returned with a Page of King *Augustus's*, a Lieutenant of *Janissaries*, and a Saxon Ensign,

Ensign, who had follow that Prince and Marshal *Danboff* a hunting on this Side the River; which last had been taken Prisoner, if he had not been exceedingly well mounted; and King *Augustus* himself had run a very great Risque, if he had not passed the Bridge among the foremost. The General then ordered the Army to march, and, as there were Abundance of Bushes along the Brink of the *Vistula*, behind which he could easily conceal his Infantry, he led the Way himself, and the Cavalry followed him to the Bridge Foot, where the Enemy had thrown up certain Work, and had posted 300 Foot to defend them.

Rheinschild immediately ordered the Attack to be made Sword in Hand, and after a very slight Resistance, obliged them to retire with great Confusion to their Barks and Prames, which they had collected together, after having first turned adrift above a Third of the Bridge, to hinder us from passing over. On the other Side of the River they had planted 13 Cannon, with which they fired incessantly, but with such poor Success, that we had but 9 either killed or wounded.

After having lodged the Infantry in the Redoubt, and left Colonel *Hamilton* with 500 Horse to cover them, the General marched in the same Order towards the nearest Villages, where the Regiments were distributed; but there being a Scarcity of Forage, we removed a League farther off, to an Estate of *Danboff's*, called *Lipkow*.

The 27th at Night King *Augustus* ordered the rest of the Bridge to be broke down, which the Stream lodged on the Enemy's Side: He likewise ordered his Prames to depart at the same

Time, the greatest Part of which were laden for *Casimir*; which gave our General some Reason to fear the Design of that Prince was to break up the Confederacy; more especially, as it was reported he had received a Reinforcement.

To prevent which Misfortune, he decamped from *Lipkow*, drew towards *Warka*, and marched on to *Kazzanow*; from whence he repaired the 2d of April to *Godow*, thence to *Jedlinka* and *Gusta*, and arrived the 8th at *Warka*, where he distributed his Regiments along the other Side of the River of *Pilsa*, which passes near that City, and discharges itself a little below into the *Vistula*.

He threw at the same Time some Infantry of the Regiment of *Sudermanland* into the City of *Novamiassto*, which was at the other Extremity of our Quarters on the same River, for our Security on that Side; and on the 22d of April advanced half a League with his whole Army: But, being informed, that King *Augustus* was returned to *Sandomir*, where he had thrown over a Bridge, and posted a strong Garrison in the City to intrench himself there, and resolving not to lose Sight of him, he passed the *Pilsa* at *Novamiassto*, arriving May 4th at *Przitalowise*, and the next Morning at *Sporzina*, near the City of *Srinno*.

The Palatine of *Posnania*, at his Return to *Warsaw*, did not fail to inform the Cardinal and the Confederates of the good Intentions of his *Swedish* Majesty with respect to the Republick, and the Resolution he had taken to pay the Crown-Army, in case they joined their Forces to his; which Prince *Lubomirski* the Grand General agreed

agreed to do, and was already arrived at *Warsaw*, where so favourable a Declaration from the King of *Sweden* spread an universal Joy. In the Beginning of *May* they proceeded to declare the Throne vacant, and to invite the Dietines to repair to *Warsaw* by the 19th of *June*, in order to elect a new King; and, at the same Time, notified the Resolution they had taken on that Head to his *Swedish* Majesty; who, as soon as the Inter-regnum was published, gave Orders to his Commissaries to enter into Treaty with the Republick. On which Occasion they were conducted with great Pomp to the Place of Assembly, where General *Horn* read a Paper, which contained in Substance, *That the Intentions of the King his Master, tending only to maintain the Treaty of Oliva, to confirm the Alliance, and re-establish Peace, his Majesty had sent him as his Ambassador: That he was ready to begin the Conferences whenever they pleased; and that he desired them to name the Commissaries with whom he was to open his Negotiation.* Some Days after he presented to those Commissaries the Instrument which the King had promised them; and the Cardinal, on his Side, sent forth circular Letters to all the Cities of *Poland* to invite them into the Confederacy.

Tho' several Pretenders appeared for the Throne, the greatest Part of the Confederates declared for Prince *Alexander Sobieski*, a Nobleman of great Merit, and as greatly esteemed. But as his Brothers were Prisoners, whom he tenderly loved, and as he thought their Safety would be endangered if he accepted the Crown, he gallantly refused it, and intreated the

Confederates to think of him no more.

Many have believed, however, that the Queen his Mother and the Imperial Court had greatly contributed to this Resolution of his, by representing it as a Crown of Thorns, and what would ruin him to support it. But, whatever was the Motive of his Refusal, he persisted in it with Firmness and Grandeur; and, at the same Time, that his Conduct might not irritate the King of *Sweden*, he repaired to *Hielsberg*, April 29. to explain the Reasons on which it was founded; thanking his Majesty at the same Time for the Honour of his Friendship and Protection, which he had extended both to him and his whole House. He staid some Days at *Hielsberg*, where he was lodged in the Castle near the King; and, May 5. returned to *Warsaw*, greatly satisfied with the gracious Reception which his Majesty had even been assiduous to give him, but immoveable to the most lively Remonstrances that were made to induce him to mount the Throne.

When it appeared there was no longer any Hope of him, several foreign Princes were put in Nomination; among whom were the Elector of *Bavaria*, the Prince of *Conti*, Prince *Ragotski*, Prince *Odeskalchi*, and some others. But the Confederates refused them all, tho' nominated by the Cardinal, and demanded for their King a *Piasse*, born in their own Country; and, as the King of *Sweden* likewise inclined the same Way, there was no more Mention made of bestowing the Crown to a Foreigner.

On an Examination then of what *Poles* were qualified to be Candidates, much Talk at first occurred of the Princes

Princes *Lubomirski* and *Radziwil*, the Palatine of *Posnania*, and, above all, Mr. *Opalinski*, a Lord, not only extremely rich and in great Esteem, but who had likewise been upon the List before; nevertheless, as he was exceedingly covetous, he was soon set aside and died soon after.

The Majority then agreed upon Count *Lescinski*, Palatine of *Posnania*, both as he was a *Piasse*, and agreeable to his Majesty, whose Esteem he had entirely gained; and also, as that Choice seemed to be the most plausible Expedient to re-establish forthwith the Peace and Tranquility of the Realm.

Our Commissaries having Orders to exert themselves to the utmost in the young Count's Favour, the Cardinal at first testified no Sort of Displeasure to him, nay, even promised not to oppose his Election. But the Event will soon manifest the contrary, and that he had quite other Views. He disssembled nevertheless till the Marriage was celebrated between the young *Towianski*, Son of the Waywode of *Lencici*, with the Daughter of Prince *Lubomirski*, when it was imagined this Alliance would have contributed greatly to bring the Cardinal over to the Side of the Palatine of *Posnania*; insomuch as he was esteemed entirely in the Interest of the last, and became nearly allied by this Match to *Lubomirski*; *Towianski* being his Kinsman.

Our Embassadors, whose Business was to stickle strongly for the Palatine, were highly pleased to see their Affairs in so good a Train; not being able to think the Cardinal, after such positive Assurances, had any Thought of electing the Grand General; for whom

nevertheless he laboured with all possible Ardour, as we shall see by and by.

All being ready in *Sweden* for a fresh Transport of Recruits for the Army, those Troops arrived in Parties in the Road of *Dantzick*. Four new Regiments of Dragoons were likewise raised, those of *Stenbock*, *Meyerfelt*, *Taube*, and *Ducker*, who were all in *Prussia*, and ready to march at the Word of Command.

The King had no Reason to be over and above content with the City of *Dantzick*, and that Misunderstanding might have been attended with dangerous Consequences, if the Magistrates had not thought it expedient to conform forthwith to his Majesty's Pleasure. Count *Stenbock* had sent to dispose them to accede to the Confederacy of *Warsaw*; and they, looking upon it as a very critical Step, had several Times evaded a positive Answer.

The King, piqued with these Delays, ordered some Regiments to march thither, whom he conducted himself; and, May the 20th, sent a Letter to the Magistrates by General *Stenbock*, wherein he prefixed a Time for the City to declare itself, and imposed a Fine of 1000 Crowns, to be paid within an Hour after, in case they suffered it to elapse.

As it was dangerous to persist in their Obstinacy, or fall into Disgrace with a Prince so potent and successful, they accepted the Conditions proposed by Count *Stenbock*; and gave it in Writing, 'That they not only renounced their Oath made to King *Augustus*, but likewise solemnly espoused the Confederacy of *Warsaw*; declaring, at the same Time, King *Augustus* and his whole Party Enemies

mies to their Country: That, as his Swedish Majesty had graciously accorded his high Protection to their Commerce, they engaged, on their Side, not to assist in any Manner, directly or indirectly, the Enemies Sweden, and, on all Occasions, to testify their Zeal for his Majesty's Service.

The *Dantzickers* likewise paid, upon this Occasion, an old Debt contracted in 1500, during the Reign of *Charles Canutson*, who, being compelled by *Christiern*, King of *Denmark*, to retire to *Dantzick*, resided there some Years, and at his Return to *Sweden*, left behind him twenty odd thousand Crowns, for which they gave a Bond, since found in the Archives of the Kingdom. As the Families of *Gyllenstierna*, *Stenbock*, and some others, who had allied themselves with the Descendants of King *Canutson*, were interested in this Money, the *Dantzickers* were held accountable for it, and obliged to pay it. After which, his Majesty being satisfied with the Conduct of that City, returned to *Hielberg*, where he made all the necessary Preparations to decamp forthwith, and open the Campaign.

We left General *Rheinschild* at *Sporzina*, near the City of *Srinno*, upon the Road to *Sendomir*, where King *Augustus* was encamped on the other Side the *Vistula*. That General there received Intelligence that 18 Companies of the Crown Army, commanded by *Baranof*, and which had been detached to harrafs him in his March, had surprized the Quarter-master of the Regiment of *Crossau*, named *Korff*,

with 30 Troopers, and put them all to the Sword (except *Korff* himself, who was taken Prisoner) after a long and obstinate Defence, which lasted till their Ammunition failed.

The Army, having decamped from *Sporzina*, marched to *Ziedlowice*, and from thence in the Morning to *Illse*, proceeding afterwards to *Grabowice*, which is but six Leagues from *Sendomir*, and arrived June the 3d at *Bodzekoff*, having passed near *Ostrowice* in its Way.

It was here we learned that the Saxons had repassed the *Vistula*; that they had left none but their Infantry in the City of *Sendomir*; and that they had even pulled down that Part of the Bridge which was near the City. Upon which the General detached, some Days after, two Parties of 300 Horse each, the first of which was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Wolffrath*, with Orders to take different Roads, and both levy Contributions and search for Provisions; the Nobles of all these Parts having abandoned their Estates and retired elsewhere.

The same Day, (June 7.) the Poles, to the Number of 4000 Horse, together with 600 Saxon Troopers, were dispatched by King *Augustus* to make an Attempt upon our Camp; which accordingly they did at ten o'Clock at Night, attacking the advanced Guard, and killing a Captain-Lieutenant of the *Pomeranian* Horse, commanded by General *Mellin*; but, finding more Resistance than they expected, retired full Speed in Quest of our Detachments, to whom Mr. *Rheinschild* had sent, to warn them to be upon their Guard: But, as Mr. *Wolffrath* did not receive the

the Advice, he was surprized at four o'Clock in the Morning, when returning in full March to the Camp.

The Enemy fell in first with Captain *Lowisen*, in the Van, and began the Attack at the same Instant; but *Wolfrath* coming up almost as soon to his Assistance, the *Poles*, who, till then, had hid the *Saxons* behind them, opened themselves to the Right and Left, and, while the last advanced to the Front, surrounded the *Swedens* on all Sides, and obliged them to make Head every where at once.

Wolfrath, at first, made his principal Push against the *Saxons*, charging them no less than five Times, and having, in the Beginning, the good Fortune to repulse them; but, as the *Poles* fell every Time upon his Flank and Rear, and cut to Pieces Abundance of his Men, he saw no other Way to escape, but to fight his Way through Sword in Hand: Turning then all at once upon the *Poles*, he broke, routed them, and, rushing through the Midst, at last made a Shift to reach the Camp, with a Captain of Horse, a Cornet, and 140 Troopers, the greatest Part of whom, as well as himself, being wounded.

Mr. *Rheinschild*, fearing the same Misfortune would befall the other Detachment, ordered out immediately 300 Horse and 200 Foot to sustain Lieutenant-Colonel *Rentes* in Case of Need. But he had regulated his March so well, according to the Notice he had received, that the Enemy could never find an Opportunity to attack him.

These little Advantages obtained over the *Swedens* mightily puffed up the Confederates, who were assembled at

Sendomir, in favour of King *Augustus*; and so much the more, as Mr. *Rheinschild* was not strong enough to molest them. These were the Nobles of *Poland*, who, upon the Direction of Marshal *Danhoff*, declared all those to be Rebels and Traitors to their Country, who had signed the Confederacy of *Warsaw*, allowing them a Month's Time to return to their Duty, and declaring whoever should be proclaimed King an Usurper.

'Tis easy to imagine they did not spare the Cardinal any more than the rest; on the contrary, they sent to the Pope's Nuncio to intreat him to induce his Holiness to degrade both him and the Bishop of *Poznan*, and to sequester their ecclesiastic Revenues for the Payment of the Crown-Army.

King *Augustus*, accompanied by sixteen Senators, being repaired to the Assembly, made a long Harangue, in which he declared himself ready to take the new Oath they demanded of him, professed an Abhorrence of all absolute Power, and promised to maintain the Laws and Liberties of the Realm. This was executed May the 23d, and was received with loud Acclamations both from the Nobles and People. The Senators and the Nobles then swore to and signed the Confederacy, by which they all engaged to attend his Person, and then adjourned to July 1, having first sung *Te Deum* in the Church of *Sendomir*, under the Discharge of the Artillery.

The Czar likewise, on his Side, contributed greatly to keep them in Spirit by the Success of his Arms in *Ingria* and *Livonia*, which gave them Reason to hope every Thing.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Maidel*, who
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commanded our Troops in *Finland*, had frequent Bickerings, during the Winter, with the *Russians*, which the Czar had quarter'd *Ingria* at the End of the last Campaign; though our Forces, who were posted in the City of *Wiberg*, and the Adjacencies, were for some Time in perfect Tranquility: But this continued only till the Sea was frozen over, when (*Jan. 14.*) a Party of about 2000 *Russians* passed over an Arm of the Sea between *Ingria* and *Finland*, and fell upon an advanced Post, guarded by 60 Horse, which they several Times attacked with all imaginable Fury, but were always bravely repulsed, till they had quite surrounded our Troops; and, even then, the Officer who commanded them broke his Way through the Midst of them Sword in Hand, and happily reached *Wiberg*, 8 Men only being killed, and 20 wounded and taken Prisoners. The Enemy bought this Advantage very dear, and retired without attempting any Thing farther.

Some Days after, Mr. *Maidel* detached a Party over the Ice, who, in spite of the deep Snows, penetrated into *Russia*, surprized two Posts, killed Abundance of the Enemy, and returned safely with a great Number of Prisoners.

A little Time again after this, in the Month of *February*, 1000 *Russian* Horse and some Foot likewise took their Turn to cross the Sea, and, tho' vigorously resisted, obliged our advanced Guard to retire: Who, being reinforced with 100 Horse from *Wiberg*, returned to the Charge, and obliged the Enemy to repass the Ice with all possible Expedition.

The Czar now propos'd to enter

with considerable Forces into *Livonia*, and lay siege to *Narva* and *Dorpe*; and especially as Mr. *Schlippenbach*, being too weak to keep the Field, was obliged to withdraw under the Cannon of *Revel*. Accordingly he order'd all the Regiments in the Neighbourhood of *Petersburg* to defile towards *Narva*: He even enlisted the fifth Man of all the Vassals of his *Boyars*, and sent out Parties continually on all Sides to reconnoitre our Troops; one of which was attacked by a little Detachment of *Swedes*, less in Number, but much more brave, who pressed them so vigorously, that, after losing 20 Prisoners, they were obliged to take Shelter in certain Houses, which, being immediately set on fire, they perished in the Flames.

From the Beginning of *April* the Enemy had held *Narva* blocked up on that Side next the Sea; whence it was not without extreme Difficulty that Major-General *Horn* threw into the City one Regiment of Foot to reinforce the Garrison: But, to prevent our doing the like again, they rais'd certain Batteries upon the River, which, thenceforward, cut off all Communication.

About the same Time our Vice-Admiral *Prou* arriv'd with his Squadron on the Coasts of *Wiberg*, and took on board 1200 Men, which General *Maidel* design'd for *Narva*, together with a vast Quantity of Provisions: But, as the *Russians* were Masters of the Entrance of the River, which they had beset with Batteries on both Sides, they found it impossible to reach the City; upon which they steer'd towards *Revel*, where they disembarked the Troops, to join those under

under the Command of *Schlippenbach*.

In *June*, when there was Forage for the Horse, Mr. *Maidel* took the Field in *Finland*, with about 4000 Foot and Cavalry; and, at the same Time, the *Russians* marched towards *Wiborg* with numerous Forces, as if they designed to undertake the Siege. But this was apparently no more than a Feint; for all at once, they wheeled about; and, having fill'd their whole Frontier with Troops, sat down before *Narva*, which was now totally blocked up both by Sea and Land.

In the Absence of the *Czar*, General *Schonbek* had, at first, the Direction of the Siege, but it was, afterwards, committed to Field-Marshal *Ogilvi*, who had been formerly in the Service of the Emperor.

As to Field-Marshal *Scheremetof*, the *Czar* had detached him towards *Dorpt* with another Army to render himself Master of that Place; where Colonel *Charles Skytte* had done his utmost to strengthen the Fortifications, and prepare for a vigorous Resistance.

As this last Siege could hardly ever succeed, while the *Swedes* were Masters of the Lake *Leipus*, where they had 14 or 15 good Vessels, the *Czar* had prepared, in the Spring, a Number of armed Barks to back his Design, and attack those of ours, which, during the Winter, had been laid up in the River under the Cannon of *Dorpt*; but, as soon as the Season permitted, the Commander *Loscher* fell down the River to cruize upon the Lake, as usual; which the *Russians* being apprized of, they advanced with their

Flotilla to the Isle of *Porkazari*, which is the Mouth of the *Embach*; from whence they advanced yet farther up the Stream, and, where it was narrowest, lined both the Shores with Infantry, through which *Loscher* must necessarily pass: Who accordingly pushed on, without regarding the Preparations made for his Reception, though his Vessels could afford no Assistance to each other, nor make any Use of their Artillery against the Enemy, who were posted on very high Ground on both Sides, and from whence they killed every Man who made his Appearance upon the Deck. It became thus a very easy Task to seize them all one after another in a very little Time: When therefore the Commander was convinced of his Rashness, he blew up himself, together with his Vessel, which was called the *Charles*, that he might not be a Witness of the fatal Consequences*. Not above 200 Men of all that were on board this Fleet escaped, and even the greatest Part of them were dangerously wounded.

The *Russians* obtained this Victory *May 4*, and by it became Masters both of the Lake *Peipus*, and the River *Embach*, by which they transported 8 or 9000 Men within three Leagues of *Dorpt*.

About the Beginning of *June* they made their Approaches to that Place, blocking it up on all Sides, and even ordering their Vessels up the River to distress it from thence.

The Governor immediately set fire to the Suburbs; and the Enemy, on the other hand, threw a great Num-

* The King being informed of this Incident, turned to those in the Presence, and said, *Loscher died like a Sea-man, but not like a Christian.*

ber of Bombs and red-hot Bullets into the City, to favour the Opening of the Trenches, which was done in three Places at one Time. We shall see by and by, an ample Detail of this Siege, sent to his Majesty by the Governor Colonel *Skytte*. The *Czar* repaired thither in Person; and, that nothing might be neglected at *Narva*, he pass'd and repass'd continually, in order to hasten both Sieges at one.

Major-General *Horn* was extremely solicitous to convey a Letter to Mr. *Schlippenbach*, to let him know how greatly he stood in need of Relief, the Siege of that City (*Narva*) being open'd May the 24th in Form; the Bearer of it fell into the Hands of the Enemy, which gave the *Czar* an Opportunity to try a Stratagem, which in part succeeded. As the Besieged were confident of immediate Succours, he undertook to ensnare them into an Opinion that they were really come, in order to draw the Garrison from behind their Walls.

Accordingly, one dark Night, he detached some thousands of Men out of his Camp, whom he habited in blue like the *Swedes*, and ordered them to appear the next Day about two o'Clock in the Afternoon, at a certain Distance from the City, from whence they made certain Volleys by Way of Signal, as directed in the Letter. In Answer to which, Mr. *Horn*, not doubting but that they were the Reinforcement he expected, discharged two Pieces of Cannon; upon which they advanced towards the City, and feigned an Engagement with the advanced Guards of the Besiegers; who, seeming to be greatly alarmed, struck their Tents, and withdrew the advan-

ced Guard, which they had posted on that Side next the City. In short, they did all that was necessary to convince the Besieged that they were preparing for an Action. The two Armies then advanced towards each other, first discharging their Cannon, and then their small Arms; and, after continuing a brisk Fire for some Time, the *Russians* seem'd to give way, and tend towards the Bridge, which was over the River, for their Preservation.

Mr. *Horn*, being then convinced of the Arrival of the *Swedes*, detached, in the Heat of the Combat, Colonel *Morat* with 150 Horse, and Colonel *Loode* with 800 Foot, to sustain the Troops which he thought were come to his Assistance, and concluded to be already victorious. Certain Citizens, who believed they were rather going to reap the Fruits of a Conquest, than a Battle, likewise followed the Detachment, which soon fell into an Ambuscade, that lay in wait to receive them.

The Cavalry, being foremost, saved the Infantry, and were all cut to Pieces, or taken Prisoners; in the Number of which were a Lieutenant-Colonel, two Captains, and some other Officers. But Colonel *Loode*, who commanded the Infantry, having discovered the Snare betimes, retired with all Speed to the City with his 800 Men, without losing one by the Way; where he gave the Governor to understand what had happened, and that he had no Succours to expect.

This Disappointment, however, did not abate his Courage; he resolved to defend himself to the last Extremity, often making vigorous Sallies to incommode

commodore the Besiegers, and burning, at Times, all the Houses in the Suburbs, as well as all the Trees and Bushes that could afford them any Cover.

This Affair having thus answer'd the Expectation of the Czar; and that Prince being inform'd, on the other Side, that Major-General *Schluppenbach* was posted between *Revel* and *Narva*, in a Place called *Lefna* in *Weyerland*, with three Regiments of Horse and Dragoons, which amounted in all but to 1400, he commanded Colonel *Renne* with 8000 to dislodge them from that Post. The Swedes at first retired; but the Russian Commander having overtaken them (June 16th) between *Wittena* and *Tillejogi*, they were obliged to face about and come to an Engagement.

Schluppenbach defended himself with Abundance of Bravery; but, as the Russians were greatly superior in Number, and he perceived they began to surround him, in order to cut off his Retreat, he thought it necessary to prevent them, and retire without Loss of Time: But, whatever Efforts he made, he could not avoid being totally defeated; not above 200 Horse making their Escape, and the rest being all dispersed, killed, or taken Prisoners, among which last was Colonel *Fritz-Wachmeister*. *Renne* returned strait to *Narva*, the Journal of which Siege we shall see hereafter.

The King of Sweden, having now formed the Plan of the Campaign, prepared to open it forthwith. His Troops quitted their Winter-Quarters which they had held in the Bishoprick of *Warmia* and *Polish Prussia*; and, for the better Regulation of his March,

his Majesty took his Rout from *Hielsberg*, thro' the City of *Melsack*, where the Regiments of Guards was posted, in order to make *Elbing* and the other Quarters in his Way. The Princes of *Saxe Gotha* and *Wirtemberg* accompanied him, and, finding all the Regiments in good Condition, he ordered the whole Army to decamp forthwith.

Count *Piper*, together with the Court and the Drabans, commanded by Count *Charles Wrangel*, Colonel, during the Absence of Lieutenant-General *Arwid Horn* received Orders to proceed strait on to *Polond*, thro' the Territories of *Brandenbourg*. These Troops marched the first Day (June the 12th, 4 Leagues,) as far as *Ostendorf*, the 13th through the City of *Wirtemberg* to *Schavaden*, the 14th to *Butrin*, a Village on the Frontiers of *Brandenbourg*, the 15th, traversing the said Frontier, through the City of *Janowa*, towards the Village of *Schembrofski*, where they rested one Day, the 16th; proceeding the 17th to *Krzywanowa*, and from thence the 18th to *Prasnicz*.

The Regiment of Foot-Guards and that of Horse took the same Road, but the other Troops different ones, which hindered them from joining all on the same Side of the *Vistula*.

The King repaired to the Headquarters at *Prasnicz*, after having ordered the March of the whole Army, and rid above an hundred Leagues in a few Days. From hence his Majesty (June 20th) advanced to *Cziecanowa*, the 21st to *Novamiaslo*, whence he led the Way the 22d to *Zalkroizin*, a Village upon the *Vistula*, in order to chuse a commodious Place for passing over his Troops. The same Day the Court and

and the *Drabans* marched to the Village of *Muntelin*, where the *Bug* discharges itself into the *Vistula*. At this Place the King halted for some Days, and, after all the Baggage had passed over in *Prames*, his Majesty (June 25.) followed with the *Drabans*, and marched to *Traizowa*, four Leagues from *Warsaw*.

When General *Horn* had received Advice of the King's Approach, he set out to meet him, and communicate the present Posture of Affairs, with whom his Majesty repaired to *Warsaw*, where he gave Audience to the Cardinal-Primate, to Prince *Lubomirski*, Grand General, and many other Senators: With the Primate, in particular, he had a long Conference on the Person he recommended to be elected King.

All Things were already ripe for that august Ceremony. The Deputies of the Provinces and Palatinates of the Confederacy arrived at *Warsaw* the last Month. The Assembly was open'd June the 9th with a solemn Mass and a Sermon, after which they repaired to the Field of Election, where were present the Cardinal-Primate, Grand General *Lubomirski*, the Grand Treasurer *Sapieha*, the Palatines of *Posnania*, *Siradia*, and *Lancicia*, together with his Son; the Crown Cup-Bearer, and the Grand Marshal of the Confederacy, with the Deputies.

The Starost *Bronitz*, Marshal of the Confederacy, had been unanimously declared Marshal of the Diet of Election; and the Session, after some Debates, put off to the 16th, when several foreign Princes, already mention'd, were proposed, but all as soon rejected; the Confederates being resolved to give

no Ear to any but a *Piasse*; and the greatest Part of them declaring in Behalf of the young Palatine of *Posnania*, whose Election our Commissaries had Orders to support to the utmost.

The Cardinal had feigned, till then, that he would not oppose him, waiting the Conclusion of the Marriage of young *Towianski*, with the Daughter of Prince *Lubomirski*, and which the Palatine of *Posnania* labour'd to accomplish, in hope, by that Means, to win *Lubomirski* over to his Party, as believing himself already secure of the Cardinal.

But, notwithstanding all this, as soon as these Nuptials were solemniz'd at *Warsaw*, his Eminence pulled off the Mask, and declared openly he had never any Intentions of contributing any Way to the Elevation of the Palatine to the Throne; though he had before proposed him to Mr. *Horn*; who was so shocked at this Dealing of the Cardinal's, that he expressed himself upon the Occasion, at a Conference held some Days after, in the most pointed Terms, which put an End to all farther Harmony between them.

This, however, did not hinder the Cardinal from labouring openly for Prince *Lubomirski*; nor could the Instances of Prince *Sobieski*, who interest-ed himself vigorously for the Palatine, nor the considerable Offers made by the last to Madam *Towianski*, Cousin and intimate Friend to the Prelate, nor, in short, all the Endeavours of others, engage him to alter his Sentiments.

As, moreover, the Marshal of the Diet greatly inclined to side with *Lubomirski* and the Cardinal, he knew so well how to manage Matters with the Adhe-

Adherents of that Party, that they started continual Difficulties, and spun out several Sessions, without coming to any Conclusion at all.

It was at this Juncture the King of Sweden arrived, and demanded instantly their proceeding to the Choice of a new King, recommending, at the same Time, the Palatine of *Posnania* to be exalted to the Throne. Some Days after which (*June 29.*) his Majesty having drawn the Army to *Blonia*, nearer *Warsaw*, that Neighbourhood, and his peremptory Declaration for the Palatine, struck a Terror into the contrary Party.

The Cardinal then applied himself, by all imaginable Means, to defer the Election till the Arrival of *Lubomirski*, Brother of the Great General, and Chamberlain to the Crown, who was on the Road with some thousands of *Poles*; in hope that, if he was present at the Election, he might be able to carry his Point by a Plurality of Voices.

On the other hand, the Palatine's Party, perceiving the Intention of the Cardinal, made such lively and effectual Remonstrances, that the 2d of *July* was fixed for the Election, without admitting the least Mention of any farther Delay. In the Interval, however, the Cardinal and Grand General was importuned incessantly to give up their Pretensions, and repair to the Field of Election, but without effect; they pretended Indisposition, to excuse themselves, and demanded continually to have the Nomination postponed to the 4th, because, by that Time, they expected the Arrival of the Chamberlain.

On *Saturday*, the Day appointed for

the Election, the Bishop of *Posnania*, the Constables of *Bresz*, *Cujava*, *Radziou*, *Czersk*, and *Inowlodaw*, with all the Nobility, repair'd to *Kolo*, the Field appointed for that Ceremony, about 3 o'Clock in the Afternoon. After which, the first Step that was taken was to send Deputies yet once more to the Cardinal, the Grand General, the Palatines of *Posnania*, *Siradia*, *Lancicia*, and *Podlachia*, with an Invitation to join them. But the Cardinal continued stedfast to his first Proposal of deferring the Election to the Day following; Prince *Lubomirski*, who was with the Cardinal, did the same, and both promised, on that Condition, to be present at the Assembly.

The Palatine of *Lancicia* and the Constable of *Plosko* declared to the like Purpose. Those of *Siradia* and *Podlachia* excused themselves on Account of their Infirmities, and added, they would approve of all that should be done. The Palatine of *Posnania* alone repaired to the Assembly, followed by the Gentlemen of his Party.

After the Deputies had made their Report, the Marshal of the Election, in Support of the Party of *Lubomirski*, did not fail to represent how much Precipitation was to be feared in a Choice of such Importance; that there was yet much remaining of the Term prefixed for that Ceremony; that it was not usual to proceed to the Election till towards the Close of that Term; that, by waiting a little longer, the Deputies of the Palatinates of the Realm might yet arrive, and, by their Presence, render the Election more legitimate; and finally that, to render it in all Respects authentick, it

would

would be unpardonable, for a few Days, more or less, to overlook the Representations of the Primate and the principal Lords of the Realm.

On the contrary, those, who sided with the Palatine of *Posnania*, easily perceiving the Drift of their Antagonists, refused, in the amplest Manner, the Reasons which had been alledged; and made it appear with great Force, that, in the present Situation of the Republick, they had not a Moment to hesitate; that all Delay was to be extremely feared; that Customs, perhaps very dubious in their Natures, were not to be deemed Laws; especially in *Poland*, where the Republick had Power over the Laws themselves, and could change them at Pleasure; that they did not conceive what End these Demurs could answer, unless to set the whole Realm in a Flame; that, as to his Eminence and Prince *Lubomirski*, they had nothing to reproach themselves with, having used all honest and fair Means to reduce them to Reason; and lastly, that they knew not what to make of their Conduct, which appeared so much the more extraordinary to the Confederates, as it was visibly contrary to their good Intentions.

Upon this the Debate grew more and more vehement, and lasted even to Sun-set. As the *Swedish* Commissioners had great Reason to fear they would again postpone the Election till another Time, they made their utmost Efforts to win over their Opponents, as well by the Arguments they urged, as by their Entreaties and Exhortations.

They were well supported by the Bishop of *Posnania*, who besought the

Assembly to have no Regard to the Absent, nor to the Sentiments of the Senators, who were for electing Prince *James Sobieski*, because his Confinement put it out of his Power to accept of the Crown. Upon which certain Persons threw up their Bonnets into the Air, and cried out, *Vivat STANISLAUS Rex!* But almost at the same Instant certain others, who were the Deputies from *Podlachia*, put in their Protests to that Election, by as loudly interposing a *Nieposwolem*.

Mr. *Jeralski*, in particular, one of these Opponents, took Occasion to say he would never consent to that Election, at least till the Treaty was signed and concluded with *Sweden*; to which he added many other Reasons to justify his Dissent: But all this serv'd only to excite great Clamours against him, and to renew the Acclamations in favour of the Palatine of *Posnania*. At last the Bishop of that Place, having first signified, that those who would not give their Voices had nothing to do but to withdraw, proclaimed *Stanislaus* King of *Poland* according to the following Form: *In nomine Domini nomino Regem Poloniae & Magnum Ducem Lithuaniae, STANISLAUM LESCINSKI, & precor, &c.*

The new King, at the same Instant mounting on Horseback, during the incessant Discharge of Muskets and Pistols, and while their Bonnets flew into the Air, was conducted about 9 o'Clock at Night towards the Cathedral, where the Bishop of *Posnania* confirmed him before the Altar, as was customary, by repeating the *Vivat* three Times; after which the *Te Deum* was sung, and a prodigious Multitude of People shouted forth their

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Acclama-

Acclamations, as common upon such Occasions.

'Tis easy to judge how deafening these were to the Ears of the Cardinal and *Lubomirski*; who, seeing it would be fruitless now to oppose the Election any longer, came immediately to acknowledge the true King. A little after which the Chamberlain *Lubomirski* arrived at *Praag* with 60 *Polish* Companies. He had already sent, when some Leagues off, an Express to Lieutenant-Colonel *Claes Bonde*, who was posted in that Place with an hundred Horse, to demand an Escort of some hundreds of Men to guard him safe to *Warsaw*, a *Saxon* Party being continually at his Heels. *Bonde* immediately repaired to him with the few he had, and conducted him in Security to his Journey's End; where he had the Mortification to be informed the Election was over, and that he had nothing to do but make his Submission, according to the Example of others; which he did immediately, and paid his Compliments to the new King; as the Ladies, on the other hand, did to the new Queen.

The King of *Sweden*, who had not stirred out of *Blonia*, was, that Night, about 11 o'Clock, agreeably surprized, by his Page *Klinkowstrom*, with the News of the Election of King *Stanislaus*, who did not fail to notify it in Form to his *Swedish* Majesty the next Morning, and instantly received in Return a Letter of Felicitation, equally polite and affectionate: After which both the Kings mounted on Horseback to meet each other half way, where, having embraced with all the Tokens of the most perfect Friendship, they entered into close Conference for

several Hours, none but Count *Piper* being present, to deliberate on the most effectual Means to re-establish the Peace of *Poland*, and for ever remove their common Enemy, King *Augustus*.

The Confederates had importunately demanded, a long Time before, and during the Election, that the King of *Sweden* should enter into Alliance with them; and his Majesty had not only promised it, but had already entered into a Negotiation with them, with Assurance that, when the Election should be made, he would put the last Hand to it. As, therefore, he was always tender of his Word, he did not fail to nominate three Embassadors immediately to treat with the new King and the Republick; which were Lieutenant-General *Arwid Horn*, as first in the Embassy, the Secretary of State *Wackslager*, who had been long Resident in the Court of *Poland*, and Mr. *de Palmberg*, Vice-President of the Tribunal of *Dorpt*.

The necessary Instructions were likewise dispatched as fast as possible, for their Conduct to the new King, and for concluding a firm Alliance with *Poland*.

It will not perhaps be disagreeable to insert here the following Piece, writ by Mr. *Wackslager* some Days after the Election.

An Extract from a *French* Letter from Mr. *Wackslager*, Secretary of State, to Mr. *Adlerfelt*, who was then at *Blonia*, and who had put several Questions to him on the Situation of Affairs at the Election.

WHEN it was thought proper to put a Period to the Interregnum, and proceed to the Election of

a new King, the royal House of Sobieski was at first preferred to all others. But, after the Confinement of Prince James, and the obstinate Refusal of Prince Alexander to accept a Crown, which he thought would be of Thorns, and might perhaps be purchased with the Loss of his Brothers, many foreign Princes were talked of at Warsaw, as I acquainted you yesterday; but to no Purpose; the Confederates being resolved to have none but a Piasie, and having the King to support them in it.

The first of which upon the List was Opalinski, on whom they had already cast their Eyes. He was extremely rich, but, at the same Time, odious to all the World for his Avarice; over and above which, he died when he was talked of most.

The Cardinal then proposed several other Piasies; and, in a Conversation with General Horn, particularized Prince Lubomirski and the Palatine of Posnania; of which the General having informed his Majesty, he received Instructions to support the latter, as the most worthy and best inclined. His Eminency afterwards seemed disposed to retract what he had said, not denying, 'tis true, that ever he named him, but asserting he nominated him as the last and youngest of the two. But he was given to understand, that he was the most agreeable to the King, as well for his Capacity, as for his Birth and eminent Qualities, and likewise that he was favoured by the Deputies of Great Poland.

The Alliance between the Houses of Radzieowski and Lubomirski, by the Marriage of Towianski with the Daughter of the last, had induced the Cardinal to espouse the same Interest; and it was

even believed, that, if his Eminency had succeeded, the Office of Crown-General had fallen to the Share of Towianski.

As to the rest, the Election was made July the 2d; and it was endeavour'd even to have brought it on sooner, but without Effect. The Deputies of Podlachia only dissented; who nevertheless declared openly, they did not disapprove the Choice of Stanislaus, but could not agree to an Election on that Day, especially as the Cardinal and several other Senators had promised to assist at the Assembly the Monday following; maintaining, that, as those Persons were absent, the Action was both deprived of its Lustre, and was deficient in Form. Nevertheless, they afterwards came over unanimously, and by their solemn Accession gave as much Force to the Election, as if all those Lords had assisted in Person.

After all was settled entirely to his Majesty's Satisfaction, he took Leave of King Stanislaus, in the same Place where they had their first Interview.

July 9. Charles decamped from Blonin, and gave Orders to all his Regiments to march towards Javigost, where General Rheinschild was likewise to post himself the 14th with his Army, which set out in the Evening from Bozekow, and marched through Bidzini.

But first General Rheinschild detached Lieutenant-Colonel Zulich with the Cavalry towards Sendomir, from whence King Augustus had retired so precipitately towards Jaroslaw, that he left behind him a Magazine well furnished, of which Mr. de Zulich render'd himself Master.

His Majesty's first Day's March was from

from *Blonia* to *Mezanow*, where the Army rested one Day; after which (*June 11.*) they proceeded to *Bialla*, the 12th to *Novamiaſto* on the River of *Puize*, where they again rested one Day. The 14th they marched on to *Przyſtik*, from thence the 15th and 16th through the City of *Radom* to *Cobillani*, the 18th to *Zerwona*, the 19th to *Borrga*, then to *Wiſnutow*, and laſtly to *Sendomir* the 23d, where his Maſteſty order'd a Bridge to be immediately thrown over the *Viſtula*, in order to join the Army under General *Rheinfchild* at *Javigoſt*, which had been in that City ever ſince the 14th, as before mentioned.

During theſe Tranſactions, our Embaſſadors at *Warſaw* made the neceſſary Preparations for receiving their publick Audience of King *Stanislaus*; and, after all was agreed upon with reſpect to the Ceremonial, which was obſerved on that Occaſion, the 19th of *July* was fixed for the publick Entry, which was made in the following Manner.

The Ambaſſadors, being repair'd to the Cloiſter of the *Carmelites* in the Suburbs of *Leczna*, on the Side of the new City, were there received and complimented by three Senators, which were the Palatine of *Siradia*, and the Conſtables of *Inowladiſlau* and *Pleſko*. They were attended thither by the King's Equipages, and a great Number of the Coaches of the Nobility, that were ſent to accompany the Ambaſſadors; which laſt were ſeated in the King's Coach of State, together with the Senators, who ſat in the Boot: And Mr. *Albedkyl*, Maſhal of the Embaſſy, being mounted on Horſeback, before the Coach, the Proceſ-

ſion began towards the Palace, accompanied by a great Number of the Nobility, both in Coaches and on Horſeback. Before the Gates of the City, a Party of Cavalry, belonging to the Crown-army, were ranged in one Line, and thoſe of the Grand General in another, between which the Embaſſadors paſſed to the Sound of Drums, Trumpets, and other martial Muſick. The Streets of the City were lined by the Grand General's Infantry. In the outer Court of the Palace the Cardinal's Guard was drawn up. In the inner Court 200 *Swedes* appeared under Arms; and the Balconies of the Palace were filled with Muſicians.

When the Embaſſadors had quitted the Coach, they were complimented at the Foot of the Stair-caſe by Mr. *Poninski*, Maſter of the Horſe and Maſhal to his Maſteſty. The Senators before named waited upon them up Stairs, and at the ſame Time gave them the upper hand. At the firſt Entrance above, Prince *Lubomiſki*, the Grand Chamberlain, received them, and conducted them through the Guard-chamber of the *Drabans*, as far as his Maſteſty's Apartment, where the Great Treasuſer of *Lithuania* and Count *Sapieha*, who officiated as Chancellor, received them; and when the King, who was under a Canopy of Crimſon Velvet, obſerved them entering, he advanced ſome Paces towards them, and immediately after returned to his Place. The Embaſſadors then ranged themſelves abreſt oppoſite to his Maſteſty, and put on their Hats; after which General *Horn*, the firſt in the Commiſſion, began his Speech in *Latin*, and, at the Concluſion, preſented his Letters of Credence

to his Majesty. Count *Sapieha* replied in *Latin* likewise to the General in Behalf of the King.

After the Audience was over, the Embassadors repaired, with the Senators, to the Queen's Apartment, to whom Mr. *de Horn* made likewise a Compliment in *Latin*, it being the Language used in *Poland*, even to their Queens, upon a first Audience. At their Entrance their Excellencies were covered; but, when the General began his Speech, they put off their Hats in Complaisance to the Sex. The Suffragan of *Gnesna*, Chancellor to the Queen, returned her Majesty's Reply, which was in *Latin*, as well as the former.

The Embassadors then waited on Madam Royal, the Mother of the King, but unattended by the Senators, who received them at the Entrance of her third Apartment, the Treasurer *Sapieha* leading her by the Hand; they were then conducted to three Elbow Chairs, where being seated, they conversed for some Time in *French*; and, when they took their Leave, were received by the same Senators in the Hall, which leads to the King's Apartment, and conducted to the Stair-foot, from whence they returned with the same Train as before.

Immediately after this Audience the Conferences began in the Place appointed, and the Foundations were laid of a solid and lasting Peace and strict Alliance between the Realms of *Sweden* and *Poland*. The *Polish* Commissaries being the Bishop of *Posnania*, Prince *Lubomirski* Grand General, the Palatines of *Siradia* and *Podlachia*, the Constable of *Inowladislau*, Mr. *Poninski*, Deputy-Master of the Horse,

and several others, who laboured in earnest to put the last Hand to the Treaty.

It was before remarked, that Major-General *Lowenhaupt* had marched with some thousands of Men into *Lituania* to support the Confederacy, and to render it agreeable to the Nobility, and after what Manner he afterwards returned towards the Frontiers of *Courland*.

Count *Sapieha*, Grand General of *Lituania*, then judged it necessary for his Interests, instead of following his Majesty, as he had done till then, to march with his Troops into that Province, in order to join *Lowenhaupt*. Accordingly he set out, while the King was yet in his Winter-quarters at *Heilsberg*, and pass'd through *Prussia* in his Way to *Courland*. But Prince *Wisniowski* had no sooner received Intelligence of his Motion, but he assembled all his Troops to hinder his Junction with the *Swedes*; and, marching Night and Day with all possible Diligence through Roads little frequented, he came within two Leagues of *Sapieha* before he had the least Notice of his March.

Notwithstanding which, as Count *Lowenhaupt*, who was well served by his Spies, had received Information of it Time enough to reinforce *Sapieha* with 600 Horse, *Wisniowski*, though above 4000 strong, had not Courage enough to make the Attack, but returned the Way he came towards *Birsen*, to be within Reach of *Oginski* and the *Muscovites*. By which Means Count *Lowenhaupt* had Opportunity to join *Sapieha* at his Leisure, in a Place called *Wobotnicki*; and, having afterwards received a Reinforcement of cer-

tain

tain Infantry from *Riga*, resolved to go in Quest of the Enemy.

But *Wisniowski* and *Oginski* apprehending his Approach, kept themselves carefully on their Guard, and retired into *Lithuania* towards the City of *Cauna*. We pursued them however for several Days, tho' to no Purpose; except that our Fore-runners, now and then, fell in with their Rear, of whom they killed several, made 50 or 60 Prisoners, and seized certain Carriages, in which were some thousands of *Polish* Florins, with the Chancery of *Oginski*, by which we discovered his Correspondence with the *Muscovites*; as will appear from the following Letter, dated at *Poniewies*, from Count *Lowenhaupt* to Secretary *Diepenbrook*, who was then at *Mittau*.

S I R,

SINCE our March from *Wobotnicki*, it has been impossible for me to write to you, having been ever since in Pursuit of the Enemy's Army, under the Command of *Messieurs Wisniowski* and *Oginski*: And never did Hare make more Speed to escape the Hounds, than these Gentlemen have done, through Marshes and Roads almost impracticable, to avoid being forced into an Engagement with our Troops, though greatly inferior in Number. Certain of our Fore-runners have nevertheless made above 50 of them Prisoners, together with almost as many Horses, some Carriages, and a Sum of about 10,000 *Polish* Franks in Money: Beside which, we have seized the Papers of *Oginski*, among which are some of great Consequence, especially the Copy of a private Treaty between *Lithuania* and the *Czar* against our Sovereign; and certain *Mus-*

covite Letters, of which we understand nothing, as having no body here to interpret them.

At present the Enemy is near *Birsen*, endeavouring to persuade the *Muscovites*, their only Hope, to join them, which last were the Day before Yesterday making their Terms with them, first scrutinizing into the Number and Goodness of *Wisniowski's* Infantry, and then insisting on an Oath from all the Generals, Officers, and even Soldiers of the Army, not to desert them on any Emergency whatever; as if Fear would not break through all the Oaths that could be invented, or God had not Power to render them fruitless. We are obliged to wait their Resolves; and, if they venture to attack us, I hope, through the divine Assistance, we shall be able to give a good Account of them. I am, &c.

P. S. Great Numbers of Deserters flock to us daily; and the last Comers give us to understand, that the Enemy expect every Hour a new Reinforcement of *Muscovites*: But that gives us no Apprehensions; for the good God, in whom we confide, will be our Safeguard. If Major-General *Schlippenbach* could make a Diversion in *Livonia*, it would be a very great Assistance; for then we might be almost certain, with the Help of Heaven, to master both *Wisniowski* and the *Muscovites* of *Birsen*. You would do well in sending a Copy of this Letter to the King's Chancery.

Mr. de *Lowenhaupt*, believing it no longer of any Importance to follow an Enemy, who fled with such Precipitation to avoid the Encounter, halted, to see if it would give them Spirit to make the Attack themselves. But
Oginski

Oginski had only made this Tour from *Cauno* to *Birsen* to solicit Succours from the *Czar*. Provoked at the Triumph of the *Sapiebas* his Enemies, he never once hesitated to draw into his Country, already ruined by his private Quarrels, the Forces of a Prince, which he would be obliged to subsist; tho' the Reflection was so natural, that the Province must suffer more from the *Muscovites* than the *Swedes*, because the last were so much fewer in Number.

During this Interval, Count *Sapieba* convened an Assembly of the Nobles at *Poniewies*, to induce them to accept the Confederacy of *Warsaw*; and he had the Pleasure to see many of them give their Assent accordingly.

Wisniowski, on the other hand, did the same in one of the Cities of *Lithuania*, where he assembled the Nobles to accede to the Decree of the Diet of *Lublin*; having it principally in View to enfeeble the first Assembly by this Division of the Nobility: And his Design had such fatal Success, that, from this Time, their Animosities arose even to a dreadful Pitch of Inhumanity; each Party in turn treating the other with all imaginable Cruelty, as often as Opportunity offer'd, as will appear by the following Example.

Count *Zawiska*, Starost of *Minsko*, having been detached by Count *Sapieba* with 900 Men, marched about the Middle of *June*, with great Secresy, through vast Woods and Places little known, towards *Druga*, to ruin a Magazine which the *Muscovites* had established there; which he succeeded in, and at the same Time surprized 500 Horse and 200 Dragoons, the

greatest Part of whom were put to the Sword.

Wisniowski and *Oginiki* had, at last, finished their Bargain with the *Muscovites*, after using all manner of Expedients to induce them to it; the last not caring to have any Thing to do with a Nation, which abandoned its Allies in the greatest Extremities, nay even in the Heat of Battle, as was evident from all their past Conduct. The *Lithuanians* therefore were obliged upon Oath to combat like Men, and trust to their Heels for Safety no more.

After having thus united their Forces, they resolved to lay Siege to *Seelburg*, an old Castle in the Country of *Semigalle*, upon the Frontiers of *Courland*, in which was a Garrison of *Swedes*; where being arrived to the Number of 14 or 15 thousand Men of both Nations, they continued before it ten Days, and then prepared for an Assault.

In the mean while the Counts *Sapieba* and *Lowenhaupt* advanced to raise the Siege with all their Troops; and those of *Sapieba* had the good Fortune to take 300 Carriages on the March, which had been sent under a strong Escort from *Birsen* to the *Lithuanian* Camp before *Seelburg*; the Plunder consisting of an entire Service of Plate, a Sum of Silver Coin, and a large Quantity of Powder and Ball.

The Enemies were no sooner advertised of the Approach of our little Army, and the Advantage which we had obtained upon the Road, but they raised the Siege, and retired in Haste beyond the Frontier; insomuch that, when our Troops came before the Place,

Place, they found no Signs of them, but the Ladders and other Necessaries of a Siege, which they had left behind. *Sapieba* and *Lowenhaupt* however followed the Chace immediately, and, at a Place called *Jacobs-stadt*, two Leagues from *Seelburg*, obliged them to face about, and come to Action.

Mr. *de Lowenhaupt* attacked them first, after having ranged the Troops of *Sapieba* behind them to cover his Rear; when the *Litbuanians*, without once recollecting their Oath, made off instantly with the utmost Precipitation, leaving the *Muscovites* to shift for themselves as well as they could; who, having been joined that very Day by a considerable Reinforcement of Dragoons, and amounting in all to about 5000 Men, stood their Ground for some Time with Abundance of Obstinacy, but were at last obliged to give way, and abandon the Field of Battle. The Troops of *Sapieba* then did Wonders, in slaughtering those who could not defend themselves, which they continued to do till Night put a Stop to the Execution; in which Time the Enemy lost about 3000 Men.

Mr. *de Lowenhaupt* took all their Baggage, their Cannon, together with their Trophies, and a great Number of Prisoners, among which were several *Swedes*, whom the Enemy had carried into Slavery, and for some Time led about with them. *Oginski*, after this Defeat, which he could not recover for a long Time, repaired to the Czar, who was still wholly taken up with the Siege of *Narva*, which advanced every Day, tho' the Enemy had not yet begun to bombard that City.

In the mean while Vice-Admiral *de Prow*, whose Fleet consisted of one Ship of the Line, five Frigates, five Brigantines, and a Fire-ship, undertook to ruin the Works which the Enemy had raised in an Island called *Rutifari*, situated between *Ingria* and *Finland*, about four Leagues from *Petersburg*.

The Czar, finding the Situation of that Island very advantageous for covering his new Residence (of which this might be consider'd as the Outwork and Barrier, because it lock'd up, as one may say, the Entrance of the *Neva*, leaving open but one single Passage for Ships to the South, that to the North being impracticable for want of Depth) had already erected there certain Batteries; and, preparing to build, on a Bank of Sand, separated from the Passage above-mentioned, a Castle, known since by the Name of *Cronslot*, he had posted there all his Fleet, consisting of 42 Gallies, 7 Frigates, and many other Vessels, to cover the Works as they went on.

Advice of this new Enterprize of the Czar being soon conveyed to *Sweden*, and it being already foreseen of what dangerous Consequence this Fortress would prove to us, if an early Attempt was not made to take Possession both of the Streight and the Island itself; but, which is hardly to be accounted for, no Supply of Forces was sent to the Vice-Admiral, to enable him the more effectually to execute a Design of such vast Importance. This however did not deter him from making the Experiment with his little Squadron in the Month of *June*, but without Success, because of the strong Batteries which

which the Enemy had raised, and the great Fire which was made upon him from all the *Russian* Vessels.

Not discouraged with this Disappointment, he embark'd on board his Ships a thousand Men, which were under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Maidel* at *Systerbeck*, again set Sail, *July* the 15th, towards *Rutisari*; and at his Arrival finding but 1500 Men left to defend the new Works, the Castle not yet finished, and the *Russian* Fleet absent, landed his Troops, and attacked the Enemy so briskly, that he first dislodged them, and then routed them entirely, seizing upon all their Cannon, and taking Prisoners all that had escaped the Edge of the Sword. The Attack was begun by Lieutenant-General *Rose* and Major *Leyen*.

Some time after this, the *Czar* having sent out his Parties on the Side of *Wyborg* to observe Mr. *de Maidel*, one of them consisting of 2000 Horse and 200 Horse-Grenadiers, made an Attempt on that General's Camp at Prayer-time, in Hope to take his Troops unprovided. But they greatly deceived themselves; Mr. *de Maidel* giving them so warm a Reception, that, after a short Contest, tho' sufficiently bloody, he put them entirely to Flight, and held them in Chace with the Sword over their Heads almost as far as *Nyen*; but, before they reached that Place, they faced about within a little Quarter of a League of a Defile, and made a Stand to dispute the Passage, but were again so vigorously attacked, that they retired in great Confusion under the Cannon of one of their Men of War, which lay near the Fortrefs.

Mr. *de Maidel* then saw himself obliged to give over the Pursuit, greatly chagrined that he could make no Attempt on the Fort of *Nyen*, for Want of Vessels to pass the River; but, before he returned, set Fire to several little Magazines, as well on the Side of *Noteburg*, as on the River towards *Petersburg*.

The City of *Dorpt* now saw itself under a Necessity of surrendering to the *Czar*. As the Besiegers had kept their Cannons and Mortars continually in play, both Houses and Churches were laid in Ruins, and two large Breaches appeared in the Walls. The Besieged, on the other hand, had neglected nothing that could preserve the Place, and give his Majesty Time to send them Succours, having even made some Sallies, tho' with little Success.

July 13th the *Russians* made their Assault, and met with a Resistance as vigorous as the Attack: But, in the End, the Besieged being overpowered by Numbers, and the Enemy lodged under the very Gates of the City, the Governor, Colonel *Charles Gustavus Skytte*, was obliged to capitulate, as we shall see more amply in the Detail of the Siege, written by himself.

April 16th, Commodore *Loscher de Hertzfelt* received Orders from Major-General *Schlippenbach* to fit out his Squadron, and be ready to enter the *Peipus* to observe the Enemy.

May 3. the Commodore, being now equipt, sailed out of the Road of *Dorpt*. The *Russians* were two Leagues from the Mouth of the River of *Embach*, near an Island called *Porkazari*, by which the Commodore was obliged to pass in his Way to the Lake *Peipus*. As that Officer then entertained his Friends

Friends on board his Ship, and at every Bumper discharged his Cannon, the Enemy, who heard the Report, advanced to engage him; and he, on the other hand, having been advised of it, made as much Haste to meet them; but, being intoxicated with Wine, began the Action with all the Rashness imaginable, in a narrow Part of the River, three Leagues from *Dorpt*, where the Ships could be of no Assistance to each other; by which Means the Enemy, who had lined the high Shores on both Sides with Infantry, made themselves Masters of the whole Fleet, Ship after Ship.

The 4th, between six and seven in the Morning, the *Russians* had taken 14 Vessels; upon which the Commodore, determined not to survive his Misfortune, set Fire to the Powder, and blew himself and his Ship up into the Air: After which the Enemy landed 9000 Men three Leagues from *Dorpt*.

June 2d, the Enemy advanced to *Kirimpal*, where they began to throw a Bridge over the River: This I endeavour'd to prevent, by sending thither several Detachments to harraßs them; which not being strong enough to compel them to desist, were obliged to return to the City.

The 5th, the Enemy sat down before *Dorpt*, and invested it from the Lands of *Kopkoja* to those of *Tannenhof* and *Mublenhof*, and across the River as far as those of *Hasselau*.

The 6th, the Fleet advanced up the *Embach*, and I order'd the Suburbs to be burnt.

The 11th, the Enemy compleated a Battery on the other Side of the *Em-*

bach, near the Gallows, and pushed the Trench with Vigour.

The 14th, the Enemy began, towards the Evening, to throw their Bombs from a Battery of eight Mortars, making thirty-four single Discharges in all.

The 15th, they threw twenty seven Bombs, and opened their Trenches before the *German* and *Russian* Gates.

The 16th, they threw but eighteen Bombs.

The 17th, a Day of Fasting and Prayer, they threw but few Bombs.

The 18th, the like.

The 19th, they began to fire with great Violence, throwing no less than 200 Bombs, which damaged Abundance of Houses, and more especially the *Swedish* Church.

The same Day the Enemy finished their Bridge over the *Embach*, near *Quistendabl*, and pushed the Attack vigorously in several Places at once; that is to say, from the Camp near *Rathshof* on the Road of *Narva*, to the East of the City from the *Embach*, where they carried on their Approaches towards that Side of the City, which extends from the *Pinotorne* to that of *Russia*, and from thence to the *German* Gate; 2. Behind the Lands of *Kopkoja*, and on the Road to *Riga* to the South of the City from the *Embach*; from whence they drew a Line towards a Place called *Mistberg*, battering continually the second, third, and fourth Bastions, and endeavouring to advance under the new Counterscarp; 2. To the North of the City, near the Village of *Jehelfer*, proceeding on to the West of the *Embach*, and pushing the Trench

Trench on the Side of the fifth Bastion and St. James's Gate.

The 20th and 21st, the Enemy threw above five hundred Bombs.

The 22d, they threw three hundred eighty two more, which damaged the Magazine and the German Church.

From the 23d to the 24th, towards Noon, they threw one hundred sixty seven Bombs, beside red-hot Bullets.

The 24th, they had carried on their Approaches from the Quarter of *Tekelfer* to within thirty Paces of St. James's Gate, where they erected a Battery.

The 25th, they cannonaded the fifth Bastion furiously, and threw eighty four Bombs, and the next Day two hundred and forty more.

The 27th, we fired with great Violence on both Sides.

By the 28th we had eighty Soldiers and about an hundred Burghers and Peasants killed, and were almost buried among the ruined Houses; which afforded a dreadful Spectacle, and became yet more calamitous, as I had no other Lodgings ready even for the Reception of the poor wounded. This did not however prevent my giving Orders for a Sally from St. James's Gate, which was made at Midnight, the 28th or 29th, under the Conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel *Brandt*.

We at first killed near 200 of the Enemy; and made them give Ground; but, as my Orders were not punctually obeyed, it was not possible either to dislodge them, or ruin their Approaches, as I had imagined. *Brandt* there lost his Life, with two Captains, two Captain-Lieutenants, three Ensigns, and thirty Soldiers; and two Captains were taken Prisoners.

The 29th, we buried the Dead on both Sides; but they pour'd in their Bombs all Night long.

The 30th, they discharged one hundred and thirty Bombs.

The 2d, they threw eighty four.

The 3d, they threw a great Number of red-hot Balls, which burned several Houses.

The 4th, 5th, and 6th, they continued quiet.

The 7th, they began to make a Breach with twenty-five great Pieces of Cannon, on the Gate of *Russia*; and on the Wall which led to *Pinotorn*. They fired likewise with six more on the Gate of St. James, and on the fifth Bastion; throwing at the same Time a great Number of Bombs, from fifteen Mortars, planted in different Places. All which the Enemy continued without Intermission till the 13th; and it was my Care, in the mean while, to repair the Breaches incessantly, which was incessantly made.

The 12th, the Enemy drew out a Ditch from the Approaches of *Tekelfer*, as far as the *Embach*, by the Help of which they advanced under a Half-moon, which had been raised before the Gate of *Russia*, and which was wholly ruined by their Batteries.

The 13th, they fired with incredible Fury, and threw a great Number of Bombs. At half an Hour after six in the Evening, I observed the Enemy prepared to make an Assault on the Half-moon, which, as mentioned before, lay in Ruins, and gave proper Orders to give them a warm Reception. The Combat was obstinate and bloody, and the Enemy had already made one Entrance through the Pallisades; but a Lieutenant, who was posted

posted there, and who had scarce any Powder left, was so well seconded by certain Infantry which I sent to his Assistance, that the Enemy was repulsed, and thrown beneath the Ramparts; nevertheless, as they remounted continually with fresh Troops, and continued the Assault all Night, till six o'Clock next Morning (the 14th) we were not able to make any farther Resistance, especially as we were worn out with Fatigue; and consequently they penetrated as far as the Gates of the City, under which they made a Lodgment. Finding myself then in no Condition to hold out any longer, and struck with Compassion for the poor Inhabitants, who had all been put to the Sword, if I had persisted in an Obstinacy which would have been deemed unpardonable, I order'd a Drum to beat a Parley; but he was killed on the Spot, and a second met with the same Fate; which obliged me to employ a Trumpet next; on which they forbore firing, and I made use of the Opportunity to send a Major to General *Scheremetoff*, who returned me likewise another, with whom I concluded the Capitulation following.

1. To march out, Drum beating, Colours flying, and Pieces loaded; with six Pieces of Brass Cannon, and twenty four Cartridges for each, with all our Arms and Baggage, and one Month's Provisions.

Granted for three Companies only, with Arms; all the Officers to keep their Swords, but the rest of the Garrison to march out entirely disarmed.

2. Carriages for Sick and Wounded.

Agreed, for as many as can be procured.

3. To march towards *Revel*, by the nearest Road.

Granted.

4. That the Officers shall have Leave to sell their Goods, or at least to leave them, till they have Opportunity to fetch them away.

Granted.

5. That no Soldier of the Garrison shall, either by Menaces, or any other Expedient, be seduced from the Service of his Majesty.

Granted.

6. That all the Subjects of his Majesty, of whatever Rank, shall have free Leave to withdraw themselves and their Goods under safe Conduct to whatever Place they please.

Granted.

7. That the Clergy and Citizens shall be confirmed in their Privileges.

Granted.

8. That if any of them should incline to retire elsewhere, they shall not be withheld by Force.

Granted.

9. That those who should remove their Goods to some other Place, might have Leave to bring them back without Molestation.

Granted.

10. That the Fortrefs should be restored *in statu quo* to his Majesty.

R. Casu existente.

After all Things were thus regulated, I marched out with the Garrison: But the Capitulation was not observed in all Points; they obliged the Garrison to divide into three Parties; one of which repaired to *Riga* with Colonel *Tisenhausen*, the second to *Wiborg*, and the third to *Revel*. They likewise deprived the three Companies of their

their best Arms, and distributed others among them that were very indifferent.

As to me, they obliged me to follow the Czar to *Narva*.

The 25th, all the *Russian* Army decamped from *Dorpt*, and began their March towards that City.

August 7th, they obliged me to appear in the Approaches and parly with the Besieged.

'Tis reckoned they threw five thousand Bombs into the City of *Dorpt* during the Siege.

CHARLES GUSTAVUS SKYTTE.

The Garrison was conducted under a strong *Escorte* to the Places above-mentioned, and were furnished with Horses and Carriages necessary for the Journey. The Czar, who to animate his Troops had been present at the Assaults, took Possession of the Gates himself the 15th in the Evening, and received the Oath of Fidelity from the Inhabitants; and, to engage that People to submit with a good Grace, he sent back to their Houses all the Peasants who had taken Sanctuary in *Dorpt*, allowing them Safeguards, exhorting them to cultivate their Grounds as usual, and, by Way of Encouragement, granting them certain Privileges for eight Years.

As the greatest Part of the Inhabitants of the open Country had retired to the Woods, and were dispersed on all Sides, the Czar promised one hundred Crowns for every Gentleman, fifty for every Priest, and twenty-five for every Civil Officer that should be brought in to him; it being his Desire to win over a People, whom he flat-

tered himself to have soon under his Command: At the same Time he published a Declaration in favour of the *Livonians*, to whom he promised very great Advantages, in case they would submit peaceably to his Government.

The Czar came now with *Schermetoff*, to reinforce the Army at the Siege of *Narva*, and immediately sent Governor *Skytte* into the Trenches, to inform Major-General *Horn*, who commanded in the Town, of the Particulars of the taking of *Dorpt*, and of *Schlippenbach's* Defeat.

The Batteries, which were made ready against his Czarish Majesty's Arrival, began now to play; forty Pieces of heavy Cannon, and 24 Mortars were kept in continual Employment, and with such Success, that the latter soon destroyed the Communication between *Narva* and *Ivanogrod*; whilst the former made two large Breaches in different Parts of the Bastion called *Victoria*.

The following minute and authentic Relation of this Siege was presented to his Majesty by an Officer of the Garrison of *Ivanogrod*.

A Journal of what passed at the Siege of Narva, from the first of April, to the twenty-fourth of August, 1704.

April 1, the Enemy marched from *Jama* over the Ice to *Katterkybla*, where they entered *Livonia*, killing a great Number of Peasants, and taking others Prisoners.

The 12th, at two in the Morning, a Party of *Russians* attacked the *Hakelwerk* * at *Ivanogrod*, where they kil-

* The French translate this Word, a Magazine of Hem: It is a Kind of Workhouse.

led a Trooper, with several Peasants and Women, and made some Prisoners; but were soon drove back by the Guard posted at the Bastion of *Horn*, which hastened thither on the first Notice.

The 27th and 28th, some of their Horse shewed themselves at the Mouth of the River.

The 29th, they posted themselves there, and raised a Battery, in Defiance of the Fire from two of our Brigantines, which did their utmost to prevent them. One of these Vessels received a Shot in her Side from the Enemy, who, on their Part, fired so briskly at them, that they were both obliged to retire farther out to Sea. Baron *Henning Rudolph Horn*, the Governor, went without the Walls to observe the Motions of the Enemy, who, elated with their Success, gave him some ineffectual Salutes from their Cannon.

The 30th, the Enemy continued their Works, and advanced so near, that as the Vessels in the Road could no longer come into the Port, so neither could those which lay at Anchor under the Cannon of the Town venture to sail out, so that all Hopes of conveying any fresh Supplies of Provisions into the Town were entirely cut off.

The 1st and 2d of *May*, the Enemy carried on their Trenches with great Vigour on the Road leading to *Kybla*, to prevent our Ships from coming up to the Town. In the Middle of the Night they pass'd over on Prames from *Livonia*, and surprized some small Vessels which endeavoured to throw us in Provisions. When they passed the River, they daily continued to incom-

mode us, and made their utmost Efforts to carry off our Horses and Cattle.

The 10th, we detached Colonel *Lood* with three hundred Foot, and Colonel *Morath* with two hundred and fifty Horse, to support Colonel *Rebbinder*, who had advanced with his Regiment of Foot, consisting of six hundred Men, to the Mouth of the River opposite the Enemy's Batteries.

At our Arrival, we found no Enemy on our Side; but they had no sooner perceived us from the other, than they threw a Bridge cross the River with the utmost Expedition, over which they immediately passed to give us Battle. Our Colonels now consulted together what Measures were proper to be taken: They agreed, that it was too hazardous to engage the Enemy with so superior a Force, and without Cannon; besides which *Rebbinder's* Regiment was very ill provided with Muskets, and we had no Tools to raise a Breastwork to cover us in case of the last Necessity; they therefore resolved on a Retreat, which was performed in the following good Order. *Rebbinder's* Regiment marched first; *Lood's* Foot followed, and the Horse with thirty Grenadiers secured the Rear.

The Enemy advanced in a large Body, and seemed to have an Intention of attacking us; but as we had the good Fortune to break down the Bridge at *Tarvajegi*, before they could reach it, we put a Stop to their March, and returned into the Town with the Loss of very few Men. *Horn* was so dissatisfied with the Conduct of this Expedition, that he summoned a Council of War to animadvert upon it.

The 11th and 12th, we saw a very large

large Body of the Enemy's Horse scouring the Country on the *Livonian* Side.

The 13th, we heard a great firing towards the Road and the Mouth of the Port.

The 21st, the Enemy with great Boldness approached under the Cannon of the Town, and carried off some Cattle and several Prisoners.

The 29th, the Enemy shewed themselves on the *Javal* Side, and took some Horses; at the same Time their own Horse suffered a little from our Ordnance. The same Day, at half an Hour past three in the Afternoon, the Enemy attacked the Workhouse, and traversed the Gardens belonging to it with a large Detachment of Horse, cutting to Pieces all they met. Captain *Hochmuth*, who was here posted with no more than fifteen Horse, made all possible Defence, and gave them a Diversion for a long Time; but when he found they were attempting to cut off his Retreat, he thought proper to retire under the Counter-scarp: The Enemy followed him; but were so well saluted by the Guns from our Bastions, that they were soon put to Flight, leaving behind them some Horses, and a *Russian* Officer well drest, who was taken Prisoner; their Dead they carried off according to their Custom.

Captain *Hochmuth* lost very few of his Men and Horses: He received himself several Wounds, and had his own Horse shot under him. The Enemy advanced their Posts as far as *Rothenbam*, and encamped their Foot near the Town.

The 30th, we withdrew our advanced Sentries on that Side. The same

Day we saw a large Body of Troops arrive in the Enemy's Camp, whom we saluted from our Guns in the best Manner we could.

The 31st, they approached from *Ivanogrod* Side, with a Design of carrying off our Cattle and Horses; but on the brisk Fire from our Ramparts, they retreated behind the Hill of *Ratshoff*, where they pitched their Tents, sending their forlorn Hope to the Top of the Hill. We afterwards learnt that this was Major-General *Tschammer* who had drawn his Regiment of Dragoons, cloathed in green, from the Mouth of the River to this Hill.

The first of *June*, the Enemy affected to brave us, parading up and down with a strong Body of Horse, which we attacked several Times with some Advanage.

The 2d, at Break of Day, Lieutenant-Colonel *Marquard* was attacked in his Return from the Castle of *Ivanogrod*, whither he had been detached with a Party of Horse to escort some Prisoners; but the Bravery of our Troops repulsed the Enemy, and forced them to retreat behind a Hill, whither they were pursued by an hundred and fifty of our Horse, who with extraordinary Valour drove them as far as the next Wood, where having drawn up in Order of Battle, and receiving a considerable Reinforcement of Horse, they obliged us to retreat in our Turn: This Retreat however we executed in the most gallant Manner, with our Faces and Pistols presented to the Enemy, till we had drawn back under the Castle of *Ivanogrod*, where Major *Funk* was posted to support us. *Funk* perceiving that we were pursued, advanced hastily with such of his Party

as were on the Right to our Assistance, on which the Enemy immediately retreated behind the Hill, and abandoned all Thoughts of renewing the Engagement.

Marquard would have engaged *Funk* to advance jointly with their Troops to the Enemy's Camp, (which was at a very little Distance) that they might, if possible, make themselves Masters thereof and plunder it. *Funk* alledged that he had no Orders to march any farther, nor to second the Horse, so that all the Advantage we gained over the Enemy consisted in their Loss of Men and Horses, which was considerable. A Dragoon, who was taken Prisoner by us, reported, that they had no more than six thousand Men, but expected the *Czar* every Moment with forty thousand more. In this Action we lost Lieutenant *Appoloff*, Ensign *Sparkuk*, and eight Troopers. The same Day General *Horn* having observed the Enemy marching with a considerable Body of Troops towards *Livonia*, detached the Colonels *Rebbinder* and *Fersen* with twelve hundred Foot, and Lieutenant *Marquard* with two hundred Foot on *Ivangorod* Side, to attack them and take Possession of their Camp. *Rebbinder* was at the same Time ordered to return into the Town on the throwing a Bomb, which was to be his Signal, and which the General afterwards ordered to be given him, as soon as he perceived from the Top of a House, that the Enemy were returning in great Numbers. Lieutenant-Colonel *Bloman*, who at this Time performed the Office of Aid-de-Camp General, was likewise sent out to recal the Troops, and found our Horse engaged with the

Enemy; but on the Orders which he brought them, they immediately returned from the Fight, in which several were killed on both Sides, and on the Enemy's an Officer of Distinction.

The 4th, we saw a Body of Horse and Foot on the *Livonian* Side; and in the Evening heard a violent Fire from that which looks towards the Road.

The 5th, a Drum arrived from the Enemy with a Letter from Captain *Staal*, who had been made Prisoner on the 2d of *May*, informing us, that Lieutenant *Maidel*, with seventy Men of *Rebbinder's* Regiment, were taken on board a Transport-Vessel, which had been Shipwreck'd. The Drum was instantly sent back, with Permission to return the next Day for an Answer.

The 6th, the Drum returned at Noon, and received the Answer we had promised him. The same Day the Enemy made different Motions.

The 7th, we heard several Volleys of small Arms towards the Road, between the Hours of one and three, and saw the Smoke ascend to a great Height in the Air. The Enemy made several Attempts to carry off our Cattle, but were always prevented by our Cannon.

The 9th, at two in the Afternoon, we heard the Report of two Cannons on the *Livonian* Side, and afterwards of two more at a less Distance; which made the Major-General believe, that *Schlippenbach* was arrived with those Succours we so impatiently expected, and they were accordingly answered by the usual *Swedish* Signal. Soon after we discover'd a little Smoke at a vast Distance, which confirmed us in

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our Opinion of the Arrival of the Succours, whose Van-guard we imagined to be engaged with that of the Enemy.

We afterwards saw the Enemy (having first struck their Tents, and withdrawn those advanced Guards which they had posted nearest the Town) march out of their Camp, and draw up in two very long Lines, to oppose an Army which we saw approaching from a Wood on the Left. These Bodies now began to cannonade each other, which was soon followed by several Vollies from their small Arms; after which, they fell together in such a Manner, that by all Appearances it was impossible to suspect but that it was an Engagement between two Armies. Major-General *Horn* therefore immediately dispatch'd Colonel *Lood* with eight hundred Foot, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Morath* with a hundred and fifty Horse, to second those Troops which we thought were in Reality coming to our Assistance.

In the Heat of the Battle, we perceived those whom we mistook for *Russians* retreating towards the Bridge, as they had done at the former Siege, which persuaded our Horse that the Enemy was beaten. But *Morath* advancing nearer to discover the Truth of the Fact, was presently undeceived, and with all his Men surrounded by the Enemy. He was himself taken Prisoner, as were Mr. *Kons*, Captain of Horse; and the Cornets *Hult*, *Dunkert*, and *Pipenstok*. Captain *Lindkrantz*, with fifty Troopers, were cut to Pieces.

The same Day, Lieutenant *Wilbrant* having made a Sally of that Side of the Town where the *Hakelwerk* stood with

40 Men, with an Intent to throw down the Chimneys, ventured imprudently too far, and was surrounded, when the greater Part of his Men were slain, and himself very narrowly escaped. A great Crowd of Citizens, Peasants and Women, who went out with *Lood* and *Morath* in Hopes of a rich Booty, lost their Lives; but *Lood* himself and his Foot, being somewhat backward, were fortunately preserved.

The 10th, a Drum arrived from the Enemy with a Letter for the Governor, and was bid to return the next Day for his Answer.

Te 11th, the Drum returned and received his Answer. This Day the Enemy made several Motions, which obliged the Governor to send Colonel *Rehbinder*, with some Foot, into the Counterscarp to observe them. A Peasant, who under the Favour of very hazy Weather, had slipt as far as the Counterscarp, reported, that the Enemy had received a considerable Reinforcement, and that they had carried many of the Inhabitants of *Wask-Narva* and the adjacent Parts into Slavery. At Midnight they set about their Intrenchments at *Wippekbyla*, *Goldenboff*, and the Road leading to *Joala*, which are almost the same Places where they had carried on their Intrenchments at the last Siege.

The 13th, we sent a Trumpet to the Enemy, to ask Permission to bury such of our Men as had been killed in the last Action; but as their General was then absent, we could not obtain it. They carried on their Works with great Diligence both Night and Day.

The 14th, they began a Line of Countervallation. We sent again the same Trumpet; but he was not suffered

ferred to come within their Camp, because we had not admitted their Drum into the Town.

The 15th, we received an Answer by a *Russian* Drum, that we might bury our Dead; to attend which Ceremony, an Officer with eight Men were appointed on each Side. Mr. *Kalan-tin*, Captain of Horse, was the Officer on our Side.

The 16th, the Enemy extended their Works, and at one in the Morning began a Lodgment near *Roten-bahn*, in Defiance of our Bombs. That Night they advanced twenty * Toises on the Hill near the River.

The 17th, Colonel *Fersen* was detached with eight hundred Foot to demolish the Houses and Gardens belonging to the *Hakelwerk*, that they might not serve for a Shelter to the Enemy. This was executed with Success, no more than four Men being wounded.

The 18th, the Enemy continued to push on their Works with Vigour. We saw near *Joala* several Boats bringing them Cannon.

The 20th, the Enemy made repeated Efforts all Day long, to carry off our Cattle, as well from *Narva* Side as that of *Ivanogrod*; but our Cannon always prevented them.

This Day, the Major-General ordered some Foot to sally with two Field-pieces before the Bastion *Gloria*; for the Enemy advanced directly towards *Segelberg* Hill. As soon as we had pointed our Cannon, (which we did without the Enemy's perceiving us) we gave them such a Salute, that we saw several fall, and the rest run

out of their Trenches. This whole Day we continued a brisk Fire from our Mortars as well as our great Guns.

The 21st, the Enemy advanced under the Hill near the Bridge of Boats, to prevent our Men from demolishing the Chimneys. We incommoded them incessantly with our small Arms, and a great Quantity of Grenades. They returned the Compliment to our new Work, where having killed several Men, the Major-General gave Orders in the Evening that no one should shew himself on the Ramparts. The same Day, a *Russian* Drum arrived with Letters from Colonel *Morath* and other Officers, who had been taken Prisoners on the 9th Instant.

The 23d, the Enemy extended their Trenches under *Segelberg* Hill, near *Lysvenkylla*, between the Sides of two Hills, pointing their Line towards the Bastion *Victoria*.

The 24th, they continued their Trenches down the Side of the River. In the Evening we saw a large Body of Foot marching near *Rudbofsberg*, with a great Number of Waggon's loaded with Baggage, which they brought from the Mouth of the River.

The 15th, we saw another large Quantity of Baggage arrive in their Camp. The Enemy now carried on their Works before the Polygon of the Bastion *Fama*.

The 26th and 27th, they pushed on their Trenches on *Ivanogrod* Side, and at the same Time did their utmost to carry off our Cattle, which however the Cannon on our Ramparts secured.

The 28th, they worked by Night

* A French Measure consisting of six Feet.

at their Trenches behind the *Rathsbof*; whilst the Castle of *Ivanograd* made a very brisk Fire at them.

The 29th, the Enemy carried on their Works by Night down the Hill towards the Road of *Jama*, where they raised a Breast work, notwithstanding our Fire from the Town and the Castle of *Ivanograd*. During the Day they lay still.

The 30th, they pushed their Trenches as far as the Road of *Jama*.

The 1st of July, the Major-general ordered the Citizens to bring all their Horses to the Castle of *Ivanograd*, where all those Officers who would take them, were to come and wait for fresh Orders. The General, observing that the *Russians* ventured out of their Trenches to a Spring of Water near *Ivanograd*, sent to these Officers who were now waiting on Horseback, to come down into a Valley below the Castle, where they were to expect a Signal from a great Gun on one of the Bastions. On this Signal they were with the utmost Speed to mount the Hill Sword in Hand, and cut off the Retreat of the *Russians* into their Trenches. But on their Arrival on the Hill, they found no more than a single *Russian*, who threw himself on the Ground, and chose rather to die than surrender. The Enemy fired several Times on us without wounding a single Man, though we were not above thirty Paces from them.

As this Attempt was unsuccessful, Captain *Hochmuth* proposed with some Dragoons in the Disguise of Fishermen, who were to pretend to be fishing in three small Vessels, to draw the

Russians nearer the Bastion *Victoria*. He had advanced but a very little Way on the River before they detached thirty Men with Fuzees to interrupt the Fishers; which when the Governor observed, he sent Lieutenant *Eschener* with fifty Men to cut off their Retreat. This Attempt proving successful, the *Russians* took the Water. Eight of them were made Prisoners by Captain *Hochmuth*, who immediately put to land, and the rest drowned.

The Lieutenant set fire to some Houses, and stood several Discharges from four hundred *Russians*, who were posted thereabouts. These, as soon as the Lieutenant-Colonel who commanded them was killed, retreated; so that our Detachment returned into the Town without the Loss of one Man, and no more than one non-commission Officer and one Soldier wounded. We learnt from some *Russian* Prisoners, that *Schlippenbach* was beaten, and Colonel *Fritz-Wachtmeister* taken Prisoner.

The 3d, a *Russian* Drum arrived with some Letters. The Enemy drew a Line from the Spot where the little Skirmish had happened on the 1st Instant, ascending toward the Counterscarp of the Bastion *Gloria*. Captain *Frolich* was hereupon detached with eighty Men to molest them; but they paid very little Regard to his Fire, and seemed resolved to carry on their Works, however great the Loss might be on that Occasion.

The 4th, we saw a considerable Reinforcement arrive in the Enemy's Camp between *Waperkyhla* and *Joala*, near the former of which Places they had prepared a great many Boats.

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The 5th, the Enemy, having carried their Lines before the * *Caponiere* from four to five Toises distance from the River, made a continual Discharge of their small Arms upon the Ramparts. We saw fresh Troops arrive every Day in their Camp, and observed that the Enemy had thrown over a new Bridge at *Waperkybla*, and that their Tents now increased near *Sacronia*.

On the 6th, the Enemy brought their Trenches down to the River on that Side where the Mill of *Axel* stood. On the other, they extended their Line as far as the Road of *Bleeking*. They fired three Pounders from their Battery of *Ratbofsberg*, on our Workmen who were employed on the *Horn-Bastion*, and afterwards on the Town; with very little Execution on either.

The 7th, they lessened the Guard on the Counterscarp: For whereas a Captain with eighty Men had hitherto constantly mounted there, a Lieutenant with thirty Men only was henceforth ordered for that Service; but every one of these had thirty Cartridges each, all which they were daily to discharge.

The Enemy now extended their Trenches beyond the Road of *Bleeking*, and fortified them with Gabions from one End to the other. At two in the Morning they were alarmed on *Ivanogrod* Side, when some Soldiers, who were sent to reconnoitre the Enemy, fell in with one of these Parties, with whom they exchanged several Shot. In this Skirmish we had three Men killed, and some few wounded.

The 8th, the Enemy pushed their Trenches on *Ivanogrod* Side as far as a Place called *Katterumpam*, whence they

afterwards made an heavy Fire from their small Arms. On *Narva* Side they raised a Redoubt upon *Goldenhoff* Hill. In the Afternoon, thirteen Vessels arrived in their Camp from the Lake *Peipus*.

The 9th, they reinforced their Guards in the Night on *Bleeking* Road, and drew a Line behind their Trenches, which they fortified with a great Quantity of Gabions.

The 11th, the Enemy drew very near the Ditch on the Left of the Bastion *Honor*, and the Fire was incessant on both Sides, in which they had some Advantage from their Grenade-Mortars. Several Men were every Day killed and wounded on our Part as well as of the Besiegers.

The 12th, the Enemy approached the Bastion *Victoria*. The Governor mounted the Ramparts each Day with a great Number of Officers to direct the firing. He this Day lost one of his Fingers by a Fuzee-Shot.

The 14th, the Besiegers worked very hard on *Ivanogrod* Side. They raised a Battery on the Right of *Bleeking* Road, with twelve Port-holes against the Bastion *Victoria*, and that Part of the Rampart which is called *Sandwall*. Some of our Troopers this Day took six Sheep and nine Horses on *Ivanogrod* Side.

The 15th, the Enemy in the Night joined their two Lines before the Glacis of the Ravelin of the *Royal-Gate*; nor could the violent Fire of the Cannon from our Ramparts, and the small Arms from the Counterscarp, prevent them from making a Lodgment on the Counterscarp. On *Katterumpam* Side, they extended their Line, and forti-

* A dry Trench or Ditch with Loop-holes, through which the Besieged fire on the Enemy.

fied it with Gabions. We this Day saw a great Number of Troops marching on all Parts.

The 16th, they worked very hard by Night at the Battery which we have just now mentioned, and added eight new Port-holes to the twelve. This Night they brought a large Quantity of Fascines towards *Katterumpun*, where they began another grand Battery.

The same Day they began to molest our Workmen at the Bastion *Victoria* with several Vollies from their small Arms above the River. They drew their Lines every Day nearer that Part of the Counterscarp which was between the Bastions *Gloria*, *Honor*, and *Victoria*.

The 17th, they continued to work on their Batteries, and raised one of Mortars on *Segelberg* Hill. The same Day a great Body of Horse arrived from *Livonia*.

The 19th, several Pieces of Ordnance were brought to the Camp, and the Enemy placed a great Quantity of Gabions on their two Lines, which they had drawn round the Castle of *Ivanogrod*, and worked at their new Batteries. The same Night, we first heard the distinct Report of two Fuzees, and presently afterwards a very brisk Firing both of Cannon and small Arms from *Livonia* Side. At Noon, the Enemy saluted us with a triple Discharge of an hundred and three Pieces of Ordnance of different Sizes, which were accompanied each Time by a Volley of small Arms, that served them for a Signal. They likewise hoisted fourteen small Colours on their Trenches at these Discharges. The same Day they fired for the last Time on *Ivanogrod* Side.

The 21st, the Enemy drew a new Line towards the Hill of *Garafensberg*, so as to command the whole Valley under the Castle of *Ivanogrod*. The same Evening at eight, a very extraordinary Meteor was seen in the Sky, which at first appeared in the East, presenting the Form of a Star, where drawing towards the West, it assumed the Figure of a Fuzee. As it descended on the Horizon, its extreme Part displayed a Resemblance of the Sun, which, as it burst, cast forth many Rays or Flashes of Light, that were at last changed into a very dark Cloud, which was seen all Night in the Air, and entirely dispersed itself at Break of Day.

The 23d, one of our Captains, whose Name was *Drentel*, was killed on the Ramparts. The Enemy now carried on their Works in open Day, without concerning themselves at the Loss they suffered.

The 25th, they began to raise a new Battery near *Bleeking* Road, between those two before mentioned.

The 27th, they began another a little lower.

The 28th, they laid Planks on their Batteries, and mounted them with their Cannons and Mortars.

The 31st, being *Sunday*, at Noon, just as the People were coming out of Church, the Besiegers began for the first Time to batter the Bastion *Victoria*, with forty-six heavy Cannons, which they fired all at once. At the same Time, they bombarded the Town with fifteen Mortars which they had placed on the *Bleeksberg*. They had three heavy Cannon near *Garafensberg* Hill; fourteen Guns on a Battery adjoining to the Bridge of Communication

tion between the Town and the Castle; nine on the Battery at *Onnekylla*; twenty on the Hill called *Postmeisterberg*, behind which they placed two Mortars; two others behind that of *Garasim**, and two near *Onnekylla*†; besides which there were two other Batteries with four Mortars each, and four Mortars near the Bridge of Boats.

From all this Artillery, which was afterwards increased by fifty great Guns and twenty-four Mortars, the Enemy fired incessantly on us; from their Guns all Day, and from their Mortars both Day and Night.

The 1st of *August*, in the Night a Bomb fell into the Arsenal; which it reduced, with all therein, to Ashes; but did us however no other Mischief. This Day we saw large Bodies of Horse and Foot marching on the Road of *Livonia* towards *Joaala*.

The 2d, the Besiegers drew very near the Bastion *Victoria*.

The 3d, they threw many Bombs into the Castle of *Ivanogrod* with very little Execution. This Disappointment they revenged on the Town, where they barbarously abused the Inhabitants, and burnt several Houses in the new Town.

The 5th, a *Russian* Inhabitant of *Narva* went over to the Besiegers, and acquainted them that the Governor's House was not yet damaged; on this Advice, they aimed a Quantity of Bombs thither, which did it some little Harm, but not the least to the General's Family. The same Night a Soldier of Captain *Frolich's* Company deserted to the Enemy.

The 6th, Lieutenant *Blomann* being in the Counterscarp, very narrowly escaped being cut off with his whole Command by fifty only of the Enemy, who now pushed on their Works against the Breaches of the Bastion *Victoria*; but he luckily saved himself by the Royal Ravelin, and gave immediate Advice of his Danger to the Governor, who resolved to expose his Men no more in that Manner; henceforth, he only ordered little Sallies from Time to Time, to bring off their Gabions, and set Fire to their Works.

The 7th, at nine in the Morning, the Foundations of the Bastion *Honor* sunk all at once, by which one entire Face, with the Parapet, the Rampart, and all the Artillery were thrown into the Ditch. The upper Part of the Wall fell on the Inside, and the lower without, so that the Enemy, by the Help of their Ladders, might have mounted a hundred Men abreast. The Governor, on this unfortunate Accident, ordered out all the Peasants, Servants and Women, Servants and Women to work on the fallen Bastion; but these Orders were obeyed by very few.

In the Afternoon, a *Russian* Drum brought a Letter from the Velt-Marshal *Ogilvi* to the Governor. He advised him 'to surrender the Place, 'to prevent the Effusion of human 'Blood, and especially of the innocent Inhabitants, whom the Soldiers 'could not be withheld from sacrificing, when they carry a Place by 'Assault. He represented to him,

* *Garasim* in the *French*, but it is undoubtedly the same with the Hill before mentioned.

† The *French* Translation is obscure by ill pointing.

that the Town in which he commanded must be infallibly taken, for that Heaven had opened a Passage for the *Russians*; that he had but few Men, and but little Provision, nor any Expectation of Succours, of which he might be confirmed by the Governor of *Dorpt*, and a Dragoon, who had been Witnesses of *Schlippenbach's* Defeat, and could at the same Time testify to him the Clemency with which his Czarish Majesty had treated the Garrisons of *Nooteburg*, *Nyen*, and *Dorpt*, which, though they had made a brave Defence, had not however held out to the last Extremity.

The Governor returned a very rude Answer to this Letter, which was the Reason that the Czar, after he had taken the Place, used him very ill, and committed him to Prison.

That Day, the Enemy shot nine Arrows into the Town with Letters fastened to them. These the Governor ordered to be brought to him, and forbade any from opening them on pain of Death. Whilst the *Russian* Drum remained in the Town, there was a Truce and Intercourse between both Parties.

Colonel *Skytt* came now to inform us of the taking of *Dorpt*, and that he was the next Day to follow his Garrison, who were on their March for *Revel*. In the Evening, we heard at a great Distance towards *Livonia*, the *Swedish* Signal of Cannon Shot, to which the Governor answered by two large Guns from *Ivanogrod*.

The *Russian* Drum remained all Night in the Town; on which Account the Governor flattered himself with the Hopes of a Truce, and a

Cessation of the Bombardment; but as soon as the Enemy who had redemanded the Drum, perceived that we would not deliver him, they threw a great Quantity of Bombs and red-hot Bullets into the Town. About Midnight the Enemy gave in a false Alarm, drawing themselves up in Order of Assault between the Bastions *Honor* and *Victoria*; but at our firing on them they retreated.

The 8th, Lieutenant-Colonel *Kinner* exposing himself too much, was killed on the Ramparts. The Besiegers now made a dreadful Fire on our Workmen, who were employed in repairing the Breaches of *Honor* and *Victoria*, so that not a Day passed wherein we had less than thirty Men killed, without reckoning those who lost an Arm or a Leg. We had this Evening another false Alarm from the Bastion *Fortuna*.

The 9th, the Enemy appeared ready for the Assault. The same Day, a Bomb fell into a Chest of six hundred Grenades, which were all burnt, but luckily without more Mischiefs. This Night, a false Alarm was spread near *Victoria* and *Honor*.

The 10th, was a Day truly dreadful and fatal to this poor Town; for at two in the Afternoon, the Besiegers at last mounted the Assault with sixteen hundred Men, without including the Troops who were drawn up to support them, in four different Places. Lieutenant-General *Schonbeck* commanded the Attack on the *Victoria*; Major-General *Tschammer* that of *Honor*; a third Officer that of the Ravelin between *Honor* and *Gloria*; and lastly, General *von Werden* that of the Ravelin between *Gloria* and *Fama*.

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They began the Attack by levelling their Cannon at the Breaches, whither they likewise threw their Grenades, and discharged several Volleys of small Arms; so that it was impossible for any of the Besieged to maintain their Posts there one Minute without being shot to Pieces. The Enemy then brought up their Detachments, each carrying green Colours, and mounted the Assault with great Fury; but were constantly beaten back in all Parts. The Ground was now covered with the Dead; and as fresh Bodies of the Besiegers continually succeeded each other in the Attack, our poor Men, who were extremely fatigued with their long Defence, and weakened with their great Loss, especially from the Grenades, which did us incredible Mischief, after a bloody Fight and obstinate Resistance of three Hours, began to give Ground.

The Enemy made their first Lodgment on the fundered Face of the Bastion *Honor*, where the Succours which were ordered thither, arrived too late for its Defence. The Governor had indeed directed Succours to all Parts; but his excellent Disposition was render'd fruitless by that Spirit of Confusion which now began to spread itself throughout.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Freiden* sustained this violent Assault. He was seconded by Major *Funk*, by the Captains *Aminhof* and *Gyllenspang*, two Lieutenants, and two Ensigns. All these, (except the Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain *Aminhof*) and almost all their Men were cut to Pieces. The Enemy thence penetrated into all Parts, both of the New Town and the Old, and put all they met, as well Officers

as Soldiers, to the Sword, killing in the whole above fifteen hundred, besides a great Number of Citizens, Women, Children and Peasants.

The Slaughter continued several Hours, till the Czar himself by his own Presence put an End to it. We may easily imagine the vast Numbers that were slain: For not to mention three thousand Men which the *Russians* lost at the Attack, nor the great Slaughter of our own Soldiers, the poor Inhabitants lay butchered in Heaps, Streams of Blood ran through the Streets; and the Enemy were employed for three Days together in drawing out the Dead, Wounded and Sick (many of them at the Point of Death) on Waggon and Sledges. They carried them all to the Bridge of *Ivanograd*, where they threw the Dead and the Living without Mercy one upon another into the River. A Spectacle full of Horror that cannot be express'd! The Enemy penetrated through the River Gate towards the Bastion *Honor*, where Colonel *Fersen* defended himself some Time with a hundred Men, but was at last made Prisoner, very few of his Soldiers escaping to the Castle of *Ivanograd*.

The *Russians* being now Masters of the Town, a *Russian* Colonel, whose Name was *Ritter*, presented himself in the Evening before the Castle of *Ivanograd*, and desired to speak with Lieutenant-Colonel *Sterstabl* the Governor, who very willingly accepted the Truce which was offered him, but rejected the Proposition of surrendering at Discretion; though he had no more than two hundred Men in his Garrison, which was very weak on the *Narva* Side, as there had been

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little Likelihood conceived of its being ever attacked from that Quarter.

As Colonel *Ritter* persisted in offering no better Terms, the Governor sent Lieutenant *Blaman* to amuse the *Muscovite* at the Ramparts, whilst he disposed his Garrison in the best Posture of Defence. *Ritter* pressing very eagerly for an Answer, was at last told, that the Governor was in the Town, that they knew not whether he was living or dead, and could consent to nothing without his Orders.

Whilst *Ritter* and his Detachment returned with this Answer to *Narva*, the Governor drew out his Men, and posted them in the most advantageous Manner he could. Mr. *Arnstedt*, who was a Colonel in the Czar's Service, and Envoy from King *Augustus*, came to the Castle with a Letter which Captain *Frolich* received without the Walls; it contained a fresh Summons, with Orders from Major-General *Horn* to surrender at Discretion. *Stiernstahl* answered, that as the General was in the Enemy's Hands, he could not receive his Orders, and that he resolved to defend the Place to the last Drop of his Blood.

Major-General *Horn* was actually taken Prisoner at the Enemy's first Entry into the Town, together with five Colonels, two Lieutenant-Colonels, five Majors, five Captains of Horse, twenty one Captains of Foot, twenty-nine Lieutenants, thirty Cornets and Ensigns, all the Officers of Artillery and Engineers, with about a thousand Soldiers, all which received Quarter.

The 11th, and the following Days, the Governor laboured very hard at putting the Castle in a Posture of Defence, and resolved, if the Enemy

would not accord him those Terms which he had desired, or if they attempted to take the Place by Assault, that rather than surrender he would blow it up with all his Garrison, for which he had no other Provisions than a little Meal and Salt, and that only for a very few Days.

The Czar was highly incensed when he heard the Governor's Answer, and sent back Mr. *Arnstedt* to tell him, that if we did not immediately accept the Terms which he offered us, he would sacrifice all that remained alive, even the Prisoners themselves, at *Narva*, and would deal with us in the same Manner, without sparing even the Infant at its Mother's Breast.

The Governor replied, That these Threats would not induce him to deliver up a Fortress which his King had intrusted him with the Care of. That his Czarish Majesty might take what Measures he thought proper; that as for himself, he should look on it as a total Loss of his Honour, cowardly to surrender at the Discretion of an Enemy, before he was reduced to the last Extremity; but if he could obtain an honourable Capitulation, he might then perhaps resolve on putting the Castle into his Majesty's Hands. Whereupon Velt-Marshal *Ogilvi* desired him to set down the Terms which he insisted on in Writing, and insinuated, that it was not yet too late to lay hold of the Czar's Clemency; telling him, that he was surprized to see a Governor so haughty with a starved Garrison, for that they were no Strangers to all the Circumstances of their miserable Condition; and concluded with advising him to send three Officers the next Day (the 16th) to him

at *Narva*, to settle the Capitulation, and that he would send back three others of equal Rank to the Castle to remain there as Hostages till the whole was concluded.

The Governor resolved to accept this Condition, though much against his Inclination, and almost with Tears in his Eyes. He presently asked the Consent of his Officers, who represented to him, that he had all imaginable Reason to justify his Surrender; for the Enemy might starve us in a very few Days, since there remained no more than five Bushels of Meal for the whole Garrison, which slender Provision being exhausted, if the Enemy would not do us the Honour of taking us by Assault, we should be reduced to the Alternative of surrendering at last at Discretion, or of blowing ourselves into the Air.

The 16th, when we were desirous of beginning the Treaty, the Enemy pretended to sing *Te Deum*, after which they made a triple Discharge from the Ramparts, which were yet in good Condition. The Czar then placed a new Mortar before Prince *Menzikoff's* House, whom he made Governor of the Town, and having filled it with Wine, drank the Health of his Generals on their late Conquest.

The 17th, the Governor sent three Officers, *viz.* The Captains *Frolich* and *Kors*, and Quarter-master *Quensel* into the Town, with the Terms of the Capitulation, who were received at the Gates by *Putkammer* a Russian Major.

At the same Time, the Enemy sent us three other Captains, whom the Lieutenants *Blaman* and *Wilbrant* re-

ceived at the Gates. The Governor demanded to march out Colours flying, and Drum beating, with all their Arms and Baggage, and four Field-Pieces, and to have Liberty to go to *Revel*; and that those Officers and Soldiers, who had Wives at *Narva*, might fetch them thence. To all which, except what concerned the Colours and the Cannon, General *Ogilvi* agreed.

The 18th, at eight in the Morning, they took Possession of the Castle of *Ivanogrod* with a Regiment of Foot, where they detained us eight Days, before we were suffered to depart. They accommodated our Sick with four Lodgers or small Vessels, and equipt the General and some others with one of a larger Burthen, for the Transportation of their Baggage to *Revel*, whither the rest of the Garrison, who were in Health, marched by Land with their Wives and Families.

I observed as we passed through *Pibaseggi* and *Silaneggi*, that the Enemy had fortified those Passes with so much Industry, that they were very difficult to be forced. They afterwards demanded a Passport for two Officers and fifty Men to *Wiborg*, of which when *Stiernstrabl* asked the Reason, they answered it was to carry the News of the taking *Narva*.

We were escorted ten Leagues by a Captain and thirty Dragoons; when they were reliev'd by another Captain with twenty-four Dragoons, being a Detachment from Colonel *Renn*, who marched before us with eight Regiments of Dragoons, in Search of Major-General *Schlippenbach*. This Escort stayed with us two Days only,

after which we marched by ourselves, without the least Accident.

The Loss of the *Russians* at this Siege was very considerable, the only Assault which they made, having cost them Colonel *Berner*, with two other Colonels, five Majors, several other Officers, and three thousand Men. The Czar found in the Town and Castle fifty-nine Pieces of Cannon, four Mortars, and eleven Aubits, all of Brass; a hundred and seventy-nine Cannons, thirty-one Mortars, and four Aubits of Iron; four thousand Bombs, and forty thousand Grenades; a hundred and sixty thousand Bullets, three hundred seven thousand Balls, more than a thousand Quintals of Lead; sixty-six thousand *Cheveaux de Frise* armed with Iron; in a Word, the greatest Part of what the King of *Sweden* had taken from the Czar at the Battle of *Narva* four Years before.

Those Citizens and Inhabitants who were spared were obliged presently to take an Oath to their new Master, who now declared *Alexander Menzikof* to be his chief Favourite. He had already raised him to the Dignity of a Prince, and made him Governor of all *Ingria*, of which he afterwards gave him the Fief.

As to Major-General *Horn*, when he was conducted to the Czar, immediately after the taking *Narva*, he received a very severe Reprimand, and some say a Blow, for his Want of Respect in the Answer which he returned to the Summons sent him to surrender. His Czarish Majesty committed him to the same Prison where *Schlippenbach*, formerly Governor of *Rosenburg*, had been confined by the Order of the same General *Horn*, who

accused him of not having made a sufficient Defence; and the Czar gave *Schlippenbach* Leave to go to *Stockholm* to answer the Accusations brought against him.

Dzaliniski, the Waiwode of *Culm*, came to the Czar from King *Augustus*, at the Time when he sat down before *Narva*. We have already remarked, that the Diet of *Lublin* had consented to the King's sending Ambassadors, and entering into Treaties with foreign Powers; and that in Consequence of this Vote, *Augustus* had fixed on this Waiwode as his Minister to the Czar. We have likewise observed the Opposition which it met with from *Lubomirski* and several Senators, and that he was stopt on the Road by a Letter from the *Senatus-Concilium* of *Jarrow*, which forbid him to go any farther. He answered, that as he had been named by the three Orders of the State, he could not be recalled without the express Command of King *Augustus*. And as he did not receive that Order, he continued his Journey through *Kiow* towards *Moscow*, where not finding the Czar, he was obliged to go through *Pleskow*, to his Army before *Narva*, where he had a solemn Audience, and obtained all the Concessions he was ordered to demand. The following is an Extract of the Articles of the Alliance which was then concluded between these two Princes.

1. There shall be an Alliance offensive and defensive between the King and the Republi^k of *Poland* on the one Part, and his Czarish Majesty on the other.

2. There shall be a perfect good Under-

Understanding between their Majesties and their Generals in *Poland*, *Muscovy*, and *Saxony*.

3. They shall conclude no separate Peace.

4. The Town of *Bialacerkieff*, and all other Places in the *Ukrain*, possessed by the *Paley*, shall be restored to the Republick.

5. The Towns and Fortresses which his Czarish Majesty hath taken in *Livonia* shall be yielded to *Poland*, as well as all the rest of this Country, without any Reimbursement to the Czar of those Expences which he hath been at in the War.

6. The Czar shall supply the Republick with twelve thousand Men, and shall maintain them during the whole War.

7. The Czar shall allow the Republick yearly two Millions of *Polish* Florins, besides his particular Allowance to the King of *Poland*.

8. If the King of *Sweden* can be driven out of *Poland*, he shall be followed, and the War carried into his own Country.

The Ambassador demanded farther of the Czar in what Manner he would receive the Pope's Nuntio; and at the same Time requested, that he would permit the Catholicks freely to exercise their Religion in *Moscow* and *Smolensko*.

To the first Article, the Czar answered, That though he did not recognize the Pope as Head of the Church, he would nevertheless permit his Nuncio to take Place of all other foreign Ministers, if any Occasion should offer; and as to the Article concerning the free Profession of the

Catholick Religion, he agreed to it.

It was soon known that there was a secret Article contradictory to the 5th, and by which the Czar reserved some Forts in *Livonia*; and it was this which gave Birth to those Animosities, which afterwards increased at the general Confederacy of *Warsovia*. This secret Article at length entirely alienated the Affections of the *Poles*, and incensed them even to the declaring the Throne vacant, and the Election of a new King.

Oginski, after his Defeat, came to the Czar at the Siege of *Narva*, who had promised to send him twelve thousand Men into *Poland*; but he earnestly solicited him to march thither himself at the Head of a numerous Army. This the Czar was prevailed on to promise, and he accordingly made all the necessary Dispositions for the next Campaign, in which he was likely to encounter more Difficulties than in those he had already made. Being now resolved to enter *Poland* with 100,000 *Russians*, and sixty thousand *Cossacks*, he raised an infinite Number of Men through all his vast Dominions, designing to attack us in different Places, and being particularly intent on the Conquest of *Livonia*, where we were always extremely weak; but these Hopes were a little abashed, by an Account of fresh Forces which the King of *Sweden* designed to pour into this Country, and of a strong Squadron which he was equipping for the Gulf of *Finland*, to demolish *Retusari*, and the new City of *Petersburg*.

The Czar began by sending Prince *Menzikoff* into *Poland*, who came to *Wilna*, where there was already a Body of six thousand *Muscovites*. The Prince

in

in his Conferences with the Heads of the Confederacy of *Sandomir*, promised them all that the Czar had before promised the Palatine of *Culm*, and to *Oginski*.

In the End of the Year, the Czar came to *Moscow*, where he made extraordinary Rejoicings for the successful Issue of his late Campaign. But it is now Time to return to the Affairs of *Poland*. Count *Lowenhaupt*, after he had beaten the *Russians* and *Oginski*, resolved to attack the Town of *Birsen* in *Lithuania*, whence the Enemy constantly disturbed our Territories of *Courland*. He invested and blocked it up for some Weeks, and then took it by Composition; razed the Fortifications, and then returned into *Courland*, leaving Colonel *Wennerstedt* with some Horse in *Samogitia*, to attend the Enemy's Motions.

Augustus, to repair the Loss of his Foot at *Thorn* and in other Places the last Year, had demanded Subsidies of the Estates of *Saxony*, which they consented to the Beginning of this Year. By these Means, an Army of between twelve and fourteen thousand Men was raised with great Difficulty; and ordered to march into *Poland*. King *Augustus*, having waited for the Arrival of twelve thousand *Russians*, who were at the same Time on their March for *Kiow*, came afterwards to his *Saxon* Army, immediately after they had passed the *Oder* near *Guben*. They afterwards marched into *Poland* through *Silesia*, and were posted along the Frontiers, where they collected several Magazines at *Kostyn* and other Places.

At the same Time, *Radomiki*, General of the *Great Poland*, with his

Brother the Constable of *Posnania*, and the Starost *Smigelski*, considerably increased the *Saxon* Army by the Addition of their Forces. Which was the more formidable, by having General *Schulenburg* at its Head, who commanded in the Absence of Velt-Marshal *Steinau*.

All these Circumstances raised the Spirits of the Confederates at *Sandomir* very high; they thought a happy Revolution was at hand, and that the Face of King *Augustus's* Affairs would very shortly be changed.

The *Swedes* remained still Masters of *Posnania*, where Major-General *Mardefeld*, and Colonel *Lillieboek* commanded a very indifferent Garrison, and had frequent Skirmishes with *Smigelski* a Partizan of King *Augustus*. To secure that Town therefore and the Confederates of the *Great Poland* from all Insults, it was thought proper to send Major-General *Meyerfeld*, with his own and *Taub's* Dragoons, both new raised Regiments, and almost entirely composed of *Germans*, chiefly *Silesians*. To these was likewise added the Regiment of Horse of *North Scania*, under the Command of Colonel *Gustavus Horn*.

Meyerfeld marched from the Neighbourhood of *Dantzick* with these three Regiments the 14th of *June* through *Wotzlau*, and encamped at *Tirschaw* on the *Vistula*. The next Day he marched to *Meve*, a little Town on the *Vistula*, where he stayed the 16th, and encamped the 17th at *Neuburg* on the same River. The 18th, the Regiments passed by *Graudulents* to *Westphalia*, where they halted two Days. The 21st, they past under the Walls of the little Town of *Schweitz*, where

where Lieutenant-General *Poss* had taken up his Winter-Quarters, with Part of the Foot-guards. They halted a little beyond this Place opposite to the Town of *Culm*, the Quarters of fifteen hundred of the Guards, and afterwards encamped at *Krottschen*.

The 22d, they marched to *Strelitz*, where they halted the next Day. The 24th, they marched till after Midnight, and advanced six Leagues near the Bridge before the Town of *Thorn*, where they encamped, and remained the next Day, in which the Regiments received some Provisions from the Town. The 27th, they decamped, and passing through the little Towns of *Putgursche* and *Gnieskow*, which last was the Residence of the Starost *Babroniski*, Marshal of the Confederacy of *Warsovia*, they encamped near the Village of *Ostrow*. The 28th, sixty Horse were detached to raise Contributions.

The 29th, they continued their March through *Barkin*, *Mittelburschitz*, and the little Town of *Radziwo*, where they encamped at the Foot of the Hill. The 30th, they marched three Leagues as far as *Zeminen*, where Colonel *Ducker* had a little before encamped with the other Regiments of the King's Army. The 31st, the General halted here, and detached Captain *Bennet* with fifty Horse to raise Contributions.

The 1st of *August*, the Dragoons continued their March through the little Town of *Irbiza*, where *Smigelski* had been some Days before with three hundred Horse, and encamped near the Village of *Swientoslawize*. Here they halted the 2d Instant, and on the 3d were joined by *Horn's* Horse,

which had followed behind. The 5th, they all decamped. *Meyerfeld's* Regiment marching in the Van, the Horse in the Centre, and *Taub's* Dragoons bringing up the Rear, (which Order they changed every Day,) and marching five Leagues through very large Woods, where they met no Person but a single Hermit, they encamped near *Slesin*.

The 7th, they past through the little Town of *Kletzewo* to *Kostruti*, a Village near the Town of *Slupia*, eight Leagues from *Poznan*, where they encamped. On the 8th they rested; and the 9th marching by the Walls of *Slupia*, they came near the Town of *Wresna*, where they halted. Here General *Meyerfeld*, having received Orders in the Evening to hasten his March, decamped and marched all Night, and the next Day till Midnight, when they halted a third Time within a League of *Poznan*, at which Town they arrived early on the 11th, and encamped on a Hill before the Water gate.

King *Stanislaus* sent to inform *Meyerfeld* that he was coming to join him with the Crown Army, and great Numbers of the Gentry, who would mount their Horses at his Approach, in order to give Chace to the *Saxons*, who had imposed very heavy Contributions on all those Countries. But all this Project, as we shall see, came to nothing.

On the first Advice which *Schulenburg* received of *Meyerfeld's* Arrival with his Forces, he resolved to attack him, before he could receive any Reinforcement. But as he thought he should not want his whole Army on this Occasion, he chose out three thousand five hundred of his best Horse

Horse and Foot, and marched Night and Day seven Leagues, passing the *Warta* in his Way, till he came within a League and half of *Posnania*. Notwithstanding all the Precaution he took to conceal his March from *Meyerfeld's* Knowledge, this General very luckily received Notice of it at Eleven in the Evening, by a Deserter from *Bareuth's* Regiment. He presently ordered his Men to Horse, and drew out those which were in the Town with four hundred Foot, under the Command of Colonel *Weidenheim*, and two Field-pieces. When he had taken these Measures, and made his Disposition, he waited all Night for the Enemy in Order of Battle.

Schulenburg failed not to pay him a Visit at Break of Day, flattering himself that he should surprize the *Swedes*, but was struck with Astonishment when he found them in so good an Order: Resolving however not to return without making an Attempt, he order'd the Attack to be begun in three different Places.

General *Meyerfeld*, who himself commanded the right Wing, which consisted of two of *Horn's* Squadrons, and of four Companies of his own Regiment, viz. his own Company, and those of *Wittinghof*, *Kerstdorf* and *Krudner*, gave them so smart a Reception, that with the Assistance of the two Field-pieces, which were discharged continually, after having sustained three Volleys, he fell on them Sword in Hand, broke and routed them, though double his Number, and then sent *Taub* with sixteen small Squadrons to pursue them. *Taub* followed the Enemy near two Hours, and drove them as far as a

large Wood. In this Pursuit, the Enemy had above a hundred Men killed, and sixty taken Prisoners.

Whilst this past in the Right Wing, the *Saxon* Foot, being almost two thousand strong, with the rest of their Horse, attacked our left Wing; and as they were infinitely our Superiors in Foot, they forced those on our Side, together with our Squadrons, to retreat, after some Resistance, under the Cannon of *Posnania*. Our Loss was not very considerable; for the Enemy instead of pursuing us, fell upon our Camp, and began to punder and set Fire to our Tents.

Schulenburg perceiving *Taub* returning from the Pursuit, made so expeditious a Retreat, and gained so much Ground of us, that we could not overtake him. However, Major *Rosbushen* of *Meyerfeld's* Regiment was sent after them with three hundred Horse. The Major retook the two Field-pieces, and made several Prisoners, whom he brought back, with fourteen *French* Deserters, all Grenadiers of *Furstenberg's* Regiment.

The *Saxons*, in this Action, lost near six hundred Men, including the Wounded and the Prisoners; and among the Wounded, was Major-general *Brause*, with many other Officers. On our Side were lost three hundred Men, and some Standards.

Meyerfeld now resolved to draw nearer to King *Stanislaus*, foreseeing that *Schulenburg* would certainly return with all his Forces. He left his Wounded in the Town, which he knew the Enemy would not soon attack, because they were without Artillery, and taking Part of his Baggage with him, began his March at

One in the Morning, and proceeded four Leagues to a small Town called *Podviszka*. Here he halted the next Day, and sent back Captain *Bennet* with a hundred Horse to *Posnania* for the rest of the Baggage, which he brought to him at Noon the Day following. After a Stay of some Days at *Podviszka*, he decamped on the 14th about Midnight, and marching all the next Day, came in the Evening to *Mielzin*.

The 15th, he came to *Slupia*, where *Smigelski* attacked the Picket, but was repulsed. In the Evening, the Regiments decamped, and marched all Night through a great Wood, where they left some Waggon behind them, and came to *Klitschow*, where they halted some Days.

Thence they marched to *Kunitza*, where they arrived very late. During their Stay here the Regimentary * *Mirzewski*, at the Head of a thousand Poles, brought Letters from *Stanislaus* and General *Horn* to *Meyerfeld*, by which he was informed that King *Augustus* was drawn near *Warsovia*, with Orders to *Meyerfeld* to go to *Lowitz* and escort the Primate, who was come thither from *Warsovia* in his Way to *Dantzick* and *Thorn*.

The 20th, they marched to *Kolo*, a small Town surrounded with Water. The 21st, they marched the whole twenty-four Hours, and came to the little Town of *Lancicia*, which is a very difficult Pass encompassed with Morasses. The 23d, they arriv'd before *Lowitz*, the usual Residence of

the Primates of *Poland*, and where the Cardinal then was. The 25th, the Regiments passed though the Town, and drew up on the opposite Side. Then the Cardinal with his Retinue came down from the Castle, and went in his Coach between *Meyerfeld's* and *Horn's* Regiments. In which Posture the March was continued, and they came the first Day to *Tokaring*, a Village on the *Vistula*.

The 26th, they proceeded to *Wladislaw*, where the Lieutenant-Colonel of *Meyerfeld's* Regiment was ordered the next Day with two hundred Horse to escort the Cardinal to *Thorn*. The 28th, General *Meyerfeld* followed with the Regiments, and passed through the little Towns of *Nizerva* and *Radzunsek*. The 29th, he continued his March to *Thorn*, and passing thro' that City, came to the Village of *Mokre*, where the King of *Sweden* took up his head Quarters in the last Siege. The 30th, the Regiments were quartered in *Thorn*, where we will leave them for some Time, and return to *Posnania*.

Meyerfeld was no sooner gone than the whole *Saxon* Army approached, and encamped on the *Warta* within half a League of the Town, where *Schulenburg* halted, till he could throw a Bridge over the River. An Exchange was now made of the *Swedish* and *Saxon* Prisoners taken in the late Action; and the Town and Garrison were kept very closely blocked up.

The King of *Sweden* being joined by *Rheinschild's* Army quitted *Sendo-*

* The Colonels of the *Polish* and *Lithuanian* Armies are so called. They are the absolute Masters of thtir own Regiments, whom they pay and subsist themselves out of the Allowance which they receive from the Republick.

mir, and demolished the Works which the Saxons had lately raised. Thence he marched for *Jaroslaw*, whither King *Augustus* was retired. The Army proceeded three Leagues that Day, as far as the Village of *Pilkof*, where they encamped on two Lines. They then continued their March towards *Przydel* on the River *San*, opposite the Town of *Ulanow*; thence to *Skarzina*, and coasting all along the *San*, encamped the next Day at *Wicizevice*.

Count *Stenbock*, one of our Major-Generals, was detached from the Army to *Jaroslaw*, with Orders to lay up a Magazine there, and to enquire after King *Augustus*, who, with his *Muscovite* Succours just arrived, had departed from that Place at Approach of our Army; leaving behind him Lieutenant-Colonel *Brand*, the better to cover his Retreat, and observe and obstruct our March.

The King of *Sweden* soon followed *Stenbock*, and encamped near *Jaroslaw*, whence during his Stay of a few Days, he sent out several Parties for Provision, with Orders likewise to lay the Territories of *Oginski* and the other Adherents to *Augustus*, on the Frontiers of *Hungary* under Contribution.

King *Augustus* directed his Rout towards *Sakal* and *Zamosc*. He sent twelve thousand *Muscovites* into the Neighbourhood of *Breszicia*, a Pass on the Frontiers of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, whilst himself with eight thousand *Cossacks*, his *Saxon* Troops, and those under *Brand*, drew towards *Lublin*; for he had got so much the Start of us, that he had a full Liberty of marching where he pleased.

But all the Care which that Monarch took to conceal his March from

the King of *Sweden*, could not divert the Intelligence which the latter received from the Parties of *Poles* and *Valoches*, who were continually at his Heels, and who surprized near *Zamosc* two *Saxon* Lieutenant-Colonels, three Captains, two Lieutenants, eight Non-commission'd Officers, and some Soldiers and Servants, who were made Prisoners, as they were returning from the Funeral of a *Saxon* Colonel.

Count *Stenbock* had, in this Interval, been at *Lomberg* or *Leopol*, to exact Contributions of that Town in the Name of his *Swedish* Majesty; which were very haughtily refused, and the Count not admitted within the Gates. *Galeski*, the Palatine of *Calis*, whom *Augustus* had made Governor of this Town, relying on immediate and powerful Succours from *Mazeppa*, the Great General of the *Cossacks*, had encouraged the Magistrates and Citizens to behave in that insolent Manner, for which he was afterwards the chief Sufferer. He had formerly incurred his Majesty's Displeasure by his fraudulent Embassy at the Court of *Sweden* at the Beginning of this War, to which he is accused of having very much contributed.

His Majesty, who was desirous of engaging the *Cossacks*, did not fail to lay hold of this Opportunity, and leaving *Rheinschild* behind him near *Leopol* with twelve Regiments, six of Horse and six of Foot, till farther Orders, he decamped with fifteen Regiments from *Jaroslaw*, and marched the first Day to *Saleskavola*, where the King left the Foot and Artillery, and continued his March with the Horse and Dragoons thro' the Town of *Javarow* to *Noviejezo*.

All the Baggage was now committed to the Charge of a Party of Horse, and in the Afternoon, the King advanced with three Regiments of Dragoons only, intending to be early the next Morning before *Leopol*, in order to surprize the Town, or at least hinder *Mazeppa*, who was said to be on his March, from throwing any Succours into it.

This was a very laborious March; for they were obliged to cross a thick Wood, where a heavy Rain encreased the Darkness which the Night and the Trees would otherwise have occasioned, and caused the Troops to separate from one another. To prevent any Accident from thence, the King was forced to halt about Midnight and to light Fires, and give a Signal by Sound of Trumpet, to call together his Men. He then wrapt himself up in his Cloak, and lay down on the Ground between a Colonel's Legs. The young Prince of *Wurtemberg* did the same, and they both had a good Night's Rest, though the Rain wet them to their Skins.

At Break of Day, the King ordered his Trumpets to sound, and continuing his March, arrived about Nine within a League of *Leopol*, where his Majesty halted till his Troops came up. Our March being thus retarded, the Enemy received timely Advice of our Approach, whereupon, seeing the Disappointment of the Project which he had formed to surprize the Town, and the violent Fatigue of his Troops, the King thought proper to let them rest that Day near a Village, and on the next marched towards the Town. Some *Polish* Troops belonging to *Wisniowski* the elder, and the Referendary of the Crown, shewed themselves

and fired on us at a great Distance; but on the Approach of our Van-guard, they ran away full Speed, and we saw no more of them.

His Majesty then brought up his Horse in two Columns, and invested the Town on all Sides, approaching in Person almost home to the Walls of the Place, which he went round to discover the properest Quarter for the Attack. *Galeski* and *Camminski* the Governor reduced the Suburbs to Ashes, and then made a continual Fire on our Troops both from the Ramparts and from a fortified Cloyster, by which Adjutant-General *Hielm* was wounded in the Thigh, and a Captain, a Lieutenant, and some Horses were killed.

This Town, which the *Poles* called *Luwow*, and the *Germans* *Limberg*, is the Capital of *Red-Russia*, and is situated on the River *Pettau*, fifteen Leagues from the *Carpatian* Mountains. A very wealthy Place, and in itself of great Importance. It is large and well fortified after the *Polish* Fashion, but surrounded with nothing but Woods. Here is a Kind of Citadel, or rather a fortified Cloyster. On another Side are the Ruins of an old Castle on a Hill which commands the Town; which the King cast his Eyes on as one of the Places proper to draw out his Men for the Attack.

Leopol had formerly stood a Siege of three Months together by an Army of an hundred thousand *Turks* and *Tartars*, without being taken; so that in a vaunting Phrase it called itself a Virgin Fortress, till *Charles XII.* without Foot, and without Artillery, took it by Storm with two or three Regiments of Dragoons in a few Hours.

The King having assembled the Colonels of his Dragoons in the Evening, declared to them his Intentions of attacking the Town at that Part we have mentioned, without staying either for his Foot or Artillery. The Officers then received their Orders, and the Regiments were drawn out in Order of Battle between the Castle and the Town, where the necessary Ammunition for the Attack was distributed among them.

Early in the Morning, the Attack was begun on the Polygon of the fortified Cloyster, which we were obliged to make ourselves absolute Masters of, as we were to pass over it; beyond was a flat-bottomed Ditch, and a Rampart, which between two Bastions presented us a *Galerie à meurtrières*. Behind this Rampart was a Ditch filled with Water, which was to be crossed before we arrived at the Town Walls. Over this Ditch was a Bridge, but the Enemy could pull it up at their Pleasure.

On this Bridge the King, whose Penetration nothing could escape, had cast his Eye. He past that Night without Sleep, carefully instructing his Officers and Soldiers, and gave them the usual Word: *With God's Assistance*. The Horse patrolled with great Diligence the whole Night round the Town; and at the Break of Day, the Attack was begun in the following Manner.

A Captain with fifty Men marched first up to the Cloyster, and after a short Resistance made themselves Masters of it. Baron *Crassau*, leaving the Cloyster on one Side, fell directly on the Gallery between the two Bastions. He had Colonel *Buchwald*

on his Right, and Colonel *Ducker* on his Left; before each of whom marched a Lieutenant with twenty-four Men, supported by a Captain with fifty, and several Carpenters with Hatchets, with which they were to demolish the Gallery. *Crassau* was wounded in the Head as he pass'd by the Cloyster, and was forced to be conveyed out of the Field.

Colonel *Buchwald* then began the Attack with great Valour and Conduct. He mounted the Ramparts, and with his Grenades drove off the Enemy, who endeavoured to prevent our Carpenters from opening the Gallery, which was very briskly pushed at the other two Attacks.

The King and Prince of *Wurtemberg* were the first who mounted the Assault. This brave young Prince with his Pistol in his Belt, kept close to the King, who was soon on the Top of the Rampart. The Officers who followed him earnestly intreated his Majesty not to expose himself to such apparent Danger; but they received no other Answer, than, *That it could not be avoided, and it was his Duty to stay with them*.

The Enemy perceiving all was lost there, attempted to escape over the Bridge, which led into the Town; but the King, who, as we have said, had continually kept his Eye on it, hastened thither with his Sword drawn, and pursued them so closely, that he entered the Town with them, and cut all to Pieces who endeavoured to resist.

Our Troops, which were under the exactest Discipline, and taught to behave with Moderation in their Conquest, stopt all at once and drew up

in

the Market-place. There were indeed some few Houses plundered, of which his Majesty was himself in a Manner the innocent Cause, by detaching at first several Companies under the Command of Count *Torstenſon*, Adjutant-General, with Orders to viſit all the Ramparts; on which Occaſion ſome Dragoons quitted their Ranks, and fell to plunder, but this was quickly put an End to.

The Garrifon conſiſting of ſix or ſeven hundred Men, beſides the Citizens, were made Priſoners. The Governor endeavouring to ſave himſelf in his Night-gown in a Cloyſter, was taken by the *Drabans*, together with many other Officers who there lay concealed, in which Number was old Major-general *Berentz*. Count *Stenbock*, as ſoon as he came up, immediately knew *Galeſki*, and accoſting him with theſe Words: *Ab, my good old Gentleman, are we met here at laſt?* he gave him two good Blows, in return for his having formerly ſpoke ill of him at *Dantzick*.

In the Arſenal we took a hundred and ſeventy one Pieces of Cannon, with a Quantity of Arms and Ammunition. The Streets were filled with the joyful Acclamations of a great Number of *Turkiſh* and *Tartar* Slaves, whom his Majesty releaſed out of their Priſons. As to the Inhabitants, Count *Stenbock* declared to them in his Majesty's Name, that they ſhould pay three hundred thouſand Crowns for their Obſtinacy. A Sum which they were rich enough to have paid, and had already begun to collect it, when, at the Inſtances of King *Stanislaus*, half of it was remitted to them, a Circumſtance which greatly contri-

buted to advance that Prince in their Favour.

The 28th, all the Regiments which had ſtayed behind with the Artillery and Baggage being come up to *Leopol*, the King withdrew and encamped his Army at ſome Diſtance from the Town, to ſee whether *Mazeppa* would have the Courage to attack us; but this General hearing on his March, that *Augustus*, forgetting his Promise to wait for him at *Sokal*, in order to act for the future in Conjunction with him, had left that Place and was gone towards *Lublin*, preſently turned about and returned into the *Ukrain*.

As the great Point of *Augustus* was to drive his Competitor *Stanislaus* out of *Warſovia*, he let the King of *Sweden* alone, and endeavoured to join his *Saxon* Army near *Poſnania*; for which Purpoſe, taking with him his *German* Horſe and a Party of *Coffacks*, he paſt the *Viſtula* at *Maziowice*, and directed his Rout towards *Warſovia*, whiſt General *Brand*, who remained on this Side the River, marched towards *Praag*, the Suburbs of *Warſovia*.

King *Stanislaus*, who was now on his Way to *Great Poland* to join Mr. *Meyerfeld*, on the firſt Notice of his March, returned haſtily to *Warſovia* on the 18th of *Auguſt*, to withdraw his Queen, Madam Royal, his Mother and his Children. On his Arrival, he ſummoned a Council of War very early in the Morning at the Great General's, Prince *Lubomirski*, to conſider of proper Meaſures to be taken in the preſent Conjunction. Lieutenant-general *Horn* being preſent, adviſed couragiouſly to face King *Augustus* with the Crown Army, and what Horſe and Foot they had, and force

force him to a Battle before he was joined by *Brand*. This he represented as a Step not more glorious than necessary to be taken.

This Motion was much relished by *Stanislaus* and some other of the Grandees of the Kingdom; but Prince *Lubomirski*, either through Fear, or because he had already resolved to return to King *Augustus's* Party, or perhaps from both these Motives united, persisted in opposing it, pretending that there were scarce two *Polish* Companies whose Loyalty was to be depended on.

All this did not prevent General *Horn* from sending immediate Orders to a Major, who with four hundred Foot had been posted some Time at *Latowice*, seven Leagues from *Warsovia*, where he was to raise Contributions, and secure a Quantity of Provisions, to return with great Speed and reinforce him with his Party. But when they heard that *Brand* had already invested *Latowice* on all Sides, a Place sufficiently tenable by reason of the Morasses which environ it, a Resolution was taken at *Warsovia* of marching to the Relief of the Major.

With this View King *Stanislaus*, attended by Prince *Alexander Sobieski*, Prince *Lubomirski*, Great General, by his Brother the Chamberlain, and several other Lords past over the Bridge on the *Vistula* at the Head of the Crown Army. And, as *Stanislaus* thought himself in no Security in the Midst of the *Poles*, *Horn* gave him all his Horse.

This General flattering himself that King *Stanislaus* would soon return with Success, did not break down the Bridge on the *Vistula*, but employed

the four hundred and eighty *Swedes* which remained with him in making all the necessary Preparations for a stout Defence, in case of an Attack on the Town-side from King *Augustus*.

The two Ambassadors *Wachslager* and *Palmberg*, with the Bishop of *Poznan*, shut themselves up in the Castle. King *Stanislaus's* Family, namely, the Queen his Spouse, Madam Royal his Mother, and the Princesses *Anne* and *Mary*, attended by the Palatines of *Siradia*, *Lancizia*, *Podlachia*, and their Spouses, by the Great Treasurer *Sapieha* and other Lords, they had already on the 19th of *August*, in the Evening, set out for *Prussia* and *Elbing*.

The Project of relieving the Major did not succeed: For before the Arrival of *Stanislaus*, *Brand* had already drained the Morass round *Latowice*, by which Means, our Garrison being unable to defend themselves, were obliged, after they had retreated to the Churchyard, to surrender themselves at Discretion.

After *Brand* had accorded them this Condition, his *Cossacks* fell on a Party of them, and cut them to Pieces in the most barbarous Manner. King *Stanislaus*, who had Advice of all this, continued his March, and in the Evening encamped within a short Quarter of a League of *Brand*. His Majesty was very eagerly desirous of attacking him, but no Arguments or Intreaties were capable of shaking *Lubomirski*; so that the Enemy's General had the Happiness to escape that Night; he went directly to *Praag*, in order to join King *Augustus* at *Warsovia*.

Horn was already invested, and had hardly

hardly time to break down Part of the Bridge, when King *Stanislaus* acquainted him with the Impossibility of his receiving any Succours. *Brand*, on his Arrival, presently repaired the Bridge, and joined the King his Master. General *Horn*, with only the four hundred and eighty *Swedes*, and some of King *Stanislaus's* new Levies, made at first a very stout Defence in the Town; but as he was incapable of maintaining himself here any Time, he retired into the Castle, where being summoned by King *Augustus*, he answer'd, That he would defend himself to the last Extremity. The Enemy then began to batter the Castle, and to throw red-hot Bullets into it, which set Fire to several Places, but a violent Shower of Rain extinguish'd it every where as soon as kindled, so that they did but little Damage.

General *Brand* pass'd the *Vistula* with six thousand Men, and summon'd *Horn* again to surrender: He was obliged to submit, for they had now cut off all Supplies of Water, so that he could no longer extinguish the Fires which they made.

He therefore sent some Officers to the Enemy, to settle the Articles of Capitulation: And demanded to have the Bishop of *Poznania* and *Wachslager* comprized therein, though the latter, being born at *Thorn*, was look'd on as a Rebel.

The following Conditions were at length agreed on.

1. That the whole Garrison should remain Prisoners of War.
2. That General *Horn* and his Officers should keep their Arms and all their Effects.

3. The Soldiers should be allowed as much Baggage as they could carry.

4. That neither General *Horn* or his Officers should be insulted, or in the least molested by any of the *Cossacks* or *Poles*.

5. That all those who had formerly served King *Augustus* should be pardoned, provided they were not Deserters.

Mr. *Horn* had caused the 4th Article to be inserted on Account of the Slaughter made by the *Cossacks* at *Lasowice*, and the Cruelty shewn to eighty *Swedes*, whom they had met in their Route.

General *Horn* marched out with his Garrison consisting of eight hundred Men, all, except the Officers, being disarmed. He was himself on Horseback, but alighted as he pass'd by the King, to pay his Respects to him. The Soldiers were all conveyed into *Saxony*; but the Bishop of *Poznania*, whose House and Effects were all plundered, was sent to *Rome* to receive his Sentence from the Pope. General *Horn* was suffered on his Parole to go to the King of *Sweden* and acquaint him with what had pass'd, after which he was to return to *Leipsick*, where he was to remain a Prisoner till he should be exchanged.

King *Stanislaus* in the mean Time continued his March, and pass'd by *Lublin* towards *Jaroslaw*, to join General *Rheinschild*, who, after his Separation from the King of *Sweden*, decamped with six Regiments of Horse and six of Foot the 1st of September, and marched to *Biala*, and thence on the 2d to *Czieszanaw*, a little Town, where *Stanislaus* found him. The King,

King, taking an Escort of Horse with him, and being attended by Prince *Alexander Sobieski*, set out for *Leopol*, where he safely arriv'd on the 8th of that Month, and whither Mr. *Horn* came likewise under a *Saxon* Escort on the 12th.

As to what concerns *Lubomirski*, the Great General, he retreated on the 16th with the Crown-Army towards *Reschow*, where he had a Castle belonging to him, and distributed his Troops in the adjacent Parts, pretending that the Season was so far advanced that he could no longer keep the Field.

On the other Side, Lieutenant-General *Schulenburg*, having staid some Time before *Posnania*, decamped with his Army, and marched towards *Warsovia*, in order to join King *Augustus*. This gave the Town a little Relief, which was afterwards rendered more compleat by the Departure of *Radomicki*, the General of Great Poland, towards *Koslin*, from the Bridge on the *Warta*, which Station he had hitherto held with some hundred Horse. This gave General *Mardefeld* an Opportunity to send out a Party, which burnt the Bridge, and likewise a large Quantity of Fascines which the Saxons had gathered together.

The Governor made use of this Time to bring Forage and all Sorts of Provisions into the Town, which however cost him no small Trouble; for the Enemy's Parties secured the whole Country, and *Radomicki* had forbid the Nobility assembled at *Skroda*, to supply the Town with any Provisions on Pain of Death.

Major-General *Meyerfeld*, who had kept himself hitherto at *Thorn*, as soon

as he heard that *Schulenburg* had quitted *Posnania*, and that *Radomicki* with his Troops was encamped at a Place called *Stenziewa*, at no more than two Leagues Distance from it, made all imaginable Haste towards him, and the better to disguise his March, he dress'd his Van-guard in the *Saxon* Fashion, and took with him all the Poles whom he met on the Road.

He left *Thorn* at two in the Morning, at the Head of the three Regiments we have mentioned, having first sent his Sick to *Elbing*. He arrived at *Zeita* by Noon, where he halted in the open Field till the Evening, and then renewed his March, which he continued all Night through very large Woods. The Regiments arrived at break of Day at the Village of *Wallopitza*, whence they marched to the little Town of *Labezin*, where they passed the next Night.

On the 8th of September in the Morning, they continued their March through *Zuin*, a small Town, in their Way to *Loppino*, and thence advanced three Leagues to *Powelziska*, whence they arrived by Night within a League of *Posnania*, where they halted. At last they came before the Town; the Governor surprized at seeing Mr. *Meyerfeld*, let them immediately pass thro' the Town in their Way to *Stenziewa*. Major-General *Mardefeld* presently followed, and they arrived on a Gallop by six in the Morning.

Mr. *Meyerfeld* instantly attacked the Polish Camp, where were three thousand Saxons belonging to *Schulenburg's* Army. The Poles had scarce Time to mount their Horses, and were forced to ride without their Saddles,

bles, which they did with such Expedition, that though we pursued them for two Hours, we could kill or overtake but a very few. We found their Camp well furnished with Provisions, Tents, Horses and Baggage, all which were given us to plunder.

After this Expedition was over, our Men stood two Hours in order of Battle, after which, having set fire to their Camp, they marched to *Kunerzewo*, a fine House belonging to Mr. *Radomicki* Constable of *Posnania*, and Brother to the General. Here they staid a few Days, during which they sent twelve Pair of Kettle-Drums, and two Standards, which they had taken from the Enemy, to *Posnania*. The 13th, General *Meyerfeld* decamped in the Evening from *Kunerzewo*, marched all Night, and returned the 14th of September at Break of Day to *Posnania*, where he quartered his Men in the Suburbs.

As King *Augustus* was resolved on the Siege of this Place, Lieutenant-General *Brand* received Order to invest it, and General *Patkul*, with some thousand *Russians*, was commanded to join him.

Brand having left *Warsovia*, arrived some Days after *Meyerfeld* returned to *Posnania*. He posted himself at the same Place where *Schulenburg* had encamped before, and where there had been a Bridge over the *Warta*, but it was destroyed by *Mardefeld*.

On the News of *Meyerfeld*'s having detached Colonel *Gustavus Horn* with six hundred Horse towards *Costin*, and that the rest of the Horse were out after Forage, *Brand* resolved to cut them off, or at least to prevent them from foraging: For which Purpose he de-

tached two thousand *Poles* and *Saxon* Cuirassiers on *Michaelmas-day* to attack them; and ordered some other *German* and *Polonese* Troops to pass the *Warta* at a Ford, which the Shallowness of the Current now permitted, and oppose any Succours which the *Swedes* should attempt to send to their Foragers.

Almost two thousand had already past the River, when *Meyerfeld*, who had had Notice of this Expedition, marched up to them with a Squadron of his Horse, namely, his own Troop, and those of Lieutenant-Colonel *Bolth* and the Major, amounting in the whole to three hundred and fifty Men or thereabouts. Lieutenant-Colonel *Traut-fetter* and Count *Gyllenstolpe*, who commanded the Van-guard, consisting of a Captain and seventy Dragoons only, received their Fire, and then attacked 'em so briskly Sword in Hand, that they were soon broke and driven in Confusion into the Water. In this Action many of them fell, especially of *Bareuth's* Dragoons.

When *Meyerfeld* up, *Brand*, who was on the other Side of the Water, contented himself with being a Looker on, without attempting to assist those of his Party who had pass'd. So that *Meyerfeld's* Squadron stood motionless, directly opposite to the Enemy, till all the Foragers who were commanded by Major *Burrmann*, and had been dispersed, were returned.

When these *Poles* who had passed the River, heard of the Blow which had been given on the *Warta*, they retreated, and suffered the *Swedes* to pass without any Molestation. We lost very few Men on this Occasion; and Count *Gyllenstolpe*, who was

wounded in the Arm, was the only Officer hurt.

We took a Pair of Kettle-drums and a *Polish* Standard from the Enemy, whose Troops amounted, according to the Report of the Prisoners, to sixteen thousand; namely, four thousand *Saxon* Troopers, two thousand three hundred of *Brand's* Troops, and the rest were *Russians*, *Poles*, and *Cossacks*.

As it was known that the *Saxons* had absolutely determin'd on the Siege of *Posnania*, Major-General *Meyerfeld* thought proper to enter that Town with his three Regiments, since the Suburbs were so far from being defensible, that we could not secure ourselves there from the Danger of being surprized. We then made all the necessary Preparations for the Support of a long Siege; but our principal Fear was a Deficiency of Provision.

Brand, on his Part, waited only *Parkul's* Arrival to attack the Town in Form, which though its Condition was not equal to a very long Resistance, took very obstinate Resolutions of defending itself to the last Extremity.

One Evening, whilst the Camp near *Leopol* lay in the utmost Security, Prince *Wisniowski* the Elder, and the Referendary of the Crown, attacked us by Moon-light with all imaginable Fury, and with the most dreadful Cries, spreading a general Alarm.

The King, attended by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, hastened to the Part where the Enemy attempted to enter. Our Foot, most of them in their Shirts, drew immediately up in excellent Order, with their Bandaliers and Swords as in a Day of Battle, and sustained all the Efforts of the Enemy,

which they made on us very little more than half an Hour: For having stood one single Volley, they retreated in great Confusion, and at length ran away full Speed. We suffered nothing more than the Loss of a few Horses, which got loose and ran after them; indeed their true Design was only to carry off our Cattle, which were grazing in the Front of our Camp. Several of them were wounded in the Attempt, but they took all away with them.

Though the Town of *Leopol* had lately renewed their Oath to King *Augustus*, they agreed to take another to King *Stanislaus* on his Arrival, and acceded solemnly to the Confederacy of *Warsovia*. The Nobility of the adjacent Parts followed their Example, and submitted to their new King; and as a Token of their Respect, returned to the King of *Sweden* thirty-two *Swedes*, who had been taken Prisoners at several Places. *Caminski*, the Governor, was afterwards set at Liberty, and the Town as before committed to his Care, after he had sworn Fealty to King *Stanislaus*, in which he was followed by seventeen Officers and the whole Garrison, who all (except 80 *Saxons* who were carried Prisoners along with the Army) entered themselves in his Majesty's Service.

We fared well in the Neighbourhood of this City; it abounding with Provisions, excellent Fish, and noble *Hungarian* Wines, which were likewise cheap on the Account of its being situated so near that Kingdom.

When his Majesty had learnt that *Schulenburg* had received new Troops from *Saxony*, he resolved to execute a Design of Importance: And as he had

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had no Conveniences to remove the Cannon, which were found in the Arsenal of *Leopol*, he ordered them to be render'd unserviceable, as having a sufficient Number for his own Designs elsewhere.

After all was thus regulated in the City, his Majesty, the 13th of September, ordered the Infantry to march before him, and the next Morning he himself followed with all the Cavalry. The bad Roads and Defiles hindered us from marching above a League an Hour, till we arrived at a Village called *Drohobiof*: And on the Morrow, we could not reach above one more, to the Village of *Maziachin*; passing by the Town of *Solkiew*, where there is a Castle belonging to Prince *Constantine Sobieski*, and where he made his Residence.

The 16th, the Army marched to *Dobruzin*. The Day following we passed by the Town of *Rawa* to the Village of *Rebenna*, where the Peasants for Time immemorial, have a Knack of curing the Venereal Disease: For which Reason, all such as are infected with that detestable Malady, resort thither from all Corners of the Kingdom.

The King decamped from *Rebenna*, September 19, and marched on to *Tomaschcow*, from thence to the Village of *Labonie*, near *Zamosc*, one of the strongest Places of *Poland*, having high Walls, a deep Ditch, and good Fortifications; which encouraged the Lord of that Place, who is called Prince, to refuse a Passage to the Count *de Stenbock* in 1703, and even to the Troops of King *Augustus* this very Year. But, when his Swedish Majesty approached, he behaved in a quite

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different Manner: Sending his Brother to compliment the King, making the humblest Excuses possible with regard to the Count *de Stenbock*; and when the Party which his Majesty had sent, under Lieutenant-Colonel *Claes Bonde* approached the Place, ordering the Gates to be instantly opened. At the same Time the Garrison laid down their Arms, and the Burghers offered immediately to pay the fifty thousand Crowns, which had been demanded of them by way of Contribution to the Army.

It is impossible to express what the Troops suffered during this March: The Soil being flat and marshy, the Baggage was mired every Moment, and the wretched Inhabitants being all fled for the greatest Part of the Time, we were in Want of all Necessaries; especially, when the Cavalry had marched on before to *Wingerow*; for they devoured all before them, and for whole Days together we found nothing either to eat or drink.

From *Zamosc* the Army advanced to the Village of *Mokerew*, from thence to *Dworizow*, where the King leaving the Foot behind, to march more at Leisure, proceeded on before with the Cavalry, to *Wisoiiski*.

General *Rheinschild*, whom King *Stanislaus* had rejoined, always accompanied his Majesty. He had marched Sept. 7. from *Cziesanow* to *Zanck*, and the Day following to *Kniespoli*, where he rested till the 22d, when he set out from *Pilkowa*, and the next Day for the little Town of *Gorce*. The 26th, he proceeded to *Biskopi*, and from thence, the 27th, to *Kielkowitz*; where he was within a Quarter of a League of the King's Army,

which lay on one hand of him, and the *Vistula* on the other.

September 27, his *Swedish* Majesty decamped with the Cavalry from *Wisoiiski*, and marched on to the Village of *Strzizewice*. The next Morning to *Belcice*, where the Reformed have a Church, thence to the Village of *Palike*, some Leagues distant from *Lublin*, where the Count *de Stenbock* was posted with a large Detachment to furnish the Army with Provisions. The 30th, the King proceeded by *Rekzin* to *Baranow*, where they hastily threw a Bridge across the *Wieper*; over which they passed on to the Village of *Dronezow*, which is half a League farther.

About this Time King *Augustus* lay with all his Forces on the other Side of the *Bug*, in the Neighbourhood of *Pultowsk*, from whence his Parties made continual Excursions as far as *Lublin*, to be the better assured of what Route his *Swedish* Majesty had taken. Our Detachments often encounter'd theirs, and always with Advantage, carrying off many Prisoners.

The Count *de Stenbock* arrived October 2, with his Detachment, which he had conducted from *Leopol* by the City of *Lublin*; not without being harassed on the Road, a great Party of *Valoches* having, that very Day, attacked his Baggage near *Baranow*; but were so briskly received, that after many of them were killed and wounded, they were obliged to retire in the greatest Confusion.

His Majesty having learnt by the *Polish* and *Saxon* Prisoners, which our Detachments brought in every Day to the Camp, in what Manner King *Augustus* had disposed his Quarters in the

Neighbourhood of *Pultowsk*, resolved to repair thither as fast as possible. Accordingly, October 4, he marched to *Zelikow*; thence, the next Day to *Lepini*; and the next to *Wingorow*, a little Town, where a Handful of *Lutherans* have a Church.

The King having learnt, as well by the Inhabitants as a *Saxon* Captain of Horse (who had delayed too long following his Detachments, and who was made Prisoner with six other of his Troop) that a Party of *Saxons* had marched by Night out of *Wingerow*, detached in the Evening Colonel *Creutz*, with nine hundred Horse in Pursuit of them. The King himself followed, accompanied by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, and, after having marched all Night, arrived early in the Morning at *Wiskowa*, where he had hoped to surprize them. But the *Saxons*, who were commanded by Colonel *Heuschin*, had discovered the Net, and already repassed the *Bug*, leaving only a few Valets, and Baggage-Boys behind them. The King then posted himself in a little Town called *Caminiez*, situated on the Side of the River, and as the Water was very low, he passed over a Detachment of *Valoches*, who advanced even to *Pultowsk*, and returned with certain Prisoners.

King *Augustus*, terrified at the Approach of the *Swedes*, immediately resolved to quit a Place which had been so fatal to him the Year before, and marching to the Side of the *Vistula* opposite to *Wischegorod*, caused a Bridge to be thrown over, which he passed forthwith, and afterwards assembled his Army in the Neighbourhood of the little Towns.

October

October 7. His *Swedish* Majesty having left Colonel *Creutz* and his Detachment at *Caminiez*, returned to *Wingrow*, accompanied by the Prince of *Wurtemberg* and certain Officers: Where having no Troops but Horse, the Infantry not having had Time to come up, he took the whole Body with him in the Morning, and after a toilsome March of nine Leagues, reached *Radzimin*, which is but three Leagues from *Warsovia*, being all the Way in Hopes of surprizing King *Augustus*, and forcing him to a Battle.

To this End, when he was at *Radzimin*, he pushed on with four Regiments of Dragoons, the nearest Way towards the *Bug*. Where, when he was arrived, and saw on the opposite Side a strong Guard of *Saxons*, he ordered Lieutenant-Colonel *Funk* with certain Foot to pass the River in little Boats to dislodge them, and post themselves on the same Spot; which they did after a very slight Resistance, the Enemy having one Captain, and certain Soldiers killed. A Bridge was then immediately thrown across the River; over which Colonel *Ducker* passed with two Regiments of Dragoons, detaching Parties on all Sides to discover the Enemy; who, on their Return, reported that they were retired in great Confusion over the *Vistula*, having broke down the Bridge behind them.

King *Stanislaus*, with General *Rheinschild* and his Army of twelve Regiments, were now arrived at *Praag*, a Suburb of *Warsaw*. They had passed by the Town of *Belcice* to *Konskavice*, and arrived *October 1.* at *Kosmin*,

a little Town on the River *Weips*; the 2d, they proceeded to *Richella*, the 3d, to *Walazulakowska*; the 4th, to *Latavice*; the 5th, to *Kaluzino*; the 6th, to *Minsko*; the 8th, to *Okumow*, with the Cavalry; and the 10th, King *Stanislaus* and General *Rheinschild* arrived at *Praag*. They were soon after followed by the Infantry of the King's Army, which had been retarded in their Rout, as we have seen, by the bad Roads from the City of *Leopol*.

General *Stenbock* also arrived at *Praag* with his Detachment, and all these Regiments posted themselves in the Adjacencies, as fast as they arrived. Of which when the King was informed, he posted to *Praag*, and ordered all the necessary Preparations to be made for throwing two Bridges over the *Vistula*.

King *Augustus*, on his Side, being exactly opposite to *Warsaw*, exerted himself to the utmost to render the Passage both difficult and dangerous. For which Purpose he ordered his Troops to work Night and Day, in fortifying two little Islands in the *Vistula*, which are situated at the two Extremes of the City, causing an * *Epaulement* to be stretched along the River from one to the other. And at the same Time commanding Parties to patrol round and round the City of *Warsaw*, at the Distance of five or six Leagues: From whence, if we might judge by Appearances, this Passage would become a second Controversy of the *Duna*.

As our Parties, after the exactest Search for a proper Place to pass the

* A Species of Fortification which takes its Name from *Epaule*, a Shoulder.

Vistula, had found one, about four Leagues above *Warsaw*, where the Enemy was posted in a little Island, with some Infantry, and two Pieces of Cannon, a Detachment was sent thither under the Umbrage of a dark Night, who surprized them, and almost cut the whole Party in Pieces; taking two Lieutenants and fifteen Soldiers Prisoners, and carrying off their two Pieces of Cannon.

Tho' the two Armies were near enough to talk to each other, that of *Saxony* hardly ever fired upon us, and ours never upon them.

It is proper to remark here, that, as King *Augustus* visited every Day on Horseback the Works he had ordered, he once happened to come in Sight of his *Swedish* Majesty, and King *Stanislaus*, who were likewise on Horseback on our Side of the *Vistula*, opposite to an Island where the *Saxons* had a Battery. It happened too that they stopped, as if by Consent, at the same Time; during which Interval, the Officers in the Train of these Princes, held a Conference with each other, and when it ended, took their Leaves on both Sides with great Politeness; neither of the Monarchs interfering, or making themselves known. *

When the Bridges were finished in a Manner that enabled us to march over

the Troops in what Part of the River we would, his Majesty made Choice of one about four Leagues above *Warsaw*, near to the Village of *Kartziow*, at a small Distance from *Hoffock*, a very fine Estate, with a Castle, which belong to the *Bielinski*; and gave Orders, *October 7.* to all the nearest Regiments, both Horse and Foot, to repair thither; the rest being commanded to march strait to *Praag*. Which was done towards Night. One of these Bridges was likewise instantly conducted upon fifty Waggon to the same Place, with a sufficient Train of Artillery, which last was properly disposed to scour the other Side of the River.

The King of *Sweden* and King *Stanislaus*, accompanied by Prince *Alexander Sobieski*, and the Princes of *Saxe-Gotha* and *Wurtemberg*, took the first-mentioned Route. Lieutenant-General *Nils Stromberg* was left commanding Officer of the Troops at *Praag*, and to take Care of the Bridge which was to be thrown over here; having with him Count *Piper*, the Chancery, and the Court.

In the Morning, before Day-break, their Majesties arrived with the Column of the Army at *Kartziow*, where Colonel *Burenskiold* had posted himself over Night. And as soon as the Dawn

* Hitherto the Story of this Interview has been told in the following Manner: The King of *Sweden*, say they, King *Stanislaus*, and the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, being in an Island upon the *Vistula*, King *Augustus* appeared with his Chamberlain *Vitzthum* on the opposite Shore, and cried out in German to the *Swedes*: *Will not you step over to us Gentlemen?* The King of *Sweden* replied, *We are not such Rascals as to desert.* To which *Vitzthum* added, *Is your King among you?* And was answered by the Page *Klinckowstrom*, *Yes, here he is,* pointing to his Majesty. *Vitzthum* is then said to have enquired after many Persons he was acquainted with in the Court of *Sweden*, and after having had his Questions resolved, ended in French: *Gentlemen, we expect you.* To which the Page rejoined, *Speak Gentlemen.* And King *Augustus* then pulling off his Hat, and saying, *Be absolute, Gentlemen adieu!* the Conversation ended.—It is not impossible but the Fact really was as it is here related: But, in my Father's Journal, no Mention is made of the King's having shared in the Dialogue, which better agrees with the Character of *Charles XII.*

appeared, the Foot were ordered to file off towards the *Vistula*, and make ready the Bridge without Delay.

Upon these Motions, the Crown-Referendary, who since the King's Departure from *Leopol* had followed our Army, with a View to harrafs it on its March, seeing the Infantry making towards the River, made an Attempt to pillage the Baggage. But the King hastening thither with the Cavalry, at the first Fire so effectually surrounded the *Poles*, that they cut to Pieces almost one Company entire, who could not save themselves quick enough, and took the rest Prisoners, together with the Captain who commanded them.

The *Saxons*, who had a Guard of an hundred and fifty Men on the other Side, behind an Epaulement, and the Redoubts they had raised, hearing the Report of Fire Arms of our Side, did not fail to advertise the other Troops to advance, which they did, on all Sides, at full Speed; ranging themselves in a Wood, some hundreds of Paces from the Banks of the River, which, on their Side was flat and sandy, to cover themselves from our Cannon.

As the Shore we possessed was much higher than theirs, the King, who observed this Caution of the Enemy, caus'd certain Field-Pieces to be planted on an Eminence, while the Affair of the Bridge was on Agitation, which so effectually played upon their *Epaulements* and other Works, and commanded the Plain beyond them, that many being demolished, the Troops behind retreated to the Woods to join their Cavalry; which we likewise cannonaded next, and with such Success,

that they were obliged to penetrate yet farther in for Shelter.

About Noon, the Bridge being compleated, his Majesty order'd a Lieutenant of his Guards, with thirty Granadiers, to embark on Boats, and fasten it on the other Side; which they effected: But the Current of the *Vistula* being become exceeding rapid by heavy Rains, and the Waters discharged from the *Hungarian* Mountains, broke it off in the Middle, the King with a hundred Men being at that Instant upon it; seventy of which, together with his Majesty, swimming back to our own Shore, the other thirty joined the Granadier Guards who were posted on the other Side; remaining exposed to the Insults of the Enemy, (but who, nevertheless durst not venture to attack them) till the King had ordered over more of the Infantry in Boats and Rafts to join them. Towards the Evening his Majesty crossed the River himself, and lay on the Sand all Night, by a Tree-side, surrounded by his Soldiers; while the rest of the Infantry were ferrying over to join him.

The 19th, at Day-break, the King without waiting for the Remainder of the Foot, put himself at the Head of his Regiment of Guards and that of *Upland*, to attack the Enemy in the Wood, where they had sheltered themselves; but they had provided better for their Safety long before. His Majesty then resolved to proceed strait on to *Warsaw*, marching himself on Foot, three Leagues, as far as *Golliof*; where he re-assembled his Infantry, which had been transported without Intermision from *Karziow*.

The King was still in Hopes to fall

in with the Enemy at *Warsaw*, and had in View, besides, to facilitate, by his Approach, the Passage of General *Stromberg*. But King *Augustus* was already far removed, having sent away his Baggage several Days before, and caused his Army to file off, Regiment after Regiment, by the Road of *Rava*, towards *Silesia*.

General *Stromberg*, on his Part, had not delayed his Endeavours to throw a Bridge over the *Vistula*, but with much the same Success as the former; the Rafts to which it was fastened not being able to resist the Violence of the Torrent: However, by the Help of a great Number of Boats, it was so well repaired, that it held out till the whole Army and Baggage were passed over: The first Troops that were landed, taking instant Possession of the Castle, by the General's Order.

When his Majesty was informed of the Retreat of King *Augustus*, he wheeled with a Body of Infantry towards *Tarkzin*, several Regiments joining him on the Road. At the same Time General *Rheinschild* was ordered to march with the Cavalry, which had been transported near *Karziow* to *Novamiasse*, while the rest, which remained at *Karziow*, under the Command of General *Welling*, returned back to *Praag* with the *Drabans*, there to pass the *Vistula*. But this could not be executed immediately, because of the Breaking of the Bridge, as above mentioned.

The King took the Opportunity of this Delay, to make a Tour towards the Evening to *Warsaw*, to hasten the Reparations of that City; and after he had given the proper Orders for the March, he set out immediately to re-

join his Infantry; with whom he proceeded the next Morning, *October* 20, towards *Selcke*, where he gave Orders to the rest of the Infantry to advance strait on to *Rava*; it being conjectured King *Augustus* had pursued that Road to *Cracow*, because we had taken many *Saxon* Prisoners, who were passing thither-ward.

The 21st, the King marched from *Selcke* to *Lencice*, where, leaving the Infantry, and accompanied only with the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, and certain Officers, he passed on the same Night almost from *Novamiasse* to *Gostania*, where General *Rheinschild* was already advanced with his Cavalry.

The same Day General *Welling*, after having passed the *Vistula*, marched on with the rest of the Cavalry from *Warsaw* to *Naderczin*, in his Way to *Rava*.

As to General *Stromberg*, he staid at *Warsaw* with several Regiments of Infantry, till the Baggage and Artillery had passed the *Vistula*; after which he followed the Army.

The King having learnt that the *Saxons*, after having first taken the Road to *Rava*, had changed their Rout for *Lowitz*, resolving to pursue them thither. Accordingly, his Majesty, accompanied by King *Stanislaus* and the Princes of *Saxe* and *Wurtemberg*, marched with the Cavalry, the first Day, as far as *Drezow*, surprizing in the Road many *Saxons* and *Muscovites*, the first of which were made Prisoners, and the last put to the Sword.

General *Welling* marched five Leagues, the same Day, to *Savadia*, and the next, six and a half to *Drezow*. From hence he proceeded to the little Town

Town of *Piontek*, situated in a Morass, on the River *Bsura*, where he surprized the Enemy's Rear, consisting of three hundred Horse who were totally defeated, and the greatest Part slain. One Major being made Prisoner, and sixty Troopers, who had not Time enough to get on Horseback. One of King *Augustus's* Drabans, carged with a Letter to Field-Marshal *Steinau*, had likewise the same Fate.

The 24th, the King rested the Night near *Piontek*, where the Enemy was encamped, and renewed his March next Morning by Break of Day. Proceeding on to *Uniejow*, a little Town in the Palatinate of *Lencie* in *Great Poland*, where our Van again surprized the Enemy's Rear, which retired before us with all possible Speed, and passed over the *Warta*: It being impracticable to follow them, because of the Darknes of the Night. General *Welling* advanced the same Day to *Piontek*, and in the Morning early arrived at *Uniejow*.

It was at that Place King *Augustus* separated himself from his Army, which he submitted to the Command of Lieutenant-General *Schulenburg*, and marched towards *Cracow* with two thousand Horse, in the Hope to engage the King of *Sweden* in his Pursuit; and thereby preserve his Infantry, who could retreat no farther, on Account of the dreadful Marches they had already made. But his Majesty was too much a Master in the Art of War to be drawn into that Snare; concluding it immediately to be but a Feint, and resolving to follow *Schulenburg* only; which he did the same Day, the 25th, to *Karietz*. In the next Morning we pushed on to *Calis*,

where the Enemy's Rear was in View, which immediately passed over a Bridge through the Town, leaving but a Handful of Men behind, who took up the Bridge in order to retard our Passage.

Upon which the King ordered a Troop of Dragoons to alight, and make themselves Masters of the Gate, while he himself, with the Cavalry, forded the little River of *Pesna* to the other Side of the Town, having commanded Colonel *Ducker* to hew down the Gate by main Force. Which was immediately put in Execution: But while all Hands were at work, certain Saxons, to whom we had already promised Quarter, being retired to an old ruined House, one of them fired at the Page *Klinkowstrom*, who was on Horseback by the Side of Colonel *Ducker*, and killed him on the Spot. As the King had a great Affection for him, he was extremely touched for his Loss; and gave an uncommon Proof of it, in ordering the Corpse of the Deceased to be carried after the Camp; which gave Place to a Report through the Army, that the young Prince of *Wurtemberg* was killed.

Colonel *Riebe*, a Captain of Horse, three Lieutenants, and about fifty Soldiers, were made Prisoners in the Town, without reckoning those who were put to the Sword, when it was taken. That Day General *Welling* marched five Leagues to *Zatschir*, where he left Colonel *Buchwald* behind to reassemble those who had not been able to keep up with the rest.

The 27th, we continued our March to *Raskow*, and from thence to *Krotoczin*, where the Saxons were preparing to encamp, in order to pass the Night;

not being able to imagine the *Swedes* could be so near them : But set out again immediately, and marched all Night long, till they believed they were in Safety. Nevertheless, they lost Numbers of their Men in this precipitate Retreat ; sometimes ten, sometimes twenty, and sometimes a hundred, who could not keep up with their Corps, throwing down their Arms on the Appearance of one single Blue-coat. Two Scouts, among other Instances, taking twenty-five Prisoners at once.

The same Day, General *Welling* marched six Leagues through *Calis* to *Raskow*, making likewise a great Number of Prisoners upon the Road. But the more speedily *Schulenburg* flew, the more eagerly the King followed ; advancing, *October* 28, in the Morning, five Leagues, through *Cobelin* to *Poniec*, or *Punitz*, upon the Frontiers of *Silesia*, where our Van defeated their Rear at the first Onset ; and pushed the Advantage so home, without giving them Time to rally, that *Schulenburg*, seeing no farther Possibility to escape, found himself obliged to face about.

He had with him twelve Battalions and four Squadrons, which he ranged immediately in order of Battle. His Left being covered by the Village of *Punitz*, and his Right by a great and deep Marsh. In his Front he had a Ditch, behind which he placed a Number of Waggon, and in the Intervals his Artillery.

It was already late, when the two Armies came in Sight of each other ; the King, nevertheless, resolved to begin the Attack, though he had with him but four Regiments, that is to

say, the Dragoons of *Rheinschild*, *Crassau*, *Ducker*, and *Ornstedt*, all extremely tired with so severe a March. The five other Regiments, which the King had sent Orders to hasten, not coming up till some Time after.

We immediately attacked the *Saxon* Cavalry, Sword in Hand, so briskly, that, at the first Shock, they were drove in Confusion upon the Infantry who followed them : Entire Battalions of the last throwing themselves on the Earth, to give them Way, as likewise to our Troops who pursued them eagerly a good Way beyond.

While the Enemy's Cavalry was thus flying full speed, their Foot recovered themselves, and performed their Duty extremely well. Our Horse attacked them with all imaginable Fury, and, in spite of the terrible Fire which they made, and the disadvantageous Situation of so many Ditches and ploughed Grounds, broke their Lines three several Times, and had totally defeated them, if the extreme Darkness of the Night had not prevented it. To which must be added, that the Flashes of Fire from the Muskets, so greatly terrified the Horses, that some of our Squadrons were put in Disorder.

The other Regiments coming up that Moment, we began to rally our scattered Troops, and prepare for a new Attack. But the Generals thought it their Duty to represent to the King, that the Darkness hindering the proper Dispositions, it would be impossible to succeed in it ; and that therefore it was adviseable to postpone it till the Morning.

Schulenburg, who expected the King would order his Cavalry to alight,

alight, and saw nothing of that Nature take Place, instantly formed a square Battalion of all his Infantry, and began his Retreat through the Village of *Punitz*, which was on his Left. The King, who from the first apprehended the General would take that very Measure, had ordered certain Troops to way-lay the Enemy, and oppose their Retreat. But the Officer, who commanded that Party, missing the Road in the Dark, the *Saxons* had Leisure to retire to *Gurau*, a little Town about three Leagues from the Field of Battle.

The King, who depended much on that Officer, was greatly surprized in the Night, at the profound Tranquillity that seemed to reign in the Village; whence it was manifest that the Enemy was both retired, and already far off. Uneasy at this, he set out himself to examine what had happened, and found that the Officer, instead of investing the Village on the other Side, had lost himself by the Foot of a little Hill, and thereby left the Way open to the Enemy. His Majesty appeared somewhat thoughtful upon this Incident; but, without witnessing the least Discontent, continued marching his Troops into the Village till Morning; when Numbers more of sick and wounded *Saxons* were made Prisoners, and a great Part of the Enemy's Baggage, which they had left in their Hurry, together with three Field-pieces, fell into our Hands.

There were above two hundred *Saxon* Foot, and sixty of their Cavalry killed, without reckoning their Officers. We had a hundred killed, besides certain Captains, and about a hundred more wounded: Among which were

Colonel *Patkul*, the Aides-de-Camp-General *Carl Hard*, and Count *Torsten*son, and Major *During* of the Regiment of *Crassau*. One Captain, named *Ebrenspreufs*, whose Horse was killed under him, was taken Prisoner. We likewise lost a Pair of Kettle-Drums, and certain Standards, when the Fire of the Musqueteers put us in Disorder, as before related. The Horse suffered much in that Action, and many of them were killed. The same Day, General *Welling* marched to *Gobelin*, six Leagues. The 29th, the Army did not decamp till broad Day-light; but this did not, however, put a Stop to the Pursuit of the *Saxons*, who were now divided into many small Parties, the better to conceal the Rout, which the main Body of their Infantry had taken.

The King, having left Colonel *Crassau* at *Punitz* with his Regiment of Dragoons, to guard the Prisoners and the Wounded, and passing near the little Town of *Gura*, where *Schulenburg* had passed at Midnight, we marched strait on to *Ritzen* in *Silesia*, and from thence through the Pass called *Bartisch*, making Abundance of Prisoners in the Road. Though it were extremely difficult to restrain the *Valoches*, who marched in the Van, from their usual Custom of putting all the Enemies they met with to the Sword, the King forbid it on such severe Penalties, that Quarter was not only given to all who were taken, but they were even treated with Humanity.

The *Saxons* pushed on their March so precipitately, that during the Night and the next Morning, they had gained six Leagues upon a Stretch; in-

so much, that they arrived early in the Evening near the *Oder*, where they instantly began (under the Favour of a little Hill, and a Causey, which covered them) to pass that River, at the Instant when our Squadrons arrived in the Neighbourhood of *Lutzki*.

The Darkness, which now came on, was exceeding friendly to the Designs of the Enemy, who spent the whole Night in passing over, (though many of them were drowned by the Way) without any Disturbance from us, there being no possibility of attacking them with Success. Whence General *Schulenburg* (who, from his Entry into *Poland*, had beforehand studied the Manner of his Retreat, and was besides better acquainted than we with the Course of the Country) found Means to escape the most lively and tenacious Pursuit, that ever was upon Record. All the old Officers, on both Sides, acknowledging they had never seen any thing like it, either for the Length, or the Vigour with which our Cavalry had attacked the Enemy's Foot.

His Majesty rested that Night near the Village of *Krangelwitz*, and, as he was now in the Territories of the Empire, he ordered ready Money to be paid for Forage and Provisions of all Sorts.

The same Day, General *Welling* marched on to *Sembrowa*, near *Lissa*, and, having been informed that a Party of *Muscovites* was but a little Way off, detached, in the Evening, Count *Erich Lowenhaupt*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of *Stenbock*, who put fifty or sixty of them to the

Sword, and took twelve Prisoners, with certain Waggon.

The 30th, the King rested at *Krangelwitz*, as well because it was *Sunday*, as to refresh his Men and their Horses, who were inexpressibly fatigued.

General *Welling* proceeded that Day to *Frauenstadt*, and on the Morrow, his Van rencounter'd the *Russians*, marching in Platoons from ten to forty in a Body, who were all put to the Sword: The *Swedes* still treading on the Heels of those before, till at last they surprized the whole Party to which they belonged, in a Village above *Frauenstadt*.

As our Van was not strong enough to attack them, they had Time to barricade themselves within their Waggon, under the Cover of eleven Pieces of Brass Cannon. But when General *Welling* came up with his whole Force, he charged them immediately, in spite of the Fire of their Cannon and small Arms, both with his Horse, and a large Body of Dragoons on Foot, driving them from one House to another, and at last setting Fire to the Houses themselves, where they were all destroyed except one Major, one Lieutenant, and four Soldiers, who received Quarter; all their Baggage being pillaged by the Soldiers.

At first we did not believe that above six or seven hundred *Russians* had been slain; but the Burgomaster who had them buried, reckoned nine hundred and twelve, exclusive of those who perished in the Flames.

Some Days after, we discovered certain others, who had hid themselves, and were now made Prisoners. Among whom were one Subaltern, and twelve Soldiers,

Soldiers, who, having the Honour to perform their Exercise before the King, his Majesty was so pleased with them, that he took them into his Service, and they afterwards belonged to his Stables.

We lost in this Action Count *Erich Lowenbaupt*, Lieutenant-Colonel, a Captain of Horse, a Quarter-Master, and twenty Men. Colonel *Burenskiold*, two Captains of Horse, and about forty Men being wounded. General *Welling* designed to have advanced yet farther in the Morning; but the King having enjoined him to continue there till farther Orders, he quartered his Men in *Frauenstadt*, and the neighbouring Villages.

King *Augustus* having remarked at his quitting *Warsaw*, that the King of Sweden's Design was fixed on pursuing him, sent Orders to *Patkul* to raise the Siege of *Posnania*. Which he obeyed forthwith, dividing his Army into several Corps, and making all possible Haste into *Silesia*: One of which had the Misfortune to be defeated in the Rencontre, before spoken of. And here it will not be impertinent to introduce the following curious Piece relating to that Siege.

Extracts from a very circumstantial Journal, writ by the Baron de Mardfeld, Major-General, touching what passed before, and during the Siege of Posnania, An. 1704.

When I learned from *Breslau*, that the Saxon Troops assembled themselves near *Guben*, and was entirely persuaded they would fall upon Great Poland, to the apparent Hazard of *Posnania*, the fortifying of which had been stopped

ever since Autumn, by express Order from the King, I resolved to repair thither: And so much the more, as I could neither join General *Rheinschild*, who was at that Time encamped near *Sandomir*, nor the Army under my Command. Being convinced, beside, that in one Sovereign's Service all Places were alike, and that a Man ought not to sit with his Arms across, when he found an Opportunity to be useful.

On these Considerations I set out for *Posnania*, and arrived there May 17. In passing by *Lissa*, I had already learnt that several Polish Companies, and about a hundred Saxons, encamped at *Calis*, had received Orders to march to *Posnania*. And, at my Arrival, Colonel *Lilliebok* confirmed the same Thing; as likewise, that the Saxon Army was on the point of passing the *Oder*, to the Number of sixteen thousand Men; according to the Report of our Correspondents at *Breslau*, at *Berlin*, and from Count *Mellin*, Field-Marshal and Governor of *Pomerania*.

The first Thing we did, therefore, was to send out a Detachment of Horse and Foot, who furnished us with sixty Head of Cattle, and three hundred Sheep. Some Days after *Smigelski* carried off our Officers Horses, which were sent out to forage. We immediately dispatched a Party both of Horse and Foot to recover them, but as the Enemy had already gained the Wood, it was not possible to overtake him.

The Day before, the Regimentary *Dobrosolski* arrived in the Evening, (with three hundred Polish Horse, who encamped at *Swarzens*, a large League

League from *Posnania*) and offered himself, as soon as he had heard of the Exploit of *Smigelski*, to pursue him. I asked him, how he thought he should be able to come up with him? To which he replied, That as he had not been pursued, he would not fail to send his Horses to forage on the Side of *Costyn*, six Leagues from *Posnania*, and that, if I would furnish him with only a hundred Horse of the Garrison to support him, he would answer for the Success.

Upon this I agreed to his Request; but as I could not entirely depend upon the *Poles*, I gave the Command of the Detachment to Lieutenant-Colonel *Hagen*, in the Service of *Holstein Gottorp*; who had not only the Happiness to overtake *Smigelski*, but defeat him, though he had sixty *Saxon* Troopers with him, pursuing him even to *Costyn*, and taking several *Poles* and *Saxons* Prisoners. But, as to the Horses they were totally lost, *Smigelski* having sent them on before.

Some Days after, having received Letters from Lieutenant-General *Horn* at *Warsaw*, recommending to me that Regimentary, who lay by to refresh himself and his Men in Expectation of their Arrival, I resolved with Colonel *Lillieboek* to surprize *Costyn*. Accordingly, Lieutenant-Colonel *Waidenheim* marched thither with three hundred Foot, three Field-pieces, and a hundred and thirty Horse of the Garrison, together with *Dobrosolski* and his *Polanders*. But the Enemy having received Notice of our Design, and put themselves on their Guard, the Situation of *Costyn* almost surrounded with a Marsh, being besides very advantageous for the Defendants, the

whole Party returned without attempting any Thing. And, a few Days after, that Regimentary received Orders from the Crown General *Lubomirski*, to repair to *Warsaw* at the approaching Election.

The Governor *Lillieboek*, during this Interval, busied himself in filling the Magazines, and took all his Measures with great Prudence. But, as he was extremely solicitous to be provided against all Events, it was with extreme Regret he saw himself obliged by his Majesty's Orders to exact no more Contributions, or lay in any farther Provisions: Which were so much the more afflicting, as the Stock in hand were not sufficient to support the Garrison for any Time; as the *Saxon* Army approached, and *Smigelski* continually harassed our Foragers.

Our Garrison consisted but of six hundred Foot, and some hundreds of Horse. We had but ten little Pieces of Brass Cannon, three Pounders, which we found in the City when it first fell into our Hands, and which were a Present of the late King of *Sweden* to *Galetski*, at the Time of his Embassy in that Kingdom; the other five Brass Cannon having been sent away to the Army. We had but one Cannonier, who was a Soldier in the Regiment of *Lillieboek*. What Powder we had was sent from General *Rheinschild*'s Army, no settled Resolution having been taken to keep a Garrison in *Posnania*. And, to compleat our Misfortune, all the Fortifications, by the King's express Command were neglected, and suffered to fall to Ruin; particularly the Front of the Gate of *Breslau*, from whence we could

could fire but with one single Cannon; And as to the Demi-bastion of *Gerberschantz*, it had none at all.

We had begun a Work before Autumn, to the Left of the Jesuit's Cloyster, where the City is almost open and without Defence; but it was not half finished, and it was high Time to take some Precautions on that Side, even to prevent a Surprise; and in case the Enemy afforded Leisure, to work upon it by Degrees, till it was become defensible; at least, till we could procure Succours from *Polish-Prussia*.

The Garrison, however small in Proportion to the Extent of the Place, worked nevertheless with all imaginable Ardour on the Fortifications; our first Task being to heighten them with a Parapet. We then erected two Traverses in the Gate of *Breslaw*, under the Arch, placed in such a Manner, that we could pass beside them; and then a third in the Street within the Gate. In short, we neglected nothing to secure the Place from being cheaply won. When we had made all these Preparations, the Governor and I took Care to inform his Majesty of the Approach of the Enemy, and how much we wanted a Reinforcement.

While these Things were transacting, the *Poles* appeared one Morning, and carried off two Centinels, and certain Cattle; just as the Piquet of Horse, posted there to guard them, was going to relieve them. But even these were forced to retire towards the City, upon the Approach of a greater Number of the Enemy.

Upon this Captain *Wrangel* sallied out with about a hundred Horse, accompanied by a Subaltern called *Ring*,

at the Head of twenty Voluntiers, who had resolved to do their utmost for the Recovery of the Cattle we had lost. Being alarmed at this, I mounted on Horseback to see what was doing, and met at the City-gate a Captain with certain Infantry, whom I posted at the End of the Street in the Suburbs, behind certain Hedges, to hinder the Enemy from entering there, and cutting off our Retreat.

I then followed our Cavalry at full Speed, who pursued the *Poles* briskly, together with the twenty Voluntiers; but these last regarding no Sort of Order, I made it my Business to form them, and in the Interval I perceived that our Cavalry made a sudden Halt; and likewise that Captain *Wrangel* galloped towards me, making Signs with his Hat that he stood in need of Succour. I presently made up to him, and observing three stout Squadrons behind the Mountain, on the Edge of the Wood, I posted the twenty Voluntiers in a Garden near the Village of *Wilda*, which is close to the Suburbs; and, at the same Time, ranged the Cavalry, commanded by the two Captains *Wrangel* and *Benkeritz*, in Front of the Village.

As the Cattle was already far off, under the Cover of the Wood, where it was impossible to recover them, I kept my Post a full Quarter of an Hour, during which the *Poles* approached us from Time to Time, to draw us out to Combat; but the *Saxon* Squadrons made no Advances at all. Having sent to the Governor to order more Infantry into the Suburbs, and he requesting me to make my Retreat back to the City; I took his Advice, and withdrew about three hundred Paces,

Paces, ordering the Captain whom I had posted in the Suburbs, to retire into the City, when he should see me make my second Movement.

But, in the Instant that I was putting this in Execution, I heard a firing in the Suburbs, and soon perceived the Captain was actually engaged with the *Poles*. Upon which he hastened to second him; but the *Saxon Dragoons*, who were already alighted, remounted instantly, and made off, together with the *Poles*, before we could come up. I reproved the Officer for advancing beyond his Orders, but he thought he had behaved well; because he had killed certain of the Enemy, without losing one Man of his own. In short, one Coporal, of the Regiment *de Crassau*, who was killed in the Beginning of the Skirmish, was all the Loss we suffered on this Occasion.

Mr. *de Lillieboek* and I did not fail to acquaint his Majesty and General *Rheinschild* with the Motions of the Enemy, who held us always blocked up, though at a Distance. At last the Governor received a Letter from Major-General *Meyerfeld* at *Dantzick*, June 7. in which he certified, that being commanded by his Majesty to march towards *Posnania* with three Regiments, he intreated him to lay in the necessary Quantity of Provisions for them. This News was very agreeable to us, but we kept it a profound Secret; and only gave Orders for providing the Bread, according to the General's Desire. But as those Troops were long retarded, we were obliged to distribute the Bread prepared for them among the Garrison; who were not very well pleased with it neither, be-

cause it had already began to be mouldy. At last we received Letters from Major-General *Meyerfeld*, dated at *Thorn*, in which he promised to relieve us without Delay.

The *Saxons*, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Schulenburg*, were posted from the Town of *Meseritz* all along the Frontiers of *Silesia*. They had exacted excessive Contributions from the City of *Lissa*, which belonged to King *Stanislaus*, and had Garrisons at *Costyn*, and at *Frauenstadt*, where they had filled a Magazine. One Part of their Army was already advanced as far as *Zaun*; but as ours commanded by General *Rheinschild* hindered them from joining King *Augustus* at *Cracow*, they took a Resolution to return back again.

The General of Great Poland, *Radomyki*, and his Brother the Constable of *Posnania*, together with *Smigelski*, and several other *Polish* Parties, having now joined the *Saxons*, they took Possession of all the Places and important Passes upon the *Warta*, put a stout Garrison at *Notetz*, and another in the Castle of *Wielun*, which belonged to the *Starost Sapieba*. All which they afterwards abandoned, having first committed the most horrible Excesses.

We had often News from *Meyerfeld*, who at last arrived with the three Regiments; his own, that of *Taube's*, both Dragoons, and the Regiment of *Sania*, Horse, which was commanded by Colonel *Gustavus Horn*. This last consisted but of six hundred Men, two hundred having been sent to *Warsaw*, and several other Parties to other Places; so that the whole Reinforcement did not amount to above two thousand Men. They encamped about

a Quarter of a League from the City on a Line, having the Village of *Rastaja* on the Right; and the Governor was obliged to furnish them with Provisions, though he had little enough for his own People.

Some Days after the Arrival of these Troops, I was seized with a Fever, and, though I did my utmost to bear up, and made a Shift to pay a Visit to Major-General *Meyerfeld* in his Camp, I soon found myself obliged to keep my Bed, which gave me the more Pain, as I saw myself disabled from serving his Majesty, according to my Hopes, or even to review the Regiments, according his Majesty's Orders.

General *Meyerfeld* failed not, together with his Colonels, to advise with me every Day upon what was fit to be done; and I, on my Side, expressed my Concern that the Succours he brought were too feeble to look the Enemy in the Face, who were, at least, twice as strong. However, as, upon mature Deliberation, it seemed of Importance to us to know the precise Number of the Enemy, and, at the same Time, with as little Hazard as possible, *July 29.* *Meyerfeld* dispatched a Subaltern of the Regiment of *Breme*, together with a Corporal and ten Men to go upon the Discovery.

The same Night, a Deserter of *Baruth's* Regiment of Horse, brought us the News, that the *Saxons* were in full March with two thousand Foot, and almost as many Cavalry, to surprise our Succours; and that they were already on the Point of passing the *Warra*. Upon this, as the Instance of *Meyerfeld*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Wai-*

denheim with three hundred Foot, two Field-Pieces, and all the Cavalry, received Orders to join his Corps.

As I was ill a-bed during this Action, it is not possible for me to give a Detail of it. It began at Day-break, and lasted three Hours; when certain Squadrons came, in Confusion, towards the City, among whom was Major-General *Meyerfeld* himself, and the Colonels *Horn* and *Waidenheim*, all demanding the Gates to be opened.

The Governor at first refused it, and recommending to them to return to their Duty, as having no Provisions for their Support; but at last consented to their Admission, that they might a little recover their Disorder. As we had no News of Colonel *Taube* or Lieutenant-Colonel *Trautfetter*, we believed them dead, and their Troops dispers'd.

We were in this Incertainty for three Hours, at the End of which they returned; the first of them wounded, and reported the Enemy was busy in plundering the Camp, all in Disorder, and that an Opportunity offered of returning the Affront we had received. Upon this the Major-General ordered them to sound to Horse, and sallied out in Search of the Enemy, who were by this Time retired, and had already reached the neighbouring Woods.

Meyerfeld then encamped a short League from the City, from whence he marched in the Morning towards *Gnesen* and *Lowitz*, and thence to *Thorn*. The Baggage followed a Day after, under a strong Guard; and thus were we left with only a hundred Men of all this Reinforcement, whose Horses were killed, and they them-

selves wounded; among which were Colonel *Taube*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Grosbusen*, *Waubert* and *Cronberg*, Captains of Horse, and some others.

Some Days after the whole *Saxon* Army arrived, under the Command of Field-Marshal *Schulenburg*, and posted themselves near the *Warta*, about half a League above *Posnania*. It consisted of twelve Battalions and sixty Squadrons, neither of which exceeded an ordinary Company. They had no Artillery but Field-pieces; and, for their first Enterprize, began to throw a Bridge over the *Warta*.

In which Interval, they several Times sent a Trumpet into the City, with Letters to the Governor, for the Exchange of Prisoners. But we at first refused to hear their Messages, without an express Order from the King: But, as his Majesty was far off, as we had above a hundred *Saxons* Prisoners, who demanded a large Guard, and consumed a great deal of Provisions; as, on the other hand, we should enlarge many of our own People, and at the same Time recruit our Garrison, the Governor, after having demanded my Consent, entered upon the Exchange. The Prisoners on both Sides, except *Trepba* and his Companions, whom he detained, being all discharged.

The Enemy's Army, nevertheless, continued to make its Approaches every Day, and held us blocked up on all Sides. A Party of their Infantry were posted behind the Cloyster, and possessed the cathedral Church which is without the City. We learned, in the mean Time, that they were collecting large Quantities of Fascines. And one Night they came to examine

the Ditch of *Gerberschantz*, but we fired upon them so briskly, that they made off as fast as possible.

The whole Garrison continued all that Night on the Ramparts, every one in his proper Post; which was then but a Pleasure, because the Weather was so exceeding fine: And a Surprise was what we dreaded more than a formal Siege, because the Artillery of the Enemy, which were but certain Field-pieces, were not able to make a Breach.

While we thus lived in a sort of Truce, we beheld all at once, Sept. 3. the whole Army of the Enemy marching with all their Baggage in two Columns, in the Road to *Wresnia*. We were also informed, that the Enemy had not left above a hundred Men, both Horse and Foot, under the Command of General *Radomicki*, near the Bridge of *Warta*.

Two Days after I learned farther, that all the *Saxon* Infantry had followed the Cavalry, and that the *Poles* were retired as fast as possible to *Coslyn*. Upon which, without Loss of Time, I detached a hundred Horse to ruin the Bridge, and burn it with all their Fascines, which was done accordingly. About the same Time I received Letters from Lieutenant-General *Horn* at *Warsaw*, in which he informed me, that King *Augustus* was approaching that City with considerable Forces: That is to say, six thousand *Saxons*, four thousand *Poles*, three thousand *Cossacks*, and six thousand *Muscovites*, exclusive of the Troops of *Brand*: That he would enclose himself in the Castle, which he would defend to the last Extremity; exhorting us likewise to do the same, without expecting any

Succours;

Succours; the King being obliged to follow the Rout of the Army under General *Rheinschild*.

However discouraging this Letter was, we were glad to take Breath, and did not fail to provide ourselves with Forage. As for Provisions, it was more difficult to procure a sufficient Quantity; *Radomicki* being returned from *Costyn* to *Stenzewa* with three hundred *Saxon* and *Polish* Troopers, harrassed our Parties incessantly; especially, after the Nobility assembled at *Skroda*, had published an Edict to forbid our being furnished with any Sustainance of Pain of Death.

I writ to Major-General *Meyerfeld*, to acquaint him with what I had heard from *Thorn*, as likewise with the Departure of the Enemy. We had, nevertheless, little Hopes to see him speedily return, when, all at once, *Sept. 9.* at eleven o'Clock at Night, they brought me word, he was at the Gates with his Cavalry; and a Moment after he entered my Chamber, with the Governor, and the Lieutenant-Colonels *Waidenbeim* and *Hagen*. Having then immediately informed him, that he had the fairest Opportunity in the World to take his Revenge, he replied, he was of my Opinion, and that he had not made such Haste, if it had not been on that Account.

I then ordered all the Garrison to Horse, who were to lead the Way; and followed them myself as a Volunteer. Colonel *Taube* likewise insisted on bearing us Company, notwithstanding his Wound; together with Lieutenant-Colonel *Grotbusen*; and both mounted on Horseback immediately. But the first, not finding himself able

to bear the Fatigue, was obliged to stay behind.

We marched wholly under the Conduct of a *Pofnanian* Guide; and, as he led us thro' narrow Lanes and marshy Places, we moved but very slowly. Having, at Day-break, travelled but two Leagues, and being yet one more distant from the Enemy.

The Cavalry of the Garrison, which were three hundred strong, formed the Van; the Regiment of *Taube* followed, then that of *Meyerfeld*, and Colonel *Horn* brought up the Rear. In this Order we passed the Wood, to a Village which was still a Quarter of a League short of the Enemy, where we halted, till all the Cavalry had passed the Defile.

When this was done, we advanced by Squadrons in full Gallop towards the Enemy, while passing through the Village, and a little Wood beyond it, in our Way to another Village called *Stenzew*, from whence the Camp was not far distant. We knew that in this Wood there was both a Defile and a Water, through which we were obliged to march, and where we expected the Enemy would dispute our Passage: But as they did not dream of us, our Squadrons passed both the Bridge and the Water without Molestation, and thence strait on to the Camp.

This was about six o'Clock in the Morning. The *Saxons*, who were encamped separately, made off forthwith, without being perceived by us. And our Van, without regarding the Pillage, briskly pursued the *Poles*, who were divided into two Bodies, and likewise retired upon our first Approach.

Colonel * *Taube* with his Regiment, and certain other Squadrons, pursued their Track for above a League; and, though they rallied, we attacked them again, notwithstanding the Weariness of our Horses, and gave them a total Defeat. Our Enterprize accomplished, *Meyerfeld* and I returned to the Camp, which we found already pillaged, tho' Colonel *Horn*, who was behind with his Regiment, had Orders to hinder it, till the rest of the Troops returned. Some *Poles* of Quality were killed; and we took the *Bonschup*, or Ensign of the General of Great Poland, together with three Standards, and eleven Pair of Kettle-drums.

Their Camp was well stored with Wine, Beer, and *Aqua Vita*; which our Troops making too free with, and beginning to be intoxicated, we hurried them away. *Meyerfeld* took his Rout through a fine Estate belonging to the Constable *Radomicki*, in the Court-yard of whose Seat, and the Out-Offices belonging to it, he took his Post, together with his Regiment. The two other Regiments encamping in a Garden close adjoining, which, as well as the Court, was walled in.

I staid there all Night, though there was neither Foot or Forage to be met with; and the next Morning set out with Colonel *Taube*, and the Cavalry of the Garrison, to return to *Posnania*, which was but two Leagues off. At the same Time, I was obliged to detach certain Horse to the neighbouring Village, to take Order for a Supply of Forage to be sent to *Gunarszewo*; where I had advised *Meyerfeld* to continue, for the Benefit of Forage

from the adjacent Villages. But he replied, that all the Inhabitants being fled, it was impossible to be furnished with any Quantity but at *Posnania*; where likewise he could best defend himself, till he received farther Orders. He added, that his Troops were in so bad a Condition, that he should be oblig'd to buy a thousand Things for their Accommodation; and being likewise new Levies, it was difficult to keep them in Discipline. He returned therefore, the 14th, to *Posnania*, and his Regiments had Quarters assigned them in the Suburbs.

Some Days after we learned that General *Brand* was arrived, that he had possessed himself of the same Post which *Schulenburg* had occupied before, and that he waited only the Arrival of *Paskul* and the *Muscovites* with the Artillery, to besiege us in form. And accordingly, Sept. 19. we saw the whole Army cross the Country in two Columns, in their Way to the *Warta*.

As the Enemy, when the Waters were low, could easily ford over that River, near the Place where they had their late Bridge, I immediately gave Notice to *Meyerfeld* to keep a strict Watch on that Pass, as the greatest Part of his Troops were out in Pursuit of Forage. Upon this he sent to recall them with all Speed, and marched himself with the Remainder of his Troops, which amounted in all to about three hundred and fifty, towards the Water-side, where he found that several of the Enemy's Squadrons had already passed over; whom he attacked, routed, and drove back into the River.

* Our Author has forgot he left the Colonel disabled with his Wounds at *Posnania*.

The Count *de Gyllenstolpe* was dangerously wounded in the Arm in this Encounter. The Foragers, except some few, arrived happily in the Suburbs, but without having Time to bring in their Forage.

Meyerfeld now sent Colonel *Taube*, to intreat of the Governor and me, that, as it was not possible for his Troops to defend themselves in their present Situation, they might be permitted to enter into the City, on his Promise of their paying ready Money for whatever they wanted; which we consented to, though our Stock of Provisions was exceeding low. Accordingly, they were admitted, and, not without great Difficulty, found Room for their Horses. In the Morning, we sent out the Foragers again, almost as far as the neighbouring Villages; and, though the *Poles* and *Cossacks* came in Sight from Time to Time, they did not think proper to give us the least Interruption.

Soon after we learned, that the *Muscovites*, to the Number of six thousand Men, had joined *Brand* at about a League from the City, having taken their Rout by *Srem*, and that they had no Bridge over the *Warta*.

Octob. 4. the Enemy advanced with their whole Army in two Columns towards the City, and encamped in the Plain almost joining to the Suburbs. We immediately discharged our Cannon upon them, and the next Day allotted every Officer his Post, with written Instructions for their Conduct, both in general, and as particular Incidents might arise.

The Houses of the Suburbs were already burnt down, but we could not hinder the Enemy from posting them-

selves in *St. Martin's Church*, and the *Bernardine Convent*, from whence they fired upon us; but without Effect; because our Troops, according to the Orders they had received, kept themselves quiet and concealed, except some few who had Permission to return the Compliment.

That Night Major *Duderburg* was dispatched with ten Troopers, having each a led Horse, to inform his Majesty, or, at least, General *Rheinschild*, of what had passed since the Commencement of the Siege, and the Condition of the Garrison. They were escorted a League and a Half by a hundred Horse, who returned all safe, and without having been once attacked.

The 5th, the Enemy began to fire from a Battery of six Cannons on the Tower of the *Bresslau Gate*, with Balls from six to eighteen Pound. They likewise threw certain Bombs, Carcasses, and red-hot Bullets into the City, which they continued all Night. We had ordered the Citizens to take Care of their Houses, and have Water ready every where. At the same Time, the *Jews* were enjoined to be at hand to extinguish the Fire, and take proper Measures to hinder the Effect of the Bombs.

The 6th, the Enemy continued quiet till towards Night, when they renewed their Fire, and discharged red-hot Bullets as before, which lasted till five o'Clock next Morning. At the same Time we sent out certain Troops, by the Suburb of *Kalenzevo*, towards the Cathedral Church, to bring in some Forage, (as having yet that whole Side of the *Warta* entirely open) but with very little Success.

The

The 7th, the Enemy continued firing towards Evening; but remained quiet all Night long.

The 8th, they began at Day-break, and did not give over till six o'Clock at Night. As we observed, they principally battered the Wall, between the two Towers situated between the Castle and the Gate of *Breslau*, we began forthwith to form a Coupure behind the Rampart, consisting of a Parapet, with two Flanks, or Sides, and Pallisades in Front.

The 9th, being *Sunday*, they fired till Noon, with a greater Number of Cannon than ever. At four o'Clock they renewed their Endeavours for a Breach at the Place before mentioned, with seventeen Pieces of Cannon great and small, and actually made a strong Opening. This continued till ten o'Clock at Night.

As we conjectured the Enemy had a Sentinel on the Tower of the Cathedral Church, we sent thither a Captain with thirty Horse and sixty Foot, but found ourselves mistaken. They, however, seized a Waggon load of Hay, which they happily conveyed into the City; together with two Valets, belonging to a *Saxon* Captain of Horse, who were released some Days after.

This Evening I was informed, the Enemy began to thicken on that Side next the Breach; on which I repaired thither forthwith, but found it was a false Alarm, and that they had only let go the Sluice of a Pond behind the Castle and the Stable, by which Means a Mill within the Walls was deprived of Water.

The 10th, they continued to fire upon the Breach, where Major *Rothu-*

sen had his Post, and by eight o'Clock had made it considerably wider. They did the same all the rest of the Day, and towards Evening, they began to play from several other Batteries upon the *Gerberschantz*, but without effect. They likewise fired upon the Breach all Night long, though to no great Purpose. This Evening a Miller's Boy got over the Wall, to let down the Sluice of the Pond again, which he happily effected.

The 11th, they fired briskly at first upon the Breach, but towards Noon abated their Fury, and only cast Stones into the City. Towards the Evening they continued quiet, and during the Night never once fired at all.

The 12th, they did not fire all Day. We observed them to march out on all Sides, and that they conducted to the Camp abundance of Forage. They fired again upon the Breach in the Evening, and continued to do the same all Night.

The 13th, they fired with greater Fury than ever from their Batteries, as well on the Side of the *Bernardines* on the *Gerberschantz*, as from that of *St. Martin*, on the Wall, and the Breach, which they widened considerably. But we repaired it in the Night with a great Number of Fascines, and a suitable Quantity of Earth; which, when they perceived, they fired upon our Workmen incessantly with their small Arms, but without doing any Execution.

We however reinforced that Post with a hundred and fifty Men. A Lieutenant in Colonel *Taube's* own Company was killed in the *Gerberschantz* with a Musket Bullet, which he received in his Forehead. A hundred

dred and twenty Men were ordered to raise a Ravelin on the other Side of the Water in the *Eck*, but as the Enemy had posted themselves in another neighbouring Island, the Affair proceeded no farther.

The 14th, they made an Opening in the Breach twenty Pieces broad, which gave us but little Pain, because it afforded us room to support our *Coupure*, by opening a Communication with the Convent of *St. Teresa*, where we had posted a great Number of Men. In this View we set sixty Labourers (who were likewise a *Corps de Reserve* for the *Coupure*) to work every Night in throwing out the loose Stones, and levelling the Way, to enable us to pass thither on Occasion, or even to sally from thence in case of Necessity.

To Night the Enemy made a brisk Fire with their small Arms towards the Breaches, perceiving what we were about; and we in return fired as briskly on them, perceiving likewise that they were as busy as we; we threw also among them Pots of lighted Pitch, and made Abundance of Fires to discover what passed in the Ditch.

The 15th, in the Morning we saw there three Ladders, which the Enemy had abandoned. We gave one Sol a Day more to every Man, on account of their being obliged to work Night and Day. The Enemy forbore firing; but took Possession of the other Side of the *Warta*, both with Foot and Horse, and drew a Line of eighty Paces round about the Bridge, among the Ruins of the Suburb, which had been burnt down. This Line they furnished with Gabions, and we observed they had begun a Battery

against the great Gate of the City. In the mean while they fired almost without Intermision, from their small Arms on that Gate, and the *Muhlen-schantz*; notwithstanding which, we had but one Dragoon wounded.

The Governor gave Orders, the same Day, to all the Citizens who had their Houses most exposed to the Fire of that Battery, to cover them with Dung and Earth. At Night I was informed, that a great Noise of Workmen was heard behind the Stable, near the Castle. Upon which I ordered immediately Pots of flaming Pitch to be thrown, in order to discover what they were about; when I perceived they had placed a great Quantity of Gabions all along the Ditch, in order to raise a Battery; and thereupon ordered a Lieutenant and forty Men to reinforce that Quarter, and fire upon the Labourers all Night.

As it came into my Head, that the Enemy, after having taken Possession of the other Side of the *Warta*, had entirely cut off our Communication with the Country, and that, after they had, by the Help of their Batteries, beat down the great Gate, and razed the Parapet of *Muhlen-schantz*, which they might accomplish in one Day, they would not fail to seize upon the Bridge, and extend their whole Line close to the Water, not to mention that they would ruin the only Mill we had remaining, and prevent our very Horses from being led to Water, I proposed to *Meyerfeld* to burn down the Bridge. To which he replied, that, as it was an Affair of Consequence, I should do well to consult the Colonels. Accordingly, having sent for them to my Apartment, and

given

given them my Reasons for this Proposal, they received it with Applause; and even added, that, when the Enemy had battered down the Tower of the great Gate, it would be impossible to burn the Bridge if we would. In consequence of which Resolution, Captain *Pulman* had Orders that very Night to set Fire to it, which was immediately put in Execution. The Enemy placed certain Cannon that Day on the Battery, near the Convent of *Carmelites*.

The 16th, the Enemy fired from the said Battery on the *Brummer-gate*; and two Dragoons of the Regiment of *Taube* deserted.

The 17th, towards ten o'Clock they began to fire on the Breach in the Wall, which was to the Left of the *Brummer-gate*; and especially from the Battery which they had erected near the Ditch, behind the Stable. As this was the nearest, I ordered some of our best Marksmen to fire into their Port-holes, as soon as the Smoke was over, who killed abundance of their Cannoniers.

After Noon, a Drum arrived with a Letter from a *Swedish* Officer, unknown to me, for Lieutenant General *Gyllenstierna*. He was also charged with another Letter from Lieutenant-General *Paskul*, to the Governor *Liljehock*. This Letter was writ in a stately, obscure, and tumid Stile: It summoned the Governor to surrender himself and his Garrison Prisoners of War, and not to expose himself to Extremities. The Breach being made, and, in case of a Refusal, no Mercy being to be shewn.

We treated with Scorn both the Letter and the impertinent Reason it

contained: The Enemy having abandoned their first Breach, and being then at work to make a second. *Gyllenstierna*, nevertheless, replied to that which he had received; but we gave the Drum to understand, that as we looked upon *Paskul* as a *Swede*, as a Traitor to his Country, and of Course, as dead in Law, we did not know what it was to hold a Correspondence with People of the other World. An Answer which terribly surprized the Drum. In the Evening we reinforced the Guard of the Gate *de Brummer* with twenty Men. And that Night the Enemy did not fire at all.

The 18th, a hundred Men were ordered to fill up the Road to the said Gate, with Dung and Earth, leaving room however for one Man to pass on each Side; and the Enemy beginning to fire from a new Battery to the Right of that Gate, as they had before done to the Left, where they had already made a Breach thirty Foot wide, we immediately sunk a Ditch with a Parapet behind it, as an additional Security in case of Need; and when they prepared to batter down the second Wall as they had done the first, we made a Way thro' to the Convent of *St. Catharine*, which was near the Breach on the Left, to come from behind to the second Wall; which being feeble, was soon overturned, and the Convent ruined. That Evening, we again reinforced the Gate near the Breach with sixty Foot, the Command of whom was given to Lieutenant-Colonel *Hagen*, who was in the Service of the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*.

During the Night, the Enemy threw certain Bombs, red-hot Bullets, and

and Abundance of Stones. They beside play'd their Battery to the Right of the Gate *de Brummer* all Night long, but with less Ardor than at first. In this Interval, we turned almost three hundred Horses out of the City, which we had not Forage to support, and killed them by the Water-side. We had twice already been obliged to make Executions of this Nature.

The 19th, at Day-break, they renewed their firing on the Breach, which they considerably enlarged: Their Balls passing quite through the second Wall, the Convent of St. *Catherine's*, and even the Street *de Brummer*. As to the Breach to the Right of the Gate, the two Walls were there so weakened, that they were both thrown down almost at the same Instant. The Enemy beside fired vehemently at the Tower to incommode the Troops upon Duty underneath with the Stones which tumbled from it. This Day we resolv'd upon a Sally, and Captain *Pulman* had Orders with a hundred and fifty Men, half Infantry and half Cavalry on Foot, to file off above the Mill: But, as I observed the Enemy took the Alarm, and stood upon their Guard, I recalled them forthwith.

The Enemy, during the Night, having placed their Gabions quite close to the Extremity of *Gerberschantz*, and by that Step inducing me to believe, they intended to erect there another Battery, I detached Captain *Banboltz*, of the Regiment of *Taube*, with a hundred Men to destroy them: But, as soon as they had passed the Ditch, and were advancing to execute their Orders, a sudden Panic seized upon them, and believing the Enemy at

hand, except the Captain and a few, who proceeded, notwithstanding, to perform their Commission, they all run back to the City. We made Enquiries after into this Affair, but, as it happened in the Dark, the Truth was never known.

The same Night the Captains *Pulman* and *Morton* sallied out likewise with a hundred and fifty Men, by the Road which lay under the Mill; attacked the *Russians*, posted behind an old Wall opposite to the Shambles of the *Jews*, and, after having killed several, returned without the Loss of a Man. Two Dragoons of the Regiment of *Meyerfeld* let themselves down with Cords from the Top of the Wall, and deserted to the Enemy. And we filled the Breach near St. *Catherines*, with *Cheveaux de Frise*.

The 20th, the Enemy battered the Wall to the Right of the Gate *de Brummer*, with twelve Pieces of Cannon, and continued it all Day with such Success, that towards Night, they had made an Opening above forty Paces broad, and beat down all the Rubbish into the Ditch; what remained not being a Foot in Height, and which they might enter upon the same Level with the Breach. Upon this, we placed two Pieces of Cannon, loaded with Cartridges, in the Entrance, one to the Right, and the other to the Left, to scour the two Breaches in Flank in case of an Attack.

Towards Noon the Enemy shot into the City several Arrows, with Leters fastened to them, six of which were brought me. Their Contents were, That such *Germans* belonging to the Garrison that would go over to them, should be well recompens'd; or, in

case they would not desert, such who threw down their Arms during the Assault, which they were on the point of making, should have their Lives; but that, otherwise, all should be put to the Sword. I rewarded those handsomely who brought me these Letters: Nevertheless, we had so well divided our Posts, that the Regiments were every where intermingled, and, by that Means, each secured the Fidelity of the other. As to those Persons we suspected, we placed them where they could do the least Mischief.

The Guard of the Gate *de Brummer* in particular was that Night reinforced, to the Amount of a hundred and eighty Men, under the Command of three Captains of Horse, and one of Foot, and stationed in such a Manner, that they could mutually support each other till Succours arrived. And as, according to all Appearances, the Enemy designed to attack us that Night, I ordered all the Garrison to be prepared and under Arms.

I then repaired, together with the Governór, to the last Breach, as the most dangerous, and which was not far from *St. Catherine. Meyerfeld* continued at the first between the Gate *de Breslau* and the Castle. The Cavalry were ranged in the Market, to be ready to assist wherever there was Occasion, and every other Post was secured as well as possible.

The Night passed quietly enough, except that the Enemy fired, now and then, some Pieces of Cannon, with red-hot Balls, though without Effect. But towards Day-break, on the Discharge of one single Cannon, the whole Camp rung with the most hide-

ous Outcries. Upon which Colonel *Taube*, who was with me, repaired to the Breach with his Troops, where they continued behind the Parapet in good Order, expecting the Enemy; who still continued their Clamours, as if their whole Army was on the Point of overwhelming us. Nevertheless no body appeared, and, when it was Day, all was quiet again; which induced us to believe, that they designed by these Howlings, to draw us into the Breach, in order to slaughter us with Cartridges. It was also conjectured, that they were alarmed with the Apprehensions of a Sally; no such Cries being heard from the other Side of the City.

The 21st, they renewed their Fire on the first and great Breach, till they had enlarged it to more than eighty Paces in Breadth; which obliged us likewise to enlarge our *Coupure*, and do our best to put ourselves in a good Posture of Defence. Towards Noon they ceased firing, and sent Letters by a Trumpet to *Meyerfeld* and *Lillibock*, to exchange certain Prisoners; but, upon receiving a proper Answer, continued it on as before.

This Evening, we reinforced the grand Breach with a hundred Men, commanded by Major *Bornman*, who was posted to the Right of the *Coupure*, and Major *Rothusen* to the Left; the whole Guard amounting to four hundred and sixty Men, commanded in chief by Colonel *Horn*, to whose Care was likewise committed all that Side of the City, as far as the Castle inclusive, and to Colonel *Taube* all the other. During the Night, the Enemy fired with their small Arms upon our Labourers

Labourers in the Breach, but could not reach them because of our *Chevaux de Frise*.

The 22d, they renewed their Battery on the grand Breach with great Fury, more especially on the inner Wall, near the Cloister of St. Catharine; and as the Stones were exceeding hard, they fired with double Cartridges. Towards Noon, a Drum demanded Entrance, and being twice directed to the Gate de Breslau, he made his Appearance no more.

All this Day and Night the Enemy continued firing incessantly, both from their Cannon and small Arms, together with certain red-hot Bullets. We being all the while at our Posts, and under Arms as before.

The 23d, being Sunday, they fired but a few Shot in the Morning. At Nine o'Clock a Trumpet came to demand that a Captain of Horse might be permitted to come out of the Camp by way of Hostage for another, who would be sent to the City. In answer to which we dispatched Captain Hall, with two other Officers, and as many of the Enemy were admitted in Exchange; who were introduced to the Governor, Major-General Meyerfeld being present. As they could not soon agree on the Exchange of the Prisoners, the Conference lasted till Noon, and the Officers then staid to Dinner; to which I was likewise invited. These Gentlemen seemed to be much out of Humour; and what was ridiculous enough, they had demanded, together with the Exchange of the Prisoners, the Restitution of the *Bandtschup*, or Standard of the General of Great Poland, which Radomicki had lost in the Action of Stenzewa.

After Dinner I returned to my own Apartment, and, towards Evening, the Officers set out with the Polish Prisoners, and Captain Hall returned to the City.

When it began to be dark, a Dragoon of Meyerfeld's Regiment, who had been taken Prisoner in the Action with Schulenbourg, came to inform us, that he had heard a Murmur run thro' the Enemy's Camp of a Retreat; that seventeen Pieces of Cannon were already sent off, and that all the Batteries were dismounted. Our Centinels, posted on the Towers of the City, likewise confirmed this, by the Movements which they observed in the Enemy's Camp: But we continued on our Guard notwithstanding. In the Night they fired with certain small Arms into the Breach, but we heard no more of their Cannon.

The 24th, when it was Day, we perceived neither Cannon or Men on the Batteries, nor in the Approaches; a handful only appearing opposite to the Gate de Breslau, and discharging a few Volleys, by which a Surgeon of the Regiment of Sudermanlande was slightly wounded. Towards nine o'Clock both their Cavalry and Infantry were in full March, leaving only a Guard of Saxons near to the Convent of the Carmelites, and a Part of their Camp in the Wilda. We then had the Way cleared to the Gate de Breslau, and opened that near the Pond, which had been walled up in order to make a Sally; but we altered this Resolution afterwards. Towards the Evening all the rest of the Besiegers decamped.

The 25th, we made it our Business to raze the Enemy's Works, and burn their

ther Ladders, and all the other Implements they had abandoned. At the same Time, we sent out a Party in Search of Forage, who returned with a small Quantity of Straw, and Hay, which they found in the Camp of the Enemy.

During this Siege, which lasted three Weeks, we lost but nine Men with one Lieutenant of Dragoons, and one Subaltern of Foot; and had but twenty wounded, among whom was one Captain.

Arvid Axel, Mardeveld.

It is now Time to return to the Army.

October 31, some of our Troops passed the *Oder*, and founded the Depth of the Water, to find out what Rout the *Saxons* had taken, in order to make their Report to his Majesty, and enquire if it was not his Pleasure that they should continue the Pursuit. The King only smiled at this Question, and, without explaining himself farther, gave Orders for all to be in Readiness, and, contrary to all Expectations, wheeled about again for *Poland*.

The King, having learned by the Way that two thousand *Cossacks* were but a little Way from the Army, went in quest of them, attacked, and put a great Part of them to the Sword; burning the rest in the Houses whither they were retired, and giving Quarter only to two hundred and twelve, at the Instance of King *Stanislaus*. A Colonel and fifty more of the best-mounted made their Escapes at the Beginning of the Action.

His Majesty marched three Leagues that Day to *Schlichingsheim*, after a

Pursuit of sixty Leagues in ten Days, from the Time of his passing the *Vi-stula*, to his reaching the *Oder*, thro' the most hideous Roads and Doubles, without having changed Clothes or Linnen all that Time, which dropt peace-meal from the whole Army, Princes, Officers and Soldiers.

Novemb. 1. the King continued his March to *Fraustadt*, where he quartered in the House of a Gentleman, called *Roersdorf*. The Regiments being dispersed in the adjacent Places, to snatch a little Repose which they stood greatly in need of.

Here his Majesty allotted the Winter Quarters for every Regiment. He himself with his Drabans retiring to *Ravitz*, a little pretty *Polish* Town on the Frontiers of *Silesia*, where he lodged, contrary to his usual Custom, in a fine House belonging to a Gentleman near the Gate. The Chancery and the Court had likewise very convenient Quarters, the like had the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, who, nevertheless, exchanged his for others less commodious, in order to be nearer his Majesty.

Ravitz is surrounded with a Rampert, and so regularly built, that from the Middle one has a Prospect of the four Gates of the Town. The Inhabitants speak no Language but *German*, and are all *Lutherans*, on which Account the *Silesians* on the Frontier, of the same Religion, often come thither to divine Service. Their Commerce consists in Cloaths, of which this is a tolerable Staple; and from hence they are sold by the Merchants all over *Poland* to *Jaroslaw*, and through *Leopol* even to *Lublin*; and though they run great Hazard from Robbers and Rap-
parces

parees both in War and Peace, they are nevertheless rich, and much at their Ease.

Before we finish the Year 1704, it will be proper to see how Lieutenant-General *Meidel* ended the Campaign in *Finland*.

After the *Russians* had been repulsed, in their Attempt on that General's Camp near *Walkefari*, in *July*, they sent out several Detachments on the other Side of the *Neva*, who all met with the same Fate. *Meidel*, on his Side, likewise detached Parties towards *Noteburg* and *Petersburg*, who burnt and destroyed all the Magazines of the Enemy.

After which, he advanced with his Troops farther into *Finland*, and the more boldly, as those of the Enemy appeared no longer on the Frontier. He detached, however, in *September*, a Captain of Cavalry, with sixty Foot and eighty Horse, who passed through *Carelia*, and made the whole Tour of *Ladoga*. Returning happily after several Weeks Absence, though they had attacked a Fort of the Enemy's built of Wood and Earth, with four Towers, and garnished round the Top with *Chevaux de Frise*.

The first was defended by seven hundred *Russians*, who, after an obstinate Defence, were almost burnt by our People's setting fire to the Fort, and the neighbouring Village. The Governor, and about seventy Men attempting to escape to the adjacent Woods, were all put to the Sword, except some few, who returned to the Fort, and were made Prisoners, together with fifty more who had hid themselves under ground.

After the fire was extinguished, we

found four Brass Cannons, and eleven of Iron, with a great Number of Fire Arms, and other Ammunitions of War. The Captain conducted the Prisoners, a great Number of Arms, and abundance of Cattle to the Camp. Having burnt and destroyed all the rest.

We had several Men killed, and many more wounded, among whom was one Captain of Foot, two Lieutenants, and three Subalterns. This Fort was fifty Leagues from *Wiborg*; and General *Meidel* afterwards took Possession of it for his Winter Quarters.

Little remarkable happened in that Interval, except that the Enemy detached a Party from *Petersburg*, who repaired to the other Side of the *Nava*, to cut down Trees for Beams, to be employed for the Fort; and being attacked by our Troops and totally defeated, were all put to the Sword.

King *Stanislaus* lodged in his own Castle of *Ridzin*, or *Reussen*, one League from the City of *Lissa*, which belonged to the Family of *Lescinski*, and from whence they derive their Name.

The Castle, which was one of the finest Seats in *Poland*, before it was ruined by the Saxons, *An. 1705*, is situated in a most charming Country, near both a Village and a Wood, very commodious for hunting, which was the darling Passion of King *Stanislaus*. An Avenue was cut through the Wood to open a Prospect to the City of *Lissa*. And, among other magnificent Apartments which it boasted, there was one varnished all over in so charming a Taste, that though the Saxon General had Orders to ruin that

that magnificent Fabrick, he spared this Lodging as the most beautiful in the World, and which could hardly ever be repaired. Another Apartment was garnished all round with *Venice* Glasses. A third presented now such superb Baths, as were worthy of a Prince for the exquisite Mosaic, with which they were adorned.

Hither the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, who had very dexterously insinuated himself into the Affections of King *Stanislaus*, repaired, (whenever he could be excused from attending the King of *Sweden*, which was not often) to share with him in the Pleasures of the Chace. That young Prince had applied himself so earnestly to learn the *Swedish* Tongue, that he spoke it in Perfection, which, joined to his extreme Ambition to please his Majesty, had establish'd him perfectly in his Esteem and Friendship.

Hither likewise the Nobles of *Poland*, assiduously, repaired to pay their Compliments to King *Stanislaus*, whose Court grew more and more splendid every Day. In a little Diet which was held at *Kostyn* in *Great Poland*, it had been resolved to levy certain Troops, which were to enter into his Service the following Campaign. In the mean Time also, they had formed a new Regiment of Infantry, which, together with two hundred Horse, were to serve for his Guard. At the End of *December*, that Prince repaired to *Prussia* to see the Queen his Spouse, who had retired thither with her Family, ever since his Departure from *Warsaw*.

The Baggage of the Army, which was likewise followed by our Infantry, arrived by little and little. The Lieu-

tenant-Generals *Stromberg* and *Passe*, who had each the Command of a Body of Foot, brought along with them Numbers, of *Saxons* whom they had made Prisoners upon the Road. The Army was distributed along the Frontiers of *Silesia*, from the City of *Petrow*, to the Frontiers of *Brandebourg*.

Colonel *Charles Horn* was in Garrison in the City of *Thorn*, with his Regiment of *Pomeranian* Infantry. As to the new Regiments of Dragoons, *Stenbock*, *Meyerfeld*, *Taube*, and *Ducker*, they took the Road of *Prussia*, to raise Recruits, after having suffer'd so much during this Campaign. And the like did other Regiments likewise.

As soon as it was understood in foreign Courts, that his Majesty had taken up his Winter-Quarters at *Ravitz*, many of their Ministers repaired thither to treat of those Affairs they had in Commission from their Masters; but were all referred to the Chancery of *Stockholm*. Nevertheless, as there were some who wished the King would himself take Cognizance of what they had to propose, and others who by no Means cared for so long a Journey, they changed their Characters, and were admitted as Travellers to an Audience of his Majesty.

But tho' the King would never treat of foreign Affairs, while at *Ravitz*, he nevertheless spent the greatest Part of his Time in the Chancery with Count *Piper*, and Secretary *Hermelin*, often attending there from Morning-Prayer, till one or two o'Clock in the Afternoon. He applied himself to the Affairs of his Kingdom, as well as those of the Army, and carefully examined the present Situations of Courts, and their different Interests. As to his

his leisure Hours his Majesty employ'd them in a quite new Manner, which will hereafter be explained.

Thus gloriously did he finish the Campaign of 1704, having scarce allowed himself any Repose for the Space of six Months; that is to say, from the 21st of June, to the End of December.

He first set out from *Heilsberg* in *Prussia* for *Warsaw*, from whence he repaired through *Great Poland* to *Sandomir* and *Leopol*; from the last of which Places he retired to *Warsaw*, and afterwards posted on to *Punitz*, in which Interval he compassed above two hundred Leagues, dethroned King *Augustus*, set the Crown of *Poland* on the Head of *Stanislaus*, took the City of *Leopol* with Cavalry only, passed the *Vistula* three Times, and after the Action of *Punitz*, drove the Enemy out of the Kingdom.

But in spite of all these Expeditions, the Partizans of King *Augustus* still flattered themselves with some Revolution in favour of that Prince; which was owing to the Hopes the Czar, his Ally, had given him of a considerable Aid both of Money and Troops.

That Prince was now arrived to *Cracow*, as has been already said, with all the Cavalry he could assemble; whom he quartered in the Out skirts of that City, and in the adjacent Villages. Many Senators however repaired thither, with a great Number of Gentlemen, to advise of Means to assemble a *Senatus-Concilium*: Many even of those who had assisted at the Election of King *Stanislaus* were likewise present, insomuch that King *Augustus* did not know in whom to confide; so great

was the Confusion every where, and the Change so extraordinary.

The most prudent, and those who valued themselves most upon their Integrity, continued neuter, and made a third Party in the Kingdom by the Name of *Indifferents*.

The Grand-General Prince *Lubomirski*, the same who had solicited the Crown, followed the Example of his Peers, and being arrived at *Cracow*, intreated Pardon of King *Augustus* in the humblest Terms, for having abandoned his Party; and promised to repair his Fault, by an inviolable Attachment for the future, both to his Person and Interests. Nevertheless, to justify to the World a Turn which seemed so extraordinary, he published a Detail of his Reasons for deserting the Confederacy of *Warsaw*; among which, the most plausible was that which referred to the seizing of his two Sons, whom King *Augustus* had taken out of a Cloister at *Warsaw*, and sent into *Saxony*: His natural Affection did not permit him, he said, to bear any longer the Imprisonment of all that was dear to him in the World. This was, however, esteemed but Grimace; and supposing that King *Augustus* had secured the Children to bring back the Father, it is certain the Father was charmed to find a plausible Pretence to abandon one, whom he had so long resolved to abandon, and whom he detested ever since his flattering Ideas of Royalty had deserted him by the Election of King *Stanislaus*.

King *Augustus*, who had so many Reasons to mistrust all these Protestations that were made to him at *Cracow*, had very little better Opinion of his Affairs.

Affairs, after the Return of the Grand General; whose Fidelity he so much the more suspected, as the Change had been brought about by Envy and Disappointment only. After having recommended then his Interests to all the Nobility in general, he set out for *Saxony*, at the Beginning of the Year, as well to make up the Losses of the preceding Campaigns, as to levy fresh Troops, and put his hereditary Dominions in a Posture of Defence; as fearing an Irruption from his *Swedish* Majesty, who was now but a little Way off.

The Emperor, alarmed to see a victorious Army on the Frontiers of *Silesia*, took much Pains, in Concert with *England* and *Holland*, to reduce the Affairs of *Poland* to a Negotiation. What his Imperial Majesty had in View, being to procure a Peace between the King of *Sweden* and King *Augustus*, and by that Means re-establish the Tranquillity of his Neighbourhood.

To this End, Count *Zinzendorf* had Orders to repair to *Ravitz*, where having demanded a Conference with some of the King's Ministers, his Majesty referred him to Secretary *Hermelin*, who, after he had made his Report, returned to the Count, with the King's Resolution to persist in the Design he had formed to dethrone *Augustus*, and crown *Stanislaus* in his Stead; and to grant no Peace at all, unless King *Augustus* would abdicate, and content himself with the bare Title of King.

However solicitous the *English* Envoy, Mr. *Robinson* was (though otherwise very much considered at Court) to support the Imperial Minister, his Majesty continued inflexible on that head, and prepared by an early Cam-

paign, to compleat what he had so gloriously begun; the Establishment of King *Stanislaus*, and the eternal Exclusion of King *Augustus*.

The Affairs of King *Stanislaus* began then to wear a promising Aspect. We have remarked elsewhere, that towards the End of the preceding Year, he set out for *Prussia*; a little after which, *Jan. 14.* he had a long Conference in a Village near *Dantzick* with the Cardinal Primate, who remained in that City to observe, as from behind a Curtain, what Turn Affairs would take.

The long Residence of King *Augustus* in *Saxony* was of infinite Prejudice to his Interests on this Occasion. It was believed he durst not return to *Poland*; and whatever Assurance he gave his Partizans to the contrary, they found no Credit, which greatly abated their Courage; and, in the End, induced the Cardinal to side with his Competitor.

The King of *Sweden* had already demanded of that Prelate to fix a Time for the Coronation of *Stanislaus*, but he would not comply but upon certain Conditions. In the first Place he demanded that the King of *Sweden* should take upon him the Protection and Defence of the Kingdom of *Poland* for two Years to come; and that he should guaranty the Republick from all Acts of Violence and Hostility, that King *Augustus* might attempt from the Side of *Saxony*. Secondly, that he should exact no more Contributions of the *Poles*, that they might have Time to recruit their exhausted Strength. And thirdly, that he should use his utmost Endeavours to hinder the Court of *Rome* from making good her Menaces

naces against him, on Account of his Union with King *Stanislaus*.

To the first of these Points the King answered, that he would always have eight thousand Men in *Pomerania*, to secure the new King from all Insults whatever. To the second, That his Majesty would exact no Contributions but of his Enemies, and never but in concert with King *Stanislaus*. And to the third, That he would chuse Deputies at the Diet, to defend his Eminence at *Rome*, and appease the Choler of the Pope.

It was on these Conditions, that the Cardinal came over to King *Stanislaus*, that he convened the Diet at *Cracow*, and that he, at last, dispatched the *Universalia*, for the general Diet to be held at *Warsaw*, for the crowning King *Stanislaus*, as we shall see by and by.

The Crown-Army still scoured the Country. *Smigelski*, a famous Partizan of King *Augustus*, at the Head of seven or eight thousand Horse, chiefly *Poles*, beat up our Quarters continually. However, he made more Noise than Mischief, and we are now to see with Astonishment, one Lieutenant of Foot with eighty Men defend himself from so considerable a Body, who were not able to carry off the least Advantage. The Fact was thus:

The Lieutenant had been detached to levy Contributions in the Neighbourhood of the City of *Pietrikow*, where a Party of the Column under Lieutenant-General *Stromberg* was quartered. *Smigelski* having been apprised of this, and knowing the Lieutenant's Strength was but small, marched thither with all his Forces,

not at all doubting but he should carry off the whole Party.

The Attack was made with Abundance of Vigour; but the Lieutenant, who had been happy enough to re-assemble in Time his whole eighty Men, sustained it bravely. Seeing however, that the Number of the Enemy encreased every Moment, he withdrew farther within the Village, disputing every Inch of Ground, till at last he posted himself in the Seat of the Lord of the Village; fully determin'd to hold out to the last Extremity.

Smigelski then flattered himself that the Affair was over; but the *Swedes*, far from a Thought of surrendering, defended themselves so effectually, that the Enemy were never able to set Fire to the House, though they did their utmost for that End, and though they lost in the Attempt abundance of their Men; the *Swedes* never firing but with their Pieces close to the Enemy's Breasts.

The Combat lasted from Morning till Noon, when *Smigelski* shocked and surprised at such extraordinary Valour, offered the Lieutenant honourable Terms if he would surrender. But he rejected them with Disdain, and the Enemy was at last forced to give over their Enterprize shamefully, and retire with a great Number of Carriages loaded with their dead and wounded Men.

This Action so highly pleased his Majesty, that, in a little Time after, he made the Lieutenant a Major. Neither was *Smigelski* more happy in his Enterprizes upon our Quarters; never attempting a Surprise but it

miscarried, or engaging but he was effectually beaten.

The Crown Army being disbanded, took up its Winter-quarters without Distinction of Friends or Enemies, and levied Contributions on all Sides, which in *Poland* are commonly called *Hyberness*. At *Lowitz*, the Residence of the Cardinal Primate, there were fourteen Companies of *Poles*, and certain Troops of Horse and Dragoons, such as are called *Quartians*, who had there posted themselves in Garrison.

But the *Swedes*, not being very well pleased with their Neighbourhood, resolved to dislodge them. Accordingly, Lieutenant-Colonel *Lubecker* of the Life-guard, had Orders to march thither with eight or nine hundred Horse; which he did with such Diligence, travelling both Day and Night, that he had infallibly surprized them in Bed, if they had not received one Hour's Notice of his Approach; upon which they immediately flew to Horse, and posted with such Speed through the City, that it was impossible for our Troops to join them.

We surprized no more than fifty or sixty Men who were killed, and twelve who were taken Prisoners. We likewise took all their Baggage and Provisions, with a Number of Cattle, which they had carried off from different Places. *Lubecker* reposed himself here for some Time; but as to the *Poles*, they durst no more Approach so near to our Posts on that Side.

Nor were the *Saxons* less disquieted in their Quarters, which they had chose near the Mountains of *Hungary*, and in the Adjacencies, than we, by the *Poles*. Certain *Saxon* Generals,

having taken Possession of a little Tract called *Sipserland*, which belonged to a young *Lubomirski*, Son to the late Marshal of the Crown: He, who was then in the Emperor's Service, took his Leave immediately, and hastened as fast as possible towards his Seat, to examine a little nearer what Sort of Guests had visited him with so little Ceremony; and, not liking their Company, gathered together a Body of about three thousand Men, chiefly *Hungarians*, and obliged them to change their Lodgings. Not contented with this Success, he declared himself an open Enemy to King *Augustus*, and harrassed his Troops in several Encounters: Having once the Happiness to surprize certain *Saxons* in their Quarters near to *Cracow*, where he made several of their Officers Prisoners, and carried off a Pair of Silver Kettle-drums.

A third Party, as hath been already said, was formed in the Palatinates of *Wolbinia* and *Russia*, called *Indifferents*. These assembled at *Leopol*, and had for their Head Count *Potoki*, Palatine of *Kiovia*.

As King *Augustus* so long delayed his Return into *Poland*, this Party, which had near six or eight thousand Men on foot, and which had never yet declared on either Side, at last inclined in favour of the new King, and openly declared for him, after *Potocki* had had an Interview with Lieutenant *Stromberg*, to whom he resigned sixty *Saxon* Prisoners, whom he had taken in a Rencontre.

This Accession greatly raised the Spirits of King *Stanislaus's* Friends, who were in that Country, and who

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indeed

indeed hindered their Antagonists from undertaking any Thing contrary to His Interests. On the other hand, the *Palatine* threatened to use them with the utmost Rigour, if they presumed to excite the least Trouble; and further assured his Majesty, that he would be ready to join him on the first Notice.

All these Incidents appeared so dangerous to the Senators and Deputies assembled at *Cracow*, to hold a grand Council in favour of King *Augustus*, that they writ anew to that Prince to press his Return, in order to put a Stop, by his Presence, to all the Designs that his Enemies continually framed against him in *Poland*.

Augustus answered, that he would repair thither with all Speed, and gave them a long Detail of the Reasons which compelled him to make so long a Stay in *Saxony*. When they had received this Reply, it was resolved that the Assembly should continue to sit but three Weeks after his Arrival; for which no settled Time was yet appointed, to the End that one of our Parties, which had been detached as far as *Silesia*, should have Knowledge of his Return, or have it in their Power to lay any Snare to surprize him upon the Road.

It was during this Interval that Lieutenant-General *Arwid Horn* negotiated at *Dresden* the Exchange of the Prisoners which had been made on both Sides. This Convention was soon ratified, and that General was himself exchanged against Lieutenant-General *Allart*, who was taken at the Battle of *Narva*.

While these Affairs were transacting in *Poland*, the Czar prepared to enter

into *Lithuania*, at the Head of a formidable Army, in order to be as good as his Word, given both to *Dzialinski* *Palatine* of *Culm*, and Ambassador from King *Augustus*, and *Oginski*, during the Siege of *Narva*.

As that Prince had resolved to lay Siege to *Riga*, he had employed all his Diligence to prepare a grand Train of Artillery, with all the Necessaries for an Attempt on that important Place.

When all was ready for the Expedition, Velt-Marshal *Scheremotof* led the Way with eighteen or twenty thousand Men, and the Czar himself followed forthwith at the Head of his Army, entering into *Lithuania*, thro' the Palatinate of *Polocsk*, and leaving behind him no more Troops than were necessary for the Defence of *Narva*, *Dorpt*, and other little conquered Places; and the Body of an Army, sufficient to make head against General *Maydel*, who commanded our Troops in *Finland*.

The Czar had reason to fear the Activity and Diligence of that Officer, who had given him such Proof of his Valour in the last Campaign. Tho' *Maydel* was not in a Condition to act offensively, he would not however suffer his Troops to linger out the Time in their Winter-quarters, but resolved to undertake some Enterprize against the Enemy.

The Czar, as was observed in the preceding Year, had caused a Castle to be built in the Isle of *Retufari*, at the Entrance of the *Neva*, more known by the Name of *Cronslot*, and which joins to a City since erected, and called *Cronstadt*.

This Place *Maydel* projected to
H h 2 make

make himself Master of, and, as he well judged it must be done by Surprise, he detached *Charles Arnfelt*, at the End of the Month of *January*, with a Party, which had Orders to march through unfrequented Roads, to avoid Discovery. But, as *Arnfelt* found himself obliged to pass on the Ice over an Arm of the Sea, which is between *Finland* and the Isle, in an exceeding dark Night, the Guide mistook his Way on that vast Plain, then all covered with Snow, and led them a great Way beyond the Castle without perceiving his Mistake.

Hence the *Russians*, having discovered our Design, had Time to put themselves in a Posture of Defence, and threw immediately into the Castle a Reinforcement of five hundred Men, while all the rest of their Cavalry and Infantry ranged themselves in Order of Battle in the new City of *Cronstadt*, and in the Palace of the Czar ready to receive us.

Arnfelt, who was too far advanced to go back without making some Attempt, was not daunted at his ill Success, but, wheeling directly towards the Isle, attacked the Enemy posted in the Town so briskly, that he obliged them to give Ground. Their Cavalry instantly made off; but their Foot, not being able to escape, and endeavouring to save themselves in the Castle, were all cut to Pieces upon the Ice, under their own Cannon. The Garrison likewise, having made a Sally to support their Friends, were used but very little better, being drove Sword in Hand as far as the *Chevaux de Frise*, and a Breach in the Ice, which the Enemy had made all round the Fort, three fathoms broad.

Upon which, *Arnfelt*, well convinced that he could attempt nothing against the Castle, returned to the City, and set Fire to two Men of War from twenty to thirty Guns each, which were frozen fast in the Ice. Abundance of Ammunition, and all Sorts of Provisions likewise fell into his Hands, as also a vast Quantity of Forage, which he reduced to Ashes, as well as the Czar's Palace, a great many other Houses, and Numbers of Vessels in the Port.

A little while after this Action, General *Maydel* detached another Party towards *Noteborg*, which burned several Vessels fastened in the Ice, and ravaged the Country round, setting Fire to every thing in their Way. It is true, such Mischiefs as these the *Russians* could easily repair; but *Maydel* did good Service notwithstanding, both by the Spoil that he made; and by giving the Enemy a Check at home; it being his Design to hinder them from making Inroads into our Provinces, for fear of being surprised in their own.

In *Courland* our Affairs seemed to have a very ill Aspect, as well by the Absence and Distance of his Majesty, as by the formidable Force of the whole *Russian* Army, which was then approaching, and which Count *de Lowenhaupt*, with his handful of Forces, appeared little able to withstand. But we had soon the Pleasure to see, that they not only made Head against them, but even repulsed that whole terrible Multitude.

The good Conduct of Count *Lowenhaupt* contributed greatly to this Success. Whose first Concern was to keep the Communication with *Riga* free,

free, and ward off the Siege; taking his Measures so happily, that he found himself able to defend that Province for a long while, and to render the Conquest of it extremely difficult to the Czar, with whom he resolved to dispute every Inch of Ground.

In this View he formed an Army of such Troops as he collected from *Libau* and other Places of *Courland*, together with the Regiments that Major *Schlippenbach* had commanded the preceding Campaign in *Livonia*; placing strong Garrisons in *Mittau*, and the Castle of *Bausk*, to amuse the Enemy in their Way to *Riga*, that he might gain Time for more Succours to come up, as we shall see hereafter.

His Majesty had sent Orders to Lieutenant-Colonel *Lubecker* to quit *Lowitz* with his Detachment: But scarce had he marched out but the Enemy's Parties began to appear; and, some Days after, at a Place called *Couallen*, attacked a Captain who had been detached with a hundred Horse to levy Contributions.

The Enemy's Corps consisted of twenty-eight Companies, and two hundred German Horse; a Number so superior to the *Swedes*, that the Captain, fearing to engage them in open Field, as liable to be there surrounded, and quite cut off, retreated with his Men to a Church-yard in a Village, where he posted them behind the Wall which surrounded it, and made a continual and well-managed Fire upon the Enemy; who then ordered their Dragoons to alight, and gather together Posts and Planks, to serve instead of Fascines in scaling the Church-yard. At the same Time a great Number of *Poles* being mount-

ed on the Roof of the Curate's House, which was quite close to the Church-yard, did some Execution among our Troops with their Fire-arms. To put an End to which Mischief the Captain, with one half of his Troops, sallied out and dispersed the Dragoons, who had undertaken to scale the Walls, while the other half set Fire to the Curate's House; which, though the *Poles* presently extinguished, yet that brave Officer held them so stubbornly at Bay, gave them so much Employment on all Hands, and particularly by two subsequent Sallies which he made upon them, that, in the End, he dislodged them from the House, and set it again on Fire. Many of the *Poles* perished in the Flames, and the rest were kept aloof. All this, however, did not hinder the Enemy from returning twice more to the Assault; but, being always repulsed with the same Vigour, they grew discouraged, and at last left us Masters of the Field.

This Combat lasted from seven in the Morning till four in the Afternoon without Intermission. The Enemy then retired to *Lowitz*, in Expectation of a Reinforcement, carrying with them a great Number of wounded Men, and leaving the Ground, round the Church-yard, covered with dead Bodies.

Lieutenant-General *Nieroth*, who was quartered in the Territory of *Gnese*, having been advertised of this Action, instantly dispatched Major *Piper* with three hundred and fifty Horse, to be at the Heels of the Enemy, who surprized them in the Night at *Lowitz*, Feb. 28. or rather *March* 1. and attacked them so briskly, that, after having killed a great Number, he

put the rest to Flight, and took their Baggage and Ammunition.

The *Poles*, who were forty Companies strong, ashamed to be beaten by such a Handful of Men, returned again to the Combat, and ranged themselves in Order of Battle; upon which *Piper* did the same; and having with him some *Lithuanian* Companies *de Sapieba*, and certain *Valoches*, he ordered them to begin the Attack. But, seeing they had no Stomach to engage, he broke through them with his Squadron, and, after a slight Resistance, put them to the Rout. A great Number of *Poles* fell likewise in this Rencontre. Seventeen *Saxons*, with two Corporals, and some *Poles*, were made Prisoners, and two Standards, two Ensigns, and one Pair of Kettle-drums taken.

March 1. Prince *Lubomirski*, of whom we have already spoke, repaired to the King's Quarters at *Ravitz*, with fifteen hundred *Hungarians*, and one Company of *Poles*, bringing with him a Major, three Captains, one Lieutenant, and eleven Subalterns, whom he had made Prisoners at *Cracow*, and whom he presented to his Majesty. He was very graciously received, and his Troops were immediately ordered into Quarters near those of General *Stromberg*.

Some Days after, that General received Orders to march with two Regiments of Foot, and some Horse trait to *Cracow*, as well to chase thence the *Saxons*, as to oblige that Palatinate to acknowledge King *Stanislaus*, which the greater Part of the Nobility were already disposed to do; especially as all the Representations

they had made to King *Augustus*, to induce him to return to *Poland*, had appeared ineffectual.

The *Saxons*, advertised of the March of our Troops, did not think it proper to wait for them, but retired with Precipitation from *Cracow*. They even passed the *Vistula*, and made long Marches towards *Sandomir* and *Lublin* to avoid the Encounter.

There now remained no more than the Partizan *Smigelski* on this Side the *Vistula*, who made frequent Attempts, but never did any great Mischief. One Day, *March 20.* he attacked the Troops of Prince *Lubomirski*; a Colonel was killed in the Action, but he was put to Flight as usual.

Swinarski was surprized on the Frontier of *Silesia*, by a Party of *Swedes*, who took him Prisoner: But he had the good Fortune to make his Escape some Time after.

March 28. *Lubomirski*, having acknowledged King *Stanislaus*, and taken the Oaths of Fidelity and Obedience, departed from *Ravitz*, greatly pleased with the gracious Reception he had met with from his Majesty, in his Way to *Cracow*, together with his Troops, which were reinforced with some hundreds of *Swedes*, in order to join General *Stromberg*.

It has already been said, that Lieutenant-general *Horn* had negotiated at *Dresden* an Exchange of Prisoners. As soon therefore as the Affair was regulated, the *Swedes*, who had been under Guard in *Saxony*, were escorted to the Frontier of *Sorau*, where the Baron *Charles Horn*, Colonel of the Regiment *de Breme*, Horse, had Orders to receive them, and afterwards

terwards to deliver the *Saxons*, who were all new cloathed by Order of his Majesty.

In this Interval, King *Stanislaus* returned to his Castle of *Ridzin*. The Queen his Spouse, and Madam Royal his Majesty's Mother, arriving there likewise from *Prussia* at the same Time.

The Queen, having notified her Arrival to his *Swedish* Majesty by Major-general *Sauerbre*, that Prince immediately dispatched a Chamberlain with his Compliments; and, in the Morning, mounted on Horseback to make her the first Visit, being accompanied by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, and certain Generals and Officers of his Court.

The Queen received that Prince in her Anti-chamber, and his Majesty led her by the Hand into her Apartment, where they both sat down. The King spoke but little, and in *German*, to the Queen, who had some small Knowledge of that Language; and, after an Hour's Stay, took his Leave in the politest Manner, and returned to *Ravitz*.

That little City was now filled with fine Company, and we diverted ourselves there with so much the more Pleasure, as all Amusements had been for many Years unknown in the Court of *Charles XII*. The Place itself is situated so advantageously, that Travellers may repair thither both from *Pomerania* and *Silesia*, without being obliged to pass a great Way through *Poland*. His Majesty had beside permitted his Ministers, and the Officers of his Court, to enjoy there the Company of their Ladies, which gave

Place to a great Number of Balls and Assemblies.

The Countess of *Piper*, Spouse to the Senator of that Name, had brought thither her Sister from *Sweden*, who was contracted to Lieutenant-general *Arwid Horn*, newly delivered from Confinement at *Dresden*.

The Nuptials were now celebrated with great Magnificence: The Queen of *Poland* took that Opportunity to return his Majesty's Visit. King *Stanislaus* likewise made his Appearance there with all his Court. Both were received with all possible Regard; and it may be said, that his Majesty performed the Honours of the Feast with as much Politeness, as Grandeur and Dignity.

While these Diversions were thus carried on in the King's Quarters, certain Incidents took Place, which then appeared purely casual, but were afterwards proved to be owing to a very different Origin. One fine Morning, at ten o'Clock, a Fire broke out in a House near the Lodgings of the Prince of *Wurtemberg*; his Majesty immediately ran thither, and, not content to encourage his People at a Distance to extinguish the Flames, he himself got up into the Granary of the very House, that was now on Fire, and continued there to give his Orders, though all the Apartments below were already near reduced to Ashes; a Piece of the Roof which was at that Instant beat down, by way of stifling the Fire, discovered him to those without surrounded with Smoak, and Fire, and Flames. What an affecting Sight for all those faithful *Swedes*, who had so often hazarded their Lives for a Prince,

Prince, they now saw on the very Brink of Destruction? But, in spite of all the Prayers which they poured forth to prevail with him, to attempt to save himself, he was not to be moved, and the Fire had already taken hold of the Stairs, which was the only Way he had to escape; when the young and gallant Prince of *Wurtemberg* darted through the Middle of the Smoke, and urged him in so earnest and passionate a Manner, that at last he condescended to think of retiring. But he had scarce quitted the Place where he had stood so long, as if in Contempt of Danger, but the Floor fell in, and a Ladder being at the same Instant thrown down, it fell upon him and beat him to the Ground. Upon which the Fears and Outcries of the People on all Sides were redoubled; but he instantly got up again, and without the least Alteration in his Countenance, calmly told those who had run to his Assistance, 'Twas nothing. But notwithstanding all the Pains which his Majesty took to extinguish the Fire, it could not be mastered till it had burnt twenty-two Houses to the Ground.

Within a few Days after a second broke out, and no body could tell how; nor, till some Years after, was the Mystery explained: When a Man, having entreated an Audience of his Majesty, insisting that he had Matters of great Consequence to communicate, confessed he had received Money from a certain Court to set Fire to the King's Quarters, which he effected twice as above, in hope of an Opportunity during the Hurry to assassinate his Majesty. That he was each Time close

by him, with a Design to strike the Blow, but that his Heart always failed him. The King, after listening to this horrid Tale with perfect Serenity, only smiled, and said to those about him, *The Man is mad. Let him go about his Business.*

Lieutenant-General *Stromberg* had conducted himself so handsomely, and preserved such exact Discipline in his little Army, that almost all the Nobility of the Palatinate of *Cracow* resolved to quit the Party of King *Augustus*, and declare for his Competitor.

King *Stanislaus* had writ circular Letters to that Palatinate, to dispose them to assemble themselves, and hold a Dietine in what Place they pleased. They chose the City of *Pozovice*, where nine hundred Gentlemen assembled in the Beginning of *May*, and agreed unanimously to renounce the Confederacy of *Sandomir*, accede to that of *Warsaw*, and consequently acknowledge King *Stanislaus* for their Liege-Lord and Sovereign. At the same Time, they entreated his *Swedish* Majesty to renew the Negotiations with the Repuplick, which he had begun the preceding Year.

When the King had granted their Request, they resolved to send several Deputations. The first to King *Stanislaus* to acknowledge him in Form, and swear Fidelity to him; the second to the King of *Sweden*, to beseech him to wave his Contributions; the third to the Primate, to exhort him to fix a Day for the King's Coronation, at which they desired him to assist in Person; the fourth to the Crown-General, to invite him to join the Nobles

Nobles of that Palatinate; and be present at the Coronation; the fifth to the neighbouring Palatinates, to induce them to desert the Confederacy of *Sandomir*, and come over to theirs; the sixth to the Crown-Army, to dispose them to return to their Obedience to the Crown-General, for the Service of the Republick, and attend at the Coronation; and the seventh and last to the Pope's Nuntio, to beseech him to mediate with his Holiness not to proceed against the Cardinal-Primate, or against the Bishop of *Posnania* in any Manner whatever.

The Cardinal having received at *Dantzick* the Deputies they had sent, and having agreed with his Majesty, as before-mentioned, to acknowledge King *Stanislaus*, sent forth the *Universalia* in his Name, to convene Dietines first of all, according to Custom, *June 16.* in all the Palatinates of the Realm of *Poland*; and afterwards, *July 1. 1705.* a general Diet of *Warsaw*, inviting the Deputies of the Palatinates to repair thither at that Time, with their full Powers.

At the same Time, the Marshal of the Confederacy of *Warsaw*, who had retired, together with the Cardinal, to *Dantzick*, sent also in his own Name *Universalia*, of the same Date with those of the Cardinal's, to all the Palatinates, with the same View of convoking a general Diet at *Warsaw*.

King *Augustus*, who was all this while absent, and now saw the ill Consequences which threatened his Affairs in *Poland*, if not instantly prevented, applied himself with all the Attention possible to find out Expedients for that End. Informed of, and surprized at these Steps of the Primate

and the Marshal, he endeavoured to thwart them by a Letter to the Senators, and his *Universalia*, which he dispersed through all the Palatinates of the Kingdom.

It was in these *Universalia*, he published the Reasons which had obliged him to make so long a Stay in his hereditary Dominions; one of which was an Indisposition that had hung upon him, and another the Representations which had been made to him of the Danger of such a Journey, while the *Swedes* were always in the Field to observe him. He assured the Republick, nevertheless, that he would be careful of their Interests; that he had them always at Heart; and that he would join his Army, which was already considerably reinforced, to that of the Crown; and in fine, he exhorted them to put their Troops upon a good Footing, and to continue steadfast and loyal. These Letters were writ from *Carlsbad* in *Bohemia*, where that Prince then was for the Benefit of the Waters.

Augustus also was very solicitous to engage the Pope of his Side; by whose Means he hoped to conjure down the Storm now raised in *Poland*. In this View, he sent the Count *de Lagnasco* to *Rome*, and, as that wily Minister knew how to take Advantage of the Pontiff's Pretensions to the Temporals of Princes, he obtained a Brief to the Archbishops and Bishops of *Poland*, dated *May 31.* by which they were forbid, on the Penalties of the Censures of the Church, from being present, or assisting at the Coronation of the new King.

The Dietines were held in many of the Palatinates, agreeable to the circular

lar Letters of the Primate, and they had all the Success imaginable; especially in the Places, which were unmolested with the Enemy's Troops.

The Nobles of the Palatinate of *Sandomir*, lately so zealous for King *Augustus*, in favour of whom they had made that famous Confederacy, which bears its Name, assembled themselves, in the Beginning of *June*, in the City of *Opatow*, where Lieutenant General *Stromberg*, at their Request, posted the Regiment of *Clerk*, to protect them from all Insults.

This Palatinate followed the Example of that of *Cracow*; and, though a great Number of the Partizans of King *Augustus* endeavoured to invalidate their Conclusions by entering their Protests, those of King *Stanislaus* pushed them on so vigorously, that they proceeded to dissolve the Confederacy of *Sandomir*, to declare it null and void, and acknowledge *Stanislaus* to be rightful King of *Poland*.

They then deputed the Marshal of the Dietine, the Constable of *Sandomir*, and several other Persons of Quality, to King *Stanislaus*, to communicate to him the Result; and, though these Deputies were intercepted by *Smigelski*, and conducted to *Brzezzi*, it did not hinder the Nobility from assembling at *Opatow*, and confirming all the Resolutions they had before taken. After which they chose four Deputies more, and dispatched them to the general Diet at *Warsaw*, in Behalf of that Prince.

The Pope's Brief, upon which King *Augustus* had founded such great Hopes, at last arrived in *Poland*, and therein, 'the Pontiff declared his Dis-

'stick State of the Realm, for having
'acted with such Violence against that
'Prince, and disposing themselves even
'to crown *Stanislaus*. He exhorted
'them to proceed no farther in it;
'and, in case of Refusal, he menaced
'those who interfered in it directly or
'indirectly, with the apostolick Censures and Excommunication.'

It was at first believed that this Brief would have thunder-struck the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of the Realm, and that they would not dare to infringe it: Many Devotees, bigotted to the Holy See, being of Opinion they ought both to respect and fear the Thunder of the *Vatican*. But the Nobles, however submissive they are in *Poland* to the papal Power, began then to regard with very different Eyes the imperious Conduct of the Court of *Rome*: And, as they regarded this as an Affair purely political, which had no Sort of Connection with Religion, they maintained with Vigour, that the Bishop of *Rome* had no Right to meddle with their Government, which was a Republick independent and free.

The Nobles of *Great Poland*, not content with publishing a Letter, both elegant and solid, against the Pope's Brief, and his imaginary Power, resolved, yet farther, to protest by a publick Manifesto against that Decree, and every thing that the Pontiff should undertake to the Prejudice of King *Stanislaus*. They protested, at the same Time, against the detaining the Bishop of *Poznania*, who was arrested at *Rome*, and declared that the States of *Poland* would never suffer that a Licence should be taken by that Court, to confine a Senator of their Republick.

Thus

Thus King *Augustus*, far from attaining the End he aimed at, only inflamed Matters yet more, and exasperated the fierce *Poles*, who are extremely jealous of their Rights and Privileges.

The Deputies of many Palatinates being then assembled at *Warsaw*, *Bronitz* the Marshal of the Confederacy arrived there likewise, *July 1.* upon which the Diet opened forthwith, tho' there were yet but few Members.

The Marshal made a very fine Speech to the Deputies, to convince them, that, whether they were few or many, they ought to proceed in treating with the *Swedes* to re-establish the Peace they panted for; and then adjourned the Session till the eighth.

He then opened the Business of that Day with an obliging and delicate Compliment to those who were present, for having so punctually attended the Diet, and overlooked all private Considerations, for the Sake of deliberating on such Measures as would most advance the publick Good. After which, they all unanimously accepted the Confederacy of last Year, and then proceeded to the Election of a new Marshal, when the Choice again fell on *Bronitz*. Who, taking up his Function anew, proposed to the Deputies three Points: The first to write to the Cardinal Primate, to invite him in the Name of the Nobility, to repair forthwith to the Diet: The second, to write likewise to the King of *Sweden*, to request him to send thither his Commissioners, to put a finishing hand to the Treaty: And the third, to beseech the new King to prevail with his *Swedish* Majesty to provide for the Safety of the other Deputies of *Great Poland*, who, without that, durst not

set out to assist at the Diet, on account of the continual Excursions of *Smigelski*. The Diet approved of all, but the Decision was deferred till the Arrival of the other Deputies, and the Cardinal, who gave continual Expectations of his speedy Attendance.

While these Things were transacting, the King of *Sweden* busied himself perpetually in putting his Army on a good Footing, that he might finish the Affairs of *Poland* in the glorious Manner he designed. The Months of *May* and *June* were employed wholly in reviewing the Troops; his Majesty visiting all his Regiments round, and having the Pleasure to see they were all fit for Service.

About this Time, a great Number of Strangers of Distinction arrived at *Ravitz*, and, among the rest, a Prince of the House of *Bevern*, and Prince *Charles Leopold de Mecklenbourg*, who followed his Majesty till the Year 1706. The Princess Palatine de *Siegeborg*, Cousin to the King, likewise repaired thither from *Sweden*, as did the Dutchesse of *Bernstadt Juliusburg*, and *Mecklenbourg-Strelitz*, on their Domestick Affairs.

A certain *Italian*, who called himself a Prince of the House of *Mazarani*, also arrived there, and, as he changed his Religion, the King allowed him a Pension, which he possessed two Years with very little Satisfaction, and then died in *Poland* oppressed with Troubles and Diseases.

Here the Prince de *Saxe-Gottha*, a Lord of great Spirit and Resolution, who had followed the Army for some Years, having had a Quarrel with a *Swedish* Colonel, named *Lagerscrona*, since Major-General, which he gallantly

lantly terminated, took leave of his Majesty, and went into the Service of the Emperor; finishing his Career gloriously the next Year before the City of *Toulon*, greatly regretted by all the brave Men of our Army, who loved and esteemed him as he deserved.

For what regarded the *Saxons*, who retired in Haste from *Cracow* on the Approach of General *Stromberg*, and took the Road to *Lublin*, when they heard that Count *Potocki*, Palatine of *Kiovia*, was advancing towards them from *Volhinia*, they withdrew into the Country yet farther still, till they reached the City of *Breszici*, on the Frontiers of *Lithuania*.

Here they were joined by certain Detachments of the Crown Army, commanded by *Comentofski*, *Polaneitski*, the Referendary *Reyvalski*, and some others, who till then had continued on this Side the *Vistula*. They afterwards encamped along the *Bug*, as well to have an Eye on the Assembly at *Warsaw*, as to be nearer the Czar, who, together with his Army, was now in *Lithuania*, and promised to enter speedily into *Poland*.

That Prince had given Orders to Field-Marshal *Scheremetoff* to lead the Way with fifteen or twenty thousand Men, while he followed himself with the main Body of his Army, marching through the Palatinate of *Polocsko* towards *Vilna*. His numerous Artillery took the same Road, with all the Requisites for a Siege. At the City of *Polocsko* he halted, from whence it was easy to descend upon the *Duna* even to *Riga*, the Place which the Czar flattered himself he should either

conquer, or, at least, lay in Ruins with his Bombs.

But, before he attempted a Design of such Importance, he judged it absolutely necessary to destroy that Body of *Swedish* Troops which was then in *Courland*, under the Command of Major-General Count *de Lowenbaupt*, which he believed easily done, as scarce amounting in all to seven thousand Men. For this End, he sent Orders to Field-Marshal *Scheremetoff* to enter forthwith into *Courland*, and offer Battle to *Lowenbaupt*.

The *Muscovite* Army consisted of fourteen thousand Horse and Dragoons, four thousand Foot, and two thousand *Cosaques* or *Tartars*; and marched on without Impediment, till they were in the very Heart of *Courland*.

Count *Lowenbaupt*, who had excellent Spies, had Intelligence of the Czar's Design from the Beginning of the Year, and thenceforward made it his Business to collect together all the Troops he could; which effected, he posted Colonel *Knorring*, with a Part of his Regiment, in the City and Castle of *Mitau*, and resolutely expected the Enemy at *Gemauertboff*, a Lordship but little removed from *Mitau*; where was fought a most bloody Battle, as appears by the following Relation, writ by an Officer who was present, and afterwards transmitted to the Chancery.

The Czar having for many Years past formed a Design to drive the *Swedes* out of *Courland*, resolved, while the victorious Arms of his *Swedish* Majesty were employed in *Poland*, to take the Advantage of that Opportunity, to become the more easily

easily Master of *Livonia*. For which End, he had this Year made more than ordinary Preparations; his Troops being better disciplined, better cloathed than before, all in the *German* Manner, and commanded by experienced Generals.

As this Prince believed it necessary to surprize Count *de Lowenbaupt*, before he could augment the Number of his Troops, he ordered Field-Marshal *Scheremetoff*, with twenty thousand select Men, to go in Quest of him; who, though obliged to wind through tedious Doubles along the Sides of the *Duna*, yet, by long Marches, gained Ground apace, in the firm Belief, that, with such a superior Force, they should easily master the *Swedes*, possess all *Courland*, and carry on the Siege of *Riga* without Interruption; their Artillery being all ready at *Polocksko*, and upon the Point of being sent down the River, to push that important Enterprize with all possible Vigour.

Count *Lowenbaupt*, who had early Advice of the Enemy's Design, had taken his Measures so well, that it was impossible for them to surprize him with all their Diligence. Accordingly, on the first Intelligence of the Approach of the *Russians*, he ordered all the Troops to rendezvous at the little Town of *Jagari* in *Samogitia*; where he received a Reinforcement of a thousand Foot from Count *Frolich*, General and Governor of *Riga*, commanded by Colonel *Stackelberg*.

All the Troops, Regiments, and Detachments, being assembled at *Jagari*, except Colonel *Gabriel Horn*, and Colonel *Gustavus Charles de Schreiterfeld*, who, because of the Distance of their Quarters could not reach it so

soon, Count *Lowenbaupt* himself set out for *Mitau*, and arrived at the Rendezvous the same Night.

In the Morning, *July 13*. Colonel *Horn* joined us with his Horse and some Foot detached from *Libau*. The same Day a Groom arrived at the Camp from *Mitau*, with the vexatious News that General *Bauer*, at the Head of two thousand *Russian* Horse, had, between three and four o'Clock in the Morning, surprized the Guard of one of the Gates of *Mitau*, entered the City, and put to the Sword all they met of the Garrison; the rest having saved themselves in the Castle. That Colonel *Knorring*, who was then in the City, was forced to make his Escape at a Back-door, after a valiant Defence through the Doors and Windows; but that the Enemy had taken the Colours of his Regiment, and all the Baggage.

Upon receiving this News, Count *Lowenbaupt*, without delaying a Moment, took all the Horse and Dragoons, together with those of Colonel *Horn*, who had rested themselves but a few Hours, and pushed on, at full Gallop, through *Gemauertboff* to *Mitau*, giving Orders to Colonel *Stackelberg*, who commanded the Infantry, to march to *Gemauertboff*, and there wait till farther Orders.

The 14th, at Day-break, the General arrived at *Mitau*, having marched all Night in hope to have surprized the Enemy there, or at least followed close at their Heels; but was informed, they were already retired to their Camp near *Ullsoten*, four Leagues from *Mitau*, having gained no other Advantage by this Expedition, but an Opportunity to leave behind them the

the most horrible Marks of their Cruelty.

When our Troops, who were dreadfully fatigued, had reposed themselves till five o'Clock in the Evening, the General gave Orders to remount, and marched all Night through the most dreadful Roads, in the most shocking Darkness, accompanied with continual Rains, which rendered the Service yet more painful. At five o'Clock in the Morning, however, we made a shift to reach *Gemauerthoff*, Colonel *Schreiterfeld* being already there with his Foot; so that now all the Troops his Majesty had in *Courland*, were assembled in one Body.

The 15th, the Army rested.

The 16th, at ten in the Morning, the Alarm was given that two Companies of *Cosaques* were carrying off certain of our Maroders; and, upon the first Fire, Lieutenant-Colonel *Magnus von Bromsen* was detached with about a hundred Horse to give them Chace. After which he was ordered to post himself half a League from the Camp, to observe if it was the whole Army of the Enemy that approached.

About two o'Clock he returned with News, that the Enemy appeared in great Numbers, upon which the General forthwith commanded the whole Army to pass the Rivulet, which was near *Gemauerthoff*, and range themselves in order of Battle on the other Side; which Place he chose, as being so narrow in Front, that his Troops, which were not very numerous, could make Head without being obliged to extend their Line, and without Danger of being surrounded.

At the same Time he himself advanced with *Bromsen* to reconnoitre

the Enemy; and, being convinced it was their whole Army coming to engage him, he returned immediately to his own, whom he ranged in two Lines; the first exceeding close, and the second with certain Intervals.

On our Right we had a great Morass, and our Left was covered by the Brook in such a Manner, that there was no passing our Front on either Side. The Cannon was posted between the Battalions and Squadrons of the two Lines, on each Wing, and the Baggage made up the Rear; the Day being almost spent before the whole Army was ranged.

Count *Lowenhaupt* then addressing himself to the Lord of Hosts and Victories, ordered the Prayers usual upon the like Occasions; the Cavalry alighting, and the whole two Lines kneeling upon the Field. The Prayer ended with a verse taken from a Hymn, which was echo'd by the whole Army, and then the Signal was given, *with the Help of God, and in the Name of Jesus*.

Immediately Count *Lowenhaupt* gave Orders to Colonel *Stackelberg*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Lawrence Loscher de Hertzfeld*, with four Squadrons of Horse, to advance some thousands of Paces to observe the Aspect of the Enemy, and retire when he should see them approach. But the Wood which was to our Left, hindered them from discerning the Motions of the Enemy, who, passing the Brook, and almost surrounding them, began the Attack immediately with Abundance of Impetuosity, but received in Return so smart a Volley, that they retired some Paces, and gave our Troops Opportunity to recover the Army.

Count

Count *Lowenhaupt*, then judging, perfectly well, that, as the Enemy advanced with a very broad Front, they would be obliged, for want of Ground, to form themselves anew, resolved to give them no Time, but ordered both Lines to charge immediately; which was so happily effected, that the whole Front began the Attack at once.

Their Cavalry which was on our left Wing, having dismounted the Foot they carried behind them, fell on our Squadrons with great Fury, both with their Fire-arms and Swords; but were received with so much Vigour, that a great Slaughter ensued on both Sides. At last, certain *Russian* Squadrons having passed the Brook, a little below, to attack us in Flank, our Cavalry, on the Left, found themselves so hard pushed, that, in the first Shock, they fell back on a Company of Count *Lowenhaupt's* Grenadiers, posted between the two Lines; which putting them in Disorder too, and the whole Wing finding itself straitned for Want of Room, the Victory was in Suspence, till the Horse of the second Line, together with the Foot, came into the Support of the first, which was on the Point of breaking, and gave them both Time to rally, and even to repulse the Enemy.

It was then the *Russian* Infantry, who had rode behind the Cavalry, being abandoned by the Horse, and enclosed between our two Lines, were all cut to Pieces.

As to our right Wing, it had bore down all before it. The Colonels *Horn* and *Schreiterfeld*, with their Regiments of Horse and Dragoons, as well as the Foot who were to support

them, appearing irresistible; the first charging the Enemy Sword in Hand, the latter with their Musquets and Bayonets; and the Enemy's Horse being no sooner routed, but they fell in upon their Infantry, and put them almost all to the Sword.

The Field of Battle enlarging in Proportion as the Enemy gave Ground and we advanced, Count *Lowenhaupt* perceived the Advantage arising from the Disposition he had made of certain Battalions and Squadrons between the two Lines, since they immediately lengthened out the Front towards the Right, in such a Manner, that the whole Space was still filled as before.

While we pushed the Enemy thus vigorously on that Side, where all was in the most perfect Order, and bore the most noble Aspect, a strong Party of their Horse, which had, at first, disordered our Left, being reinforced with a great Number of Squadrons from their Right, repassed the Brook, and together with the *Cosaques* and *Poles*, fell in upon our Baggage, which they pillaged, and then attacked our Rear with all the Fury imaginable. The same Instant likewise, the rest of the Enemy's Troops in Front taking Courage, returned to the Charge; so that our two Lines were both engaged at once, as well in Front as in Rear, to the Right as Left; and, what was worst of all, neither of them would come to engage with their whole Strength. The Enemy, though always repulsed, returning again to the Attack, and, as they were superior in Number, falling upon us on all Sides with Abundance of Fury.

But, in spite of all, our two Lines, after a horrible Slaughter, and having

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sustained.

sustained a most dreadful Fire with all possible Bravery and Firmness, at last repulsed the Enemy on both Sides, the second Line routing and pursuing their Left over the Brook, Sword in Hand; and obliging them to abandon certain Cannon which were left in the Water. They nevertheless drew up in Order of Battle on the other Side; and General *Lowenbaupt*, observing the Disorder of our Troops, and the great Intervals between the Battalions and Squadrons, occasioned by the very extraordinary Manner in which they had been obliged to engage, would not suffer them to charge again, till, running from Rank to Rank, he had again drawn them up in Order of Battle.

But while he was thus employed in rallying our Left, which was far divided from the Right, the Cavalry of the last, impatient to finish the Dispute, passed the Brook, and attacked the Enemy anew; being followed by the Foot, who likewise passed the Brook, and supported the Cavalry with an extraordinary Vigour. Count *Lowenbaupt* observing this voluntary Motion of our Troops, and the Intrepidity with which they behaved, after having entirely ranged the Left, commanded them to pass the Brook too with all possible Expedition, and form themselves into one Line conjunctively with the Right on the other Side. The Order was well obeyed in the Midst of a brisk and continual Fire, and, tho' the Enemy's Cavalry attacked us in the Interval with inexpressible Fury, and at many Returns; our Infantry, who had now rendered themselves formidable in sustaining the Horse so well, that they kept the Enemy at

Bay, and gave them Time to prepare themselves again for Action.

While this was in Agitation, our Infantry on the Right was employed in the same gallant Manner; for our Horse being too far divided from them, were repulsed in great Confusion, and owed their Safety to the noble Stand made by the first; behind whom they rallied, and who, during that Interval, not only sustained the utmost Efforts of the Enemy, but obliged them to retire in Disorder.

Count *Lowenbaupt*, who was very sensible that while our two Wings were thus divided, we could never finish so obstinate a Struggle with the Glory he desired, order'd the Right to halt at once, till the Left, which was marching full Speed, came up: When, the whole Army being now formed into one Front, we paused a little while to observe the Disposition of the Enemy; it already growing dark, and both Men and Horses excessively fatigued, in a Combat which had lasted four Hours and a half, with an almost unparalleled Obstinacy on both Sides.

The Enemy, surprized at the fine Arrangement of our Army, which was prepared to conquer or die, in that Instant, lost all their Resolution, and, without observing any Order, fled precipitately to their Baggage, which was about half a League from the Field of Battle; where, exasperated to have been routed by an Army so inferior in Number, they fell in a Transport of Rage upon the Prisoners they had taken at *Mitau*, and, with a Barbarity beyond Example, put the poor, helpless Wretches to the Sword; of all whom two Officers only recovered, who, being

ing cruelly wounded, were left for dead among the rest, and who afterwards recounted to the General this affecting Tragedy.

At the same Time, the Enemy, taking all the Baggage they could carry off, fled full Speed to their first Camp; from whence Marshal *Scheremetoff* set out forthwith, tho' wounded, to bear the News of his own Misfortune to the Czar, who was then at *Wilna*; where he arrived just as that Prince was employed in reviewing his Army, surrounded with several of the *Polish* and *Lithuanian* Nobility.

We took on the Field of Battle thirteen Pieces of Brass Cannon, all the Enemy's Carriages and Tents, eight Ensigns, and one Standard; without reckoning those which the Peasants found after the Action, and which our Troops had no Time to gather up in the Heat of the Combat.

After the Action was over, the Army rested all Night upon their Arms in order of Battle; and the Peasants pillaged, in the mean while, what Baggage the Enemy had left in their Camp, and what they had scattered in their Flight. We counted at least five or six thousand *Russians* killed upon the Spot; and, since, the Prisoners have confessed, that their Infantry, amounting to four thousand Men, were all cut off, together with a great Number of Officers; and that many more were wounded than killed; among whom was General *Scheremetoff* himself, who received a Musket-shot in his Belly, and General *Bauer*, who was wounded in the Thigh. The Officers and Soldiers, who were taken Prisoners, were immediately sent, together with the Trophies, to *Riga*.

We ourselves lost in this Action many brave Officers, viz. Colonel *Gabriel Horn*, the Lieutenant-Colonels *Dankwart* and *Kaulbars*, Count *Lindschold*, and Baron *Wrangel*; certain Captains both of Horse and Foot, with about seven hundred Men, who were killed outright, beside the Wounded.

Such was the Manner in which so signal a Victory was obtained by our Troops, over a much more numerous, (especially in Horse) and at the same Time, a well-disciplined Army.

The Czar, after the Loss of this Battle, changed his Design forthwith, either of besieging or bombarding *Riga*, and countermanded his heavy Artillery, which was already coming down the *Duna* from *Poloczko* towards *Riga*. But, as he openly threatened to return speedily, with Forces yet more formidable, *Lowenhaupt*, who durst not run the Hazard of a second pitch'd Battle with so potent an Enemy, resolved to post himself in such a Manner, that he might be always sure of a safe Retreat to *Riga*: Which he executed some Time after; being obliged, notwithstanding the Glory of his Triumph, to leave *Courland* exposed to all the Enterprizes of the Czar; leaving only a Garrison in *Mitau* and the Castle of *Bausk*, to retard at least the first Attempts of the Enemy.

Upon the Instances of King *Stanislaus* and of the Assembly at *Warsaw*, his *Swedish* Majesty having detached Lieutenant-General *Nieroth* with three Regiments of Cavalry to cover the Diet, and the Deputies in their Journey thither, that General encamped below the City, on the Side of the *Vistula*.

As nothing could be more necessary
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than, while the Diet sat and deliberated on a Peace with *Sweden*, to cover that illustrious Assembly from all Insult; it was resolved to send thither likewise two Regiments of Foot, who were moreover to serve as an Escort to King *Stanislaus* at the same Time; who, after having took Leave of the King, and received the Visits of all the Court from *Ravitz*, set out for *Warsaw* with the three *Swedish* Ambassadors, which were present at his Election the Year before.

King *Augustus* could not well avoid making all his Efforts to interrupt a Feast, which was to be made at his Expence, and disperse the Nobility who were met to crown his Rival; and therefore had sent proper Orders to Lieutenant-General *Paikul*, who commanded in chief in *Poland* those Troops, which had fled at the Approach of *Stromberg*, towards *Cracow*; and afterwards retired to *Breszizi*, and from thence to the *Bug*.

That General, believing himself superior to the *Swedes*, by the Number of his own Troops, and the additional Strength of 80 or 90 Companies of the Crown-Army, which were but a little Way removed from his Camp, joined Forces with them directly; and, after having held a Council of War, it was resolved to attack *Nieroth* out of hand, before he could be succoured by the Infantry which were to join him.

Nieroth, on the other hand, was early informed by his Spies of these Motions of *Paikul*; but as the *Vistula*, both above and below the City, was in many Places so low, that the Cavalry could ford it over, he could not determine where to post his Troops, to

dispute their Passage. He therefore ordered out two Detachments of a hundred and eighty Horse each, one under the Command of *Stablhammar* towards *Gura*, and the other, under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Clas Bonde*, towards *Kapum*, to observe what Rout they would take.

Clas Bonde marched down the *Vistula*, and, having learned, during the Night, that the *Saxons* were in full March, about a League from thence, nearer *Warsaw*, to attempt a Passage, forthwith put himself at the Head of twenty Horse, leaving the rest behind, and marched full Speed towards them for better Information: At his Arrival, he found one Party actually come over, whom he instantly attacked Sword in Hand with all imaginable Bravery, hoping to oblige them to return the Way they came; but the *Saxons* being superior in Number, and reinforced besides every Moment, that Handful of gallant Men were almost all killed upon the Spot, together with their Lieutenant-Colonel.

The rest of the Detachment, commanded by the Captains *Wrangel*, *Whiting*, and *Ellberg*, being come up by this Time to support their Leader, were so ill conducted, that, not being able to make Head against a Number so superior, one Captain and sixty-two Men were slain; the Remainder being obliged to fight their Way through the Enemy in order to make their Escape, and inform *Nieroth* of their Misadventure, and the Approach of *Paikul*; who, being now puffed up with so happy a Beginning, and depending still on the Superiority of his Numbers, believed he should meet no farther Obstacle; and that he should
make

make as good a Market of *Nieroth*, as of his Detachment. Having then, *July* the 19th and 20th, passed the rest of his Army over the *Vistula*, he marched, full of Confidence, towards *Warsaw*.

Nieroth, informed of his Approach, marched forthwith out of his Camp with his little Army, ranged in one single Line, to render his Front as wide as possible to encounter so potent an Enemy, and, in this Order, advanced fiercely towards the Enemy. But the Night approaching hindered the Combat, and the General returned towards the City; his Right being placed near the Palace of *Lubomirski*, and his Left extending from *Ujast* to the Village of *Rakovist*.

In the Morning, *July* 21. at four o'Clock, General *Nieroth* gave Orders to march towards the Enemy. He had but three Regiments of Horse, as before mentioned, that of *Smoland*, the *Ostrogots*, and Colonel *Kruus*, which did not amount in all to more than two thousand Men. *Nieroth* himself commanded the Centre, *Kruus* the Right, and *Burenfeld* the Left. The Squadrons were ranged in one Line, as before, two deep; and, in about two Hours, came in-Sight of the Enemy.

The Saxons, commanded by General *Paikul*, Major-General *Schulenburg*, and Major *St. Paul*, were in the Centre, consisting of twelve Regiments, divided into forty-three little Squadrons, ranged in three Lines, which made in all four thousand Horse. In the right Wing Marshal *Comentofski*, Marshal *Denhof*, and *Poloniecz*, commanded forty Companies of the Crown Army. And in the Left,

Prince *John Wisniowski*, and the Referendary *Ruvaiski* commanded fifty more of sixty Men each; all which were *Poles*, and amounted to six thousand Men, who were ranged in two very long Lines.

It was about eight o'Clock in the Morning when the Armies approached, the Saxons beginning the Attack in Front, while the *Poles*, extending their long Lines to surround us, fell upon our Squadrons both in Flank and Rear, inasmuch that we seemed to be in no small Danger.

Nieroth, as well as *Kruus* and *Burenfeld*, had each so much to do to defend themselves, that neither of them were able to assist the others; nay, were even obliged to separate into different Bodies; which *Paikul* observing, and what large Intervals were left between our Regiments, instantly detached six Squadrons, who fell in Flank upon the Regiment of *Kruus*, threw some Squadrons into Disorder, and even took three Standards. But, while the Colonel was using his utmost Efforts to prevent the mischievous Consequences of this dangerous Shock, the Left Wing of the Saxons, repulsed by the vigorous Resistance of our Troops, who were resolved to maintain their Ground, took to their Heels, and were briskly pursued by *Nieroth*.

By this Time *Kruus* likewise had the Happiness to break the Enemy on his Side, and, in the End, put them totally to the Route. *Burenfeld*, who had till then the whole Right of the Enemy on his Corps, began to breathe upon this Alteration, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Sak*, at the same Instant, running to his Succour with certain Squadrons of *Kruus's* Regiment, and sixty

Foot, commanded by Captain *Kasse*, they afforded so much Business to the *Poles* and *Saxons*, that they likewise, at last, followed the Example of the rest, and fled full Speed towards the Village of *Vola*, where rallying, they were again attacked and routed, and their General *Paikul* taken Prisoner. After which they posted on to the *Vistula*, which they passed in the utmost Confusion.

We did not pursue them far, because a great Number of *Tartars* and *Cosaques* who had fled towards the *Vistula*, wheeled suddenly about, and were pillaging our Camp; but were soon dispersed by our Squadrons, and a great Part pushed into the River, where many of them were drown'd.

After the Action was over, which lasted from eight o'Clock in the Morning till two in the Afternoon, *Nieroth*, having re-assembled all his Troops, returned in good Order to his Camp, with his Trumpets and Kettle-drums sounding, and leading General *Paikul*, together with one Captain, five Lieutenants, two Field-Chaplains, five Corporals, one Trumpet, a Hundred and seven *Saxons*, and certain *Poles* Prisoners.

The *Saxons* lost in the Battle Colonel *Wideman*, the Lieutenant-Colonels *Winckelman* and *Dieke*, many Captains, and about five hundred killed upon the Spot, without reckoning the *Poles*, of whom many likewise perished in the *Vistula*.

Of our Side, the Regiment of *Smo-land* had one Cornet killed, and seven wounded. That of *Ostrogotia*, the Captains *Lagerfelt*, *Bagge*, and *Brummer*, five Lieutenants, sixty Subalterns, and seventy Troopers killed; and the

Captains *Bebrn*, *Ekebielm* and *Brun*, two Cornets, three Corporals, one Trumpet, and eighty-one wounded. The Regiment of *Kruus* had two Lieutenants, three Subalterns, and thirty-four Men killed; and certain Lieutenants and Cornets, two Subalterns, and thirty Men wounded.

It is not possible to express the Terror which seized the Deputies assembled at *Warsaw*, at the first News of the Approach of the *Saxons* and *Poles*. They could not believe that *Nieroth* could make head against such a superior Force, without being destroyed: In which Conceit they set out all together, and each endeavour'd to make his Escape as fast as possible.

The Marshal *Bronitz* alone, more firm than all the rest, not only remained behind, but shared in the Danger of the Day: After which he sent out Couriers all round about, to recal the fugitive Deputies, who, by little and little, returned to *Warsaw*, together with those who had been sent from the Palatinates of *Cracow* and *Sandomir*.

After which, in one of their Sittinge, the Marshal acquainted them that King *Stanislaus* was upon the Road to *Warsaw*, together with the Ambassadors of *Sweden*, to put the last Hand to the Tranquillity of the Kingdom, and the Treaty with his *Swedish* Majesty.

But what most pacified their Fears, was the Arrival of Colonel *Dahldorff* with two Regiments of Foot, that of *Upland*, and that of *Dahl-Carlia*, which encamped together with *Nieroth* to cover the City of *Warsaw* from any new Attack of the *Saxons*, which they had strongly threatened the Assembly

sembly with. But, after the Arrival of this Reinforcement, instead of making any such Attempt, they took their Rout to *Lithuania*, in order to join the Czar, and avoid the Hazard of any more Trials of Skill with our Troops, whose Valour they now understood so well.

The King of Sweden had now completed the Review of his Cavalry in the Neighbourhood of *Ravitz*, and made them go through their Exercises after a new Regulation, (since printed) which was the Fruit of his leisure Hours, during the Winter; and which was admired by the most experienced Generals and Officers, who were astonished at the Penetration of that Prince, in forming so many judicious Evolutions, both useful and necessary for engaging with Security and Advantage.

His Majesty had likewise done the same by three Regiments of Dragoons, which were newly arrived from *Pomerania*, and then gave Orders for the whole Army to take the Field. The Swedish Ladies, who were permitted to stay at *Ravitz* during the Winter, first setting out from that Place, and returning home by the Way of *Breslau*.

As his Majesty judged it necessary to leave an Army in *Great Poland*, both for its Security, and to observe the Motions of the Saxons on the Frontier, General *Rheinschild* received Orders to stay there with thirteen Regiments, three of them Cavalry, that of the Nobles, of *Scania*, and of *Nylande*; five of Dragoons, the Guards, *Buchwald's*, *Crassau's*, *Mellin's*, and *Marschalck's*; and five of Foot, *de Wasmanlande* and *Sudermanlande*, *de*

Skaraborg, *de Nerike*, *de Wermlande*, *de Westerbohm*.

July 29. the King set out from *Ravitz*, with the rest of the Army, taking the Road to *Warsaw*, with the Court and the *Drabans*; making that Day a most violent March through *Koblin*, *Stun*, and *Taschina*, as far as *Krotoczin*, (five Leagues) the Rendezvous of all the Regiments of the King's Division, who had Orders to leave their Quarters, and repair thither forthwith.

The same Day General *Paikul* arrived there under a strong Escorte. Many Letters were found about him, discovering the Designs of the Enemy, in particular, that the Czar engaged to be at *Warsaw* by the 20th of August, to break up the Diet, and enclose the Swedes by the Help of the Saxons, who were to enter into *Poland* on the other Side.

The Project was good; but so far from giving the King any Pain for the Consequences, that he said, with a Smile, to his Ministers, *I wish the Enemy may keep their Word*.

July 31. the Army marched three Leagues to *Rasko*, the next Day three more to *Kalis*, the next four to *Ravioitzin*, the next to the City of *Uniejoue*, the next to *Wirbofska*, where they rested one Day. After which they advanced to the City of *Pionteck*, thence to *Lowitz*, and the next Day six Leagues upon a Stretch to *Blonir*, which is but four Leagues from *Warsaw*, where the King had his head Quarters the Year before. The Army had now marched thirty Leagues in eight Days, and both Men and Horse being excessively fatigued, his Majesty ordered

ordered them to be cantoned out in the Neighbourhood of *Blonia*, to take some Repose.

King *Stanislaus*, together with his Court, and the *Swedish* Ambassadors, was already arrived at *Warsaw* the 11th, and the Queen some Days after. The next Morning, *August* 8. the King of *Sweden* took a Tour to see the Field of Battle, where *Nieroth* had beat the *Saxons*, after which, together with the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, who was never from his Side, he repaired to the *Vistula*, to direct a Bridge to be thrown over, to keep the Communication free.

August 21. the Ambassadors of *Sweden* had a private Audience of King *Stanislaus*, as well to avoid the Ceremonial, as because they had a publick one the Year before; when the Ambassador *Horn* presented a Letter from the King his Master, in which he assured his Majesty of *Poland*, of a strict and inviolable Friendship; and likewise explained, that the End of this new Embassy was to recommence the Negotiations, and put the last Hand to the Treaty of Alliance, necessary to be concluded for re-establishing the Tranquillity of the two Realms.

The Conferences were opened in the Cloister of *Carmelites* at *Warsaw*, and because, since the last Year, some of the *Polish* Commissaries had quitted the Confederacy at *Warsaw*, as the Crown-General, and others had been taken Prisoners by the Enemy, as the Bishop of *Posnania*, they chose in their Stead the Bishop of *Caminiek*, together with two Senators, the Constables of *Siradia*, *Sandec*, and other *Polish* Lords.

The first Proposals made by the *Swedish* Ambassadors, were to fix a Day for the Coronation; to make a more strict Alliance against the Czar and King *Augustus*; and to restore the House of *Sapieha* to all their Rights and Privileges.

The *Poles*, on their Side, insisted on the Renewal and Guarantee of the Treaty of *Oliva*; that no Province, Territory, or City of the Republick of *Poland* should be dismembred; that no more Contributions should be exacted; and that the *Swedes* should restore all the Cannons, and Train of Artillery, which they had taken from the Republick during the Course of the War. They likewise proposed many other Articles, which were afterwards inserted in the Treaty, as we shall see in the Sequel.

In the mean while the Deputies continued their Conferences with great Affiduity. They agreed unanimously to reply to the Pope, touching his Brief against the Clergy, and to complain of the long Detainer of the Bishop of *Posnania* in the Castle of *St. Angelo*. They were even so irritated against his Holiness, that some Deputies proceeded so far as to say, that he neither behaved as the Vicar of *Jesus Christ*, or the Successor of *St. Peter*; but as a *Pharaoh*, who would assassinate Liberty with Faith, and Faith with Liberty.

The Rep'y to the Pope was actually sent to *Rome*, *Sept.* 3. N. S. 1705. and addressed to the Queen of *Poland*, that she herself might present it to his Holiness. In the mean Time the Palatines of *Catis*, *Posnania*, and *Great Poland*, approved and confirmed anew the

the Manifesto, which had been prepared against the Pope in favour of King *Stanislaus*. When all these Things were thus settled, the 24th of *September* was appointed for his Coronation; but it was not so easy to fix where the Ceremony should be performed. By the Laws and Constitutions of *Poland*, as well as Custom Time out of Mind, the King ought always to be elected at *Warsaw*, and crowned at *Cracow*; and many of the *Poles*, scrupulously attached to these Formalities, insisted on their being observed, and that the King should repair to *Cracow* for that End. To which the *Swedish* Ambassadors, on the other hand, replied, that, to avoid the Inconveniencies easily to be foreseen in such a Circumstance as the present, they might, for this once, very well dispense with an obsolete Custom; that there was no Time to be lost; that all Delay, at such a Crisis, might be attended with dangerous Consequences; and finally, that the Necessity to dispatch forthwith an Affair of such Importance, ought to prevail over all the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom; especially as the Tranquillity and Happiness of the Publick absolutely depended upon it.

The Deputies, at last, gave Way to these Reasons; and it was only agreed to insert in the circular Letters to notify the Coronation, the following Clause, *viz.* That, though that Ceremony was now performed at *Warsaw*, it should not be esteemed a Precedent for the future, or become any Prejudice to the Laws and antient Customs of *Poland*.

This Difficulty removed, another arose with regard to the Choice of a

Prelate, who should perform the Ceremony. The Cardinal Primate was in a Town dependent on *Poland*; but as he always declared in his Letters that it was impossible for him to assist at the Coronation, and that he would approve all that should be done in his Absence, as if performed by himself, the Archbishop of *Leopol*, who was arrived at *Warsaw*, offered himself to officiate instead of the Cardinal.

When all these Things were thus regulated, the necessary Preparations were made for that superb Solemnity. As King *Augustus* had with him the Crown, ordinarily used at the Coronation of the Kings of *Poland*, two others were ordered to be made forthwith of massy Gold, garnished with Jewels, both for the King and Queen, with all the other Ornaments of Royalty.

While these Affairs were going forward at *Warsaw*, the Czar made long Marches towards *Courland*; being irritated with the Defeat of *Scheremetoff*, he had resolved to satiate his Revenge; and accordingly, his Army commanded, under him, by *Menzikoff*, *Ronne*, and *Repin*, soon reduced the whole Province except *Mitau* and *Bauske*.

Lowenhaupt, who foresaw the Return of the *Russian* Troops, and who was too weak to make head against so potent an Enemy, was already retired under the Cannon of *Riga*, in order to cover that City; which he could the more easily do; as his best Troops consisted in Infantry.

This Movement of his hindered the Czar from undertaking the Siege of that Place, he contented himself with sending a large Detachment to observe *Lowenhaupt*, and cut off all Communication between *Riga* and *Courland*; after

after which, to compleat the Reduction of that Province, *Aug. 15.* he entered into the City of *Mitau*, and, having forthwith invested the Castle, summoned the Governor, Colonel *Jorran Knorring*, to surrender himself and his Garrison Prisoners of War. To which the other not only returned a fierce Answer, but gave the Czar to understand, that if he made his Attack on that Side, (where the Castle was most accessible) he would set the City on Fire about his Ears.

The Citizens, terrified with this Resolution of the Governor's, threw themselves at the Feet of the Czar, and besought him not to expose them to the Ruin they were threatened with. Their Instances prevailed; and he began his Approaches on the other Side of the River, though the Work was much more difficult, because of the Marshiness of the Soil. This, however, was but a poor Consolation for the Garrison, who had no Succours to expect, more especially as the Batteries of Cannons and Mortars advanced insensibly, and the Enemy were soon in a Condition to batter down the Fortifications, which were, at best, but feeble. Accordingly, *September 3.* the Enemy, having thrown about a hundred Bombs, and made a Breach in the Space of twenty-four Hours with nine Pieces of Cannon, two Bastions were already so dismantled, that the Besiegers made all ready for an Assault.

Upon which the Governor, willing to preserve the Garrison, beat a Parly the next Morning, and demanded to capitulate; which being granted by General *Repnin*, who conducted that Attack, he marched out with all

the Honours of War, such as Drums beating, Colours flying, twelve Pieces of Cannon, one Mortar, thirteen Cartridges for each Cannon, and Ammunition for the Soldiers, who were escorted by the Regiment of Dragoons *de Renne*, as far as *Riga*.

The Castle of *Bauske*, which was yet less able to resist an Enemy than that of *Mitau*, did not hold out so long; so that, after the Conquest of these two Places, the Czar became Master of all *Courland*. After which, and after having left Garrisons in both; as likewise a considerable Body of Troops under General *Bauer*, for the Security of that Province, and another in *Livonia* under Velt-Marshal *Scheremetoff*, he resolved to keep his Word with *Augustus*, in marching towards *Warsaw*, in order to break up the Diet.

Accordingly, he entered into *Lithuania* at the Head of his Army, together with a hundred Pieces of Cannon, having left his heavy Artillery at *Polosko*. Being arrived at *Grodno*, he fortified that Place, seized the Pass of *Tykozin*, and established Magazines in various Places, which he filled, not only with what he drew from the Country, but what was transported from the Provinces of *Plesko* and *Smolensko*. He likewise took Possession of several Posts on the Side of *Warsaw*, as far as *Pultowick* and the *Bug*, inso-much that he was likewise absolute Master of *Lithuania*, and made it appear, by the Measures he took, that he intended to keep it; which was afterwards more manifest, by certain intercepted Letters: He had even already taken the Title of Grand-Duke, and pretended to unite that great

great Province to his other vast Territories.

Polish Prussia was now exposed to the Ravages of the Crown Army. *Commentofski* surprized a little Detachment from *Elbing*, in the City of *Marionbourg*, who, after some little Defence, were obliged to surrender themselves Prisoners of War. The City was afterwards plundered, and loaded, as well as the whole District, with heavy Contributions.

Smigelski, likewise, entered into the Bishoprick of *Warmia*, and carried off from *Helisberg* and other Places, certain *Swedish* Parties, who had been detached to levy Contributions, and plundered them of the Money they had collected: One *Swedish* Captain only, having re-assembled his Men in Time, made so gallant a Defence, that *Smigelski*, after a long and obstinate Attack, was obliged to quit his Prey, and, in the Apprehension that the Garrison of *Elbing* would come to the Succour of the Captain, retired out of the Bishoprick of *Warmia*. His Troops having plundered the Country of all they could carry off.

Over and above the March of the Czar, another Tempest was ready to burst over *Poland*. The *Hitmann Mazepa*, by the Order of that Prince, advanced at the Head of his *Cosaques*, amounting to forty or fifty thousand Men, across the *Ukrain*, and from *Volbinia* as far as *Zamoisk* upon the *Wieprz*, in the Palatinate of *Beltz*: And, having taken *Zamoisk*, after a short Siege, imposed Contributions, even to the *Vistula*, above *Lublin*.

It appeared then, by the Approach of such large Forces on all Sides, that the War was breaking out anew; and

that all these Nations pretended to nothing less than to swallow us down whole: For now King *Augustus*, at the Head of twenty thousand Saxons, was likewise ready to enter into *Poland*, and fall upon General *Rheinschild*. But happily all these dreadful Phantoms disappeared, as if by Miracle, within less than a Year; that is to say, when *Charles XII.* entered with his Army into *Lithuania*.

During this Interval, Count *Potocki*, Palatine of *Kiovia*, arrived at *Warsaw* with his Troops, among whom were eight hundred *Calmuck Tartars*, whose flat and horrible Faces, and strange Way of living, afforded our Army not a little both of Wonder and Entertainment.

They had all likewise Horses as ugly and deformed as themselves, but so admirable for Speed and Labour, that the King, the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, and several others bought a great Number of them, from forty to sixty Ducats apiece. They being able in two Days Time, to march thirty Leagues and more upon a Stretch.

Count *Potocki*, a little while after, joined the Great-General *Sapieha*, and both passed the *Vistula*, for the being more easily supplied with Provisions. Prince *Wisniowski*, who was posted near *Wengorod*, at first seemed disposed to dispute their Passage, but gave over his Design, and moved quite off after the Coronation.

When the Senators and Deputies of *Poland* had prepared the *Pacta-Convanta*, King *Stanislaus* repaired the Eve of his Coronation to the Church of St. *John*, to swear to his solemn Observance of it. Sept. 23. his Majesty set out from the Palace de *Bielin-*
ski,

ski, where he lodged: The Coaches of the Palatines and Deputies began the March, and those of the Bishops and Senators followed. The King's, in which he sat alone, was preceded by a Number of Nobles on Horse-Back, and by the Life-Guards who were on Horseback too. While all the Company ranged themselves on each Side of the Gate to receive his Majesty, the Archbishop of *Lepol*, *Scielineski*, robed pontifically, repaired to the Grand Altar, whither the King followed through the Body of the Church, which was illuminated with a double Row of Flambeaux, from End to End. Then the Archbishop read the *Paſſa-Conventa*, and the Formula of the Oaths, which his Majesty took upon his Knees, and was afterwards reconducted to the Palace in the same Order; only with this Difference, that the Archbishop, who had first laid aside his Pontificals, sat backward in his Majesty's Coach, together with *Spiski*, Bishop of *Cami-nieck*.

The Day following, their Majesties repaired to the Castle *incog.* having fasted three Days successively to prepare themselves for that Solemnity, together with the Communion; and, while the Senators, Deputies, and Nobles assembled, put on their Robes. The King was armed at all Points, and over his Shoulders wore a *Polish* Mantle of red Velvet, lined with Sables. The Queen was dressed like a Bride in Cloth of Silver, with her Hair dishevelled; her Head and Breast being adorned with Jewels of great Value. At ten o'Clock, all being ready, the *Swedish* Ambassadors received a Notification, upon which

they, likewise, repaired to the Castle, and were received according to their Rank; that is to say, in the outward Court, by a Lieutenant-Colonel, with one Battalion under Arms, Drums beating: Then by the Sr. *Poninski*, the Marshal of the Court, when alighting from their Coaches at the Foot of the great Stair-Case: On the first Landing-place, Count *Sapieha*, *Pijart*, or Great Commissary of *Lithuania*, waited to conduct them to the Guard Chamber; where Mr. *Poniatowski* preceded them to the Door of the Anti-Chamber. At which the Constable of *Siradia*, a Senator, with certain Deputies, complimented them in Behalf of the King and the Republic: And, within the Anti-chamber, Count *Sapieha*, Grand Treasurer of *Lithuania*, who performed that Day the Office of Grand-Marshal, came forward to introduce them to their Majesties in the Cabinet.

Here follows the Manner of the Ceremony in the Church. At every Gate was posted a Guard of *Swedes*, together with a *Polish* Officer to examine all who entered. In the Choir, opposite to the great Altar, and upon a Level with it, was erected an Estrade, on which, beneath two Canopies, were placed two Thrones, surrounded with the Life-guard; one Side of the Choir being allotted to the *Swedish* Officers, and the other for the *Grande*s and Deputies of *Poland*. Between the first Row of Pews and the Altar were placed three Elbow-Chairs; over which Place was a little Room, with a Window into the Church, from whence the Kings of *Poland* used to hear Mass. This was set apart for the King of *Sweden*, who, together with

with Count *Piper*, the Princes of *Wurtemberg* and *Mecklenbourg*, and certain other *Swedish* Lords attended there to observe the Ceremony: Opposite to which was a Balcony, where sat *Madam Royal* the King's Mother, and certain other Ladies of the highest Quality.

The Procession from their Majesties Apartments to Church began with the Gentlemen in the Train of the *Swedish* Ambassadors, followed by the *Polish* Deputies, and a great Number of the Nobles. Then *Mr. Garofski*, the Sword-bearer of *Pofnania*, with the Sword; the Constable of *Radziec*, with the Globe; the Constables of *Jung*, *Wladislaw* and *Leurre*, with the Sceptres; the Grand-General of *Lithuania*, Constable of *Wilna*, and *Mr. Zopolski*, Constable of *Siradia*, with the Crowns. All being borne on Cushions of Cloth of Silver. As to the Standard or Banner of the Kingdom, which used to be carried abreast with the Sword, it was not used on this Occasion.

These Ensigns of Royalty were followed by the Treasurer *Sapieba*, who officiated as Grand-Marshal, carrying the Battoon, pointing downwards, till after the Ceremony, when it was to be carried upright, according to the Custom of *Poland*.

The Ambassadors *Wachslager* and *Palmberg* preceded his Majesty.

Then the King, armed and robed as before described, being supported by *Mr. Potocki*, Grand-Commissary of *Lithuania*, and the Starost *Sapieba*.

After whom followed the Queen, led by *Baron Horn*, the principal in the *Swedish* Embassy; the whole Train

being closed by the Ladies and principal Officers of the Court.

When the first Persons in the Procession entered the Church, the Musick began from two Galleries, and encreased in such Proportion as it advanced, that the whole Band were in their fullest Concert, at the Moment his Majesty appeared. All being ranged, those, who carried the Regalia, as they approached the Altar, deliver'd them into the Hands of the Ecclesiasticks, who placed the King's Crown somewhat higher than all the rest. Two Bishops, and two other Prelates received his Majesty, and complimented him at the Foot of the Throne. Then the two first led him to the Altar, and the Queen passed into the Vestry.

The Archbishop being robed pontifically, and seated before the Altar, the Bishop of *Caminiack* addressed the following Words to him in *Latin*: *Our Mother, holy Church, desires that this valiant Knight, elected King, should be crowned.* Upon which the Archbishop demanded, *Is he worthy? Does he design to fulfil his Duty?* And the Bishop answered, *Yes he is worthy, and will fulfil it.*

The Archbishop then proceeded to a Prayer; after which he addressed a short Discourse to the King, on the Duties of his Function, and asked him if he was disposed to observe them? And the King, who was seated between the two Bishops, (in the Elbow-Chairs above-mentioned) having answered, *Yes*; he swore again upon his Knees to keep several other Articles of the *Pacta Conventa*.

When this was done, the Archbi-

shop and his Assistants took off the King's Helmet; after which his Majesty kissed the Archbishop's Ring, made Profession of his Faith, and pronounced the Oath in the usual Words, with both his Hands laid on the Gospel. The Archbishop then having his Head bare, fell on his Knees, together with the other Ecclesiasticks, and the King prostrated himself with his Arms stretched out. In which Interval they sung the Litany, and repeated several Prayers: At the Conclusion whereof, the Archbishop replaced himself in his episcopal Chair, and the King kneeled as before.

They then took off his Majesty's Mantle and Gaptlets. And the Archbishop, with the Thumb of his right Hand, anointed the Palm of the King's Right Hand, his Elbow, and the Vertebrae, or that Part of the Neck between the Shoulders; at the same Time pronouncing these Words, *I anoint thee King in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.* He afterwards wiped his Thumb with Bread, and washed himself; while a Bishop wiped the King likewise with Bread and Cotton.

His Majesty was then conducted into the Vestry, where he changed his military Habit for an episcopal Robe, all white, which he was to keep as long as he lived; it being to serve for his Winding Sheet: Because King *John* had been interred in his Coronation Robes.

The King, after this, was again led back to the Altar, where the Archbishop presented him with a drawn Sword, which his Majesty gave to the Sword-bearer, who returned it into the Scabbard, and hung it at his

Majesty's Side; who then drew it again, and, after making several military Flourishes with it, to signify how it ought to be used, returned it once more to its Scabbard.

The Crown was then placed on his Majesty's Head by the Archbishop and Bishops, the Sceptre in his Right Hand, and the Globe in his Left. All these Ceremonies being accompanied with Prayers and Exhortations, proper to each Occasion. The King then raised himself up, returned the Sword to the Sword-bearer, and, having all the Ensigns of Royalty, mounted the Throne, being conducted to it by two Bishops, and the principal of the Laity; where, having sat a little while, he was re-conducted as before to the Altar, where he demanded of the Archbishop to crown the Queen; who signifying his Consent, two Bishops conducted her Majesty from the Vestry to the Altar; and pretty near the same Ceremonies were repeated, as before used in the Coronation of the King.

The Queen prostrated herself while the Benediction was given: They anointed her Hand and her Neck between her Shoulders, and having dry'd both again, led her back to the Vestry, where they robed her Majesty with a Mantle of Cloth of Silver, garded with Ermine. She was then re-conducted by the Bishops to the Altar, who placed the Crown on her Head, and the Sceptre in her Hand; and, after certain Prayers and Exhortations, as before, attended her to her Throne; seven Ladies of the first Quality holding up her Train, and all the rest ranging themselves round about her Majesty.

When

When the Bishops were returned to the Altar, *Te Deum* was sung, under a triple Discharge of the Cannon of the Castle, and the small Arms of the Garrison. One of the Bishops then carried the Gospel to be kiss'd by their Majesties, while sitting on their Thrones: After this, the two Bishops again conducted them to the Altar, first the King, and then the Queen, to make their Offerings: When they again kissed the Archbishop's Ring, and certain holy Relicks, and, upon their Return to their Thrones, assisted at the grand Mass, which over, first the Archbishop, and then their Majesties communicated in both Kinds. The Archbishop then pronounced the Benediction both to their Majesties and the People, and the Grand-Marshal ordered, *long live the King and Queen*, to be proclaimed aloud, which was repeated by the whole Church.

All these Ceremonies ended, they returned to the Castle in the same Order as before. In the great Hall of which, the Bishop of *Camienieck* made an eloquent Speech in the Name of the Senators and the Nobles; and the grand Treasurer answered in Behalf of their Majesties. After which the Grantees and Nobles were admitted to kiss their Hands.

Their Majesties now retired to disrobe, and sit down to Dinner. Three Tables being prepared for that Purpose: The Middle one square, and raised some Steps above the two others. At this their Majesties sate, being served by the great Officers of the Realm, and the Ambassadors of *Sweden*. At the Table on the Right, sate the Prelates, Senators, Deputies and Generals; and on the Left, the La-

dies, together with the several Lords and Officers, both *Swedes* and *Poles*.

During the Repast, the Company were entertained with Musick, which lasted till the Evening, when the King and Queen rose from Table, and were re-conducted to the Palace by all the People of Quality present.

The Castle had not been repair'd since the Siege the Year before, and consequently could not be supposed very fit to entertain their Majesties.

Prince *Alexander Sobieski* retired from Court during this Solemnity, to his Estate at *Villa Nova* near *Warsaw*, not so much for fear of provoking King *Augustus* against his Brothers, who were still Prisoners in *Saxony*, as to avoid Disputes with the *Swedish* Ambassadors, who had given him to understand, that they could not yield him the Precedency, either in the Procession, or at the King's Table.

For the same Reason, Madam Royal, the King's Mother, absented herself likewise; there being a Precedent at the Coronation of King *Michael*, of his Mother's being set at Table below the Ambassadors of *Sweden*.

When this Ceremony was over, the King of *Sweden* returned to *Blonia* perfectly satisfied with having accomplished a Work, which Numbers thought so difficult. But the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, who had borne him Company, returned immediately to *Warsaw*, to felicitate King *Stanislaus*, who, the same Night, set out with the Prince for *Blonia*, where the two Kings embraced with all the Marks of Friendship and Affection.

The King of *Poland* then returned, together with the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, who resided some Days at *Warsaw*,

saw, to share in the Feasts and Diversions, which were given upon this Occasion in great Numbers.

In the Morning, their Majesties were congratulated anew by abundance of Lords and Ladies: After which they repaired to the House of Ambassador *Horn*, where there was a Masquerade and a Ball, which lasted far in the Night. These Diversions continued the whole Week. In which Interval, Numbers of the Grandees, and a Crowd of the Nobility, who were not present at the Coronation, poured in on all Sides, to pay their Compliments to their Majesties: In-somuch that the whole City swarmed with Deputies, as well from *Prussia* and *Lithuania*, as from *Great* and *Little Poland*, to swear Fealty to the new King.

His Majesty, immediately after his Coronation, gave Orders to the Palatine of *Kiowia* to march towards *Prussia* with a Part of the Crown-Army, to dislodge a great Number of *Quartians* who were posted there, and committed the most horrible Excesses. And, the better to meet with them, Mr. *Potocki*, Commissary-General of *Poland*, and Cousin to the Palatine, together with the Starost *Bobrunski*, Count *de Sapieha*, were detached at the same Time, at the Head of above three thousand *Poles*, who passed the *Vistula* at *Warsaw*, and marched through *Blonia*, strait on to *Prussia*; while the Palatine, who had taken another Rout, the better to circumvent the Enemy, was to join them at a Place before agreed upon.

But the *Quartians*, having been advertis'd of his March, had already thought proper to retire: So that the

Palatine not being able to make a regular Attack, was obliged to content himself with pursuing them; which he did so briskly, that the Enemy lost above five hundred Men in their Flight, who, being left behind, were made Prisoners. After which they were so effectually dispersed, that one Party escaped through the Frontiers of *Silesia*, and the rest on the Side of *Sandomir*, a great Way above the *Vistula*.

While this was transacting, the Palatine of *Kiowia* quitted the Nighbourhood of *Prague*, and all the rest of the *Polish* Army passed the *Vistula* to join the *Swedes*, except half the Regiment of King *Stanislaus's* Foot-guards, the whole Number amounting but to a hundred and fifty Men, which remained at *Prague*, with a Handful of *Swedes* to guard the Bridge; the other Half of that Regiment having already marched with *Kiowski*.

When the *Russians*, and the Troops of *Wisniowski*, which were at *Pultowsk* and in the adjacent Places, had been informed of the Departure of the *Polish* Army, they would not let slip the Occasion which offered, to carry off the few Men left behind, and to ruin the Bridge. They quitted, therefore, the *Bug*, during the Night, and began their March, to the Number of some thousands; taking their Measures so well, that they surpris'd the Lieutenant-Colonel, who commanded that Detachment of the Guards; and who, in spite of a very brave Defence, was not only dangerously wounded, but fell with his whole Party, together with five Ensigns, and two Field-Pieces, into the Enemy's Hand; who, immediately taking Advantage of

of their Success, attacked the Piquet-guard of the *Swedes* near the Bridge, and obliged them to retire.

At this Moment Colonel *Dahldorf*, who was in *Nieroth's* Camp, as hath been already observed, hearing the Report of the Guns, and the Noise of the Combatants, mounted immediately on Horseback, and, assembling in Haste a little Party of Officers and Soldiers near the Bridge, attacked the Enemy so bravely, that he repulsed them into *Prague*, and preserved the Bridge till the Arrival of a Reinforcement of Infantry. He was nevertheless so wounded, as well as several other Officers, by the *Russians*, who were retired into the nearest Houses, and fired continually upon the *Swedes*, that he was, at last, obliged to submit to be carried off. But Lieutenant-Colonel *Siegroth*, who just then arrived with Part of the Regiment of *Dahl-Carlia*, attacked the *Russians* with such Vigour, that he soon dislodged them from their close Quarters, and obliged them at length to quit the Suburbs.

The Enemy, however, rallied again immediately, as if with a Design to give us Battle in the open Field. But this Bravade lasted only till the Arrival of some of our Squadrons; when they thought proper to move off precipitately, and were eagerly pursued as far as the *Bug*, which they passed with such Celerity, that we could overtake but a few who were ill mounted, and were all either killed or taken Prisoners.

We lost in this Encounter eighty Men, and had forty wounded; among which were Colonel *Dahldorff*, and Major *Wrangel*. The first so dange-

rously on the Head, that he was obliged to be trepann'd twice, and was almost given over, though afterwards perfectly cured.

The King, having been falsely informed that the whole *Russian* Army was on the Point of passing the *Vistula*, immediately put his own in Motion, and marched on with them to *Wlosky*, within half a League of *Warsaw*; where, putting himself at the Head of the Van, he pushed on yet farther for better Intelligence.

His Majesty arrived at *Prague*, together with the King of *Poland*, who joined him on the Bridge, and the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, exactly when all was over. Upon which he dispatched Orders for the Army to halt at *Wloska*, where they remained till the 18th of *August*, when they returned to *Blonia*. After the Return of King *Stanislaus* to the City, his Majesty, who feared a second Surprise, rested that Night at *Prague*, and did not return to *Bonia*, till the Squadrons who had pursued the Enemy brought back the News, that they had repassed the *Bug*.

During all these military Expeditions, his Majesty never forgot Affairs of State, and, pleased with the indefatigable Application of his Ministers, conferred on Count *Piper*, Senator and Premier, the Post of Grand-Marshal, appointed *Hermelin* to be Chancery-Counsellor, *Cederhielm* Secretary of State, and *Hulten* Register.

As there was great Reason to fear another Attack, his Majesty proposed to King *Stanislaus* to lodge the Queen his Spouse in a Place of Safety, offering for that Purpose the City of *Stetin* in *Pomerania*, till the End of the War.

The

The Queen of Poland set out some Days after, with the two Princesses her Daughters, and Madam-Royal Mother of the King. The Prince of Wurtemberg, the Ambassador Horn, and many General Officers waited on her Majesty, as far as the Estate of the Princess of Radziwil, who magnificently entertained all that illustrious Company; after which the Queen pursued her Voyage and arrived happily at *Stetin*.

It was about this Time that the Cardinal-Primate, *Michael Radziewski* died at *Dantzick*. It is remarkable, he was taken ill the very Morning that King *Stanislaus* was crowned; languished in Bed till *October 3.* and then expired, to the great Regret of all those who were acquainted with his Worth.

The Bishoprick of *Guesna* and the Dignity of Primate being vacant by his Death, those two Preferments were conferred by the two Competitors, on two different Persons. King *Stanislaus* giving them immediately to the Archbishop of *Leopol*, who had crowned him; and King *Augustus*, who was then passing through *Dantzick* and *Konigsberg* to join the Czar, to the Bishop of *Cujavia*, who had elected and crowned him King of *Poland*.

Augustus, whose Affairs did not seem so desperate after the Arrival of the Czar in *Lithuania*, pressed by General *Patkul*, who then acted as his Ambassador to that Prince, and the fatal News he received from *Warsaw*, to repair forthwith to *Poland*, departed incognito from his Army, and encamped near *Guben* upon the *Oder*, accompanied only by Colonel *Goltz*, and two other Persons. He arrived at

Dantzick *October 18.* from whence he passed on to *Konigsberg*, where he arrived at nine o'Clock at Night, at the House of Counsellor *Negelein*, who conducted him with forty Horse to *Tiskotzin*, an advantageous Post which the Russians possessed in *Podlachia*, upon the *Nerew*, twelves Leagues from *Bug*, and thirty-five from *Warsaw*.

From hence he immediately gave Notice of his Arrival, not only to the Czar, but to his whole Party, by a Manifesto which he caused to be distributed all over the Kingdom. After which he passed on to *Grodno*, and thence to the Russian Army, *October 30.* where, at their first Meeting, the Czar presented him with the five Standards taken at *Prague*, from the hundred and fifty Men of King *Stanislaus's* Guards, as related above.

It was at *Grodno* that King *Augustus* instituted the Order of the white Eagle, worn upon a blue Ribband, and having for a Motto, *Pro Fide, Rege & Lege*, which he conferred on many of the Polish Grandees, to attach them more firmly, and likewise on some of the Russian Generals.

Here likewise a *Senatus-Consilium* was held, a great Number of Senators and Prelates being present, among whom it was agreed to continue faithful to King *Augustus*; to join the Crown-Army to that of the Czar, with whom they concluded a strict and solemn Alliance against the King of Sweden and *Stanislaus*; and to pay the Arrears due to the *Lithuanian* Army.

While these great Affairs were transacting between King *Augustus* and the Czar, the last received an Express from *Moscow*, with the disagreeable

News of a Rebellion in the Province of *Astracan*, where a great Number of Malecontents were up in Arms, and wasted all before them with Fire and Sword. The Czar then saw himself obliged to set out forthwith for his own Dominions, taking with him a large Detachment from his Army, and leaving the rest under the Command of King *Augustus*, Prince *Menzikoff*, and Field-Marshal *Ogilvy*.

He was scarce gone before King *Augustus*, giving Ear to certain of his Counsellors and the Grandees of *Lithuania*, who were greatly displeased to see their Lands ruined by the *Russians*, began to conceive certain Suspicions, which diminished the Confidence, and shocked the Union, which had, till then, subsisted between these two Princes. Though the Treaty was concluded between the Czar and the Republick, King *Augustus*, imagining that *Paskul* privately endeavoured to reconcile the Czar with the King of *Sweden*, and that, in Consequence, the first would continue in Possession of *Lithuania*, suddenly ordered that Minister to be arrested in *Saxony*: So rash a Measure raised a great Clamour, and it was apprehended a Rupture would follow: But the Necessity of each Party to be well with the other, soon brought about a Reconciliation.

Four Days after the Coronation of King *Stanislaus*, the Treaty of *Sweden* was recommenced at *Warsaw*; which was at last brought to a Period, and contained thirty Articles, many of which had long, separate Explanations. Having been signed *November 18*, and ratified the 24th and 25th by the two Kings, it was publicly proclaimed the 27th, with the Sound of Trumpets

and Kettle-drums. After which *Te Deum* was sung both in the City and the Camp, and King *Stanislaus*, to testify his Satisfaction, gave a superb Feast upon the Occasion.

Some Days after, the Ambassadors of *Sweden* took their Leave, and the Diet broke up with great Content on all Hands. The Substance of the Treaty was as follows:

1. There shall be a perpetual Peace, and sincere Amity between the two Kings, their Successors, and their Realms.
2. The Peace of *Oliva* shall be confirmed in all its Points, except where expressly annulled, or more amply explained, or hereafter shall be for the common Good.
3. There shall be a general Amnesty; and three Months allowed for those of the contrary Party to come in.
4. No Truce, Peace, or Accord of any Kind shall be allowed with King *Augustus*, but by common Consent, and with the Proviso that he renounce the Crown, and give Satisfaction to the King of *Sweden* and the Republick, for all the Damages occasioned by the War. The Declaration published by him shall be deemed of no Validity, and likewise all the Decrees, Statutes, and other publick Acts, made in his Name during the War.
5. All Alliances prejudicial to the *Swedes* shall be annulled; and the Republick of *Poland* shall not permit their Kings to contract the like for the future.
6. The Czar of *Muscovy* shall be pursued conjunctively, till he has made Satisfaction for all the Wrongs

and Mischiefs he has caused. No Peace or Truce shall be made with that Prince, but with the common Consent. The Manner in which the Armies shall join, and upon what Conditions, shall be adjusted by a particular Convention.

7. Sweden shall not lay down her Arms till Peace is re-established in Poland, and King Stanislaus remains in quiet Possession of the Throne.

8. Such Places as the Swedes retake from the Czar, shall be restored to Poland, reimbursing the Cost.

9. But the Swedes may hold Garrisons during the War, in the Places they either now, or may hereafter possess.

10. The King of Sweden may conduct his Army through Prussia, and the other Provinces of the Republick, and levy what Recruits may be necessary.

11. He shall be allowed Transport-Vessels for his Troops, and the Sea-ports shall be open to his Use.

12. If either of the Parties enter into War with his Neighbours, the other shall give no Assistance to the Enemy.

13. The King and Republick of Poland shall restrain such of their Subjects as shall dare hereafter to take up Arms against the Swedes.

14, 15 and 16. Regard only the Prisoners, and Fugitives of both Sides.

17. The House of Sapiieha shall be restored to their antient Dignities, Honours, Employments, Estates, &c.

18. The King and Republick of Poland ratify and declare, that they will maintain the Peace and Safety, which the Protestants have enjoyed both in Poland and Lithuania, and

which have been confirmed by the Confederacies, *Pasta-Convanta*, &c. so that no Damage shall occur to them on account of their Religion, while they behave themselves peaceably: Neither shall they be hindered from assembling in the usual Places, hitherto allowed them for that Purpose; nor from educating their Children in the Religion of their Fathers. Moreover, the Towns of Prussia shall be confirmed in all the Rights and Privileges spiritual or temporal, that they enjoyed before and after the Treaty of Oliva.

The Articles 19, 20, &c. to 26. contained divers Regulations concerning reciprocal Commerce and Navigation, particularly that of Riga.

26. All false Money shall be prohibited, such as the Sols of Walachia, &c. When the Republick begins a new Coinage, it shall answer to the Standard of that of Sweden.

27. The Republick shall oblige its Princes to observe this Treaty, and, in case of a Rupture, it shall be responsible for all Damages that may ensue.

28. If any other Realms, Republicks, and States, would be comprised in this Alliance, they shall be received by common Consent.

29. The Guarantees of such Princes and Powers shall be demanded, who are equally in the Interest of Sweden and Poland.

30. This Treaty shall be ratified and exchanged on both Sides, within a Week after the Day of signing it.

Twenty-three Commissioners, all Persons of the first Distinction, selected out of the Clergy, Senate, and Nobility, signed this Treaty in Behalf of the

the Republick. After which it was ratified by King *Stanislaus*, and counter-signed by his private Secretary the *Sr. Radouski*, Starost of *Inowlod*. On the Part of *Sweden*, it was signed by the three Ambassadors, *Horn*, *Wachslager*, and *Palmberg*, and, lower down, by the Secretaries of the Embassy *Routherholm* and *Adlerberg*. Last of all his Majesty ratify'd it at *Blonia*, and it was counter-signed by Count *Piper*.

When the Peace was concluded, the Enemy, who had much wondered the King of *Sweden* should continue quiet so long in his Camp at *Blonia*, did not question but that Tranquillity would soon be interrupted, now he had so gloriously surmounted all the Difficulties that had occurred in the Execution of so great a Design.

Norwithstanding the Rigour of the Season the *Swedish* Army still continued encamped, and as the Enemy was not ignorant that his Majesty had given them Orders to be ready for a March, the News gave them no small Uneasiness: But what confirmed their Suspicions of being soon attacked in *Lithuania*, was the Advice they received, that General *Rheinschild* had been commanded to continue in *Poland*, and to enter into Winter-Quar in the Neighbourhood of *Posnania*; while Lieutenant-General *Stromberg*, who had remained till then at *Cracow* with four Regiments of Foot, and certain Cavalry, was ordered to join his Majesty.

The Enemy had, however, made all the necessary Preparations to resist the *Swedish* Army. The *Russians* having, in a more especial Manner, taken Care to fortify all the Posts from

Grodno to *Breszizi* upon the *Bug*, to secure themselves in *Lithuania*, *Podlachia* and *Polesia*, where they were Masters, and where it was very difficult for the *Swedes* to enter.

As King *Augustus* had given the Czar to understand, before his Departure, of the Danger that would occur from a decisive Battle, as not confiding much in the Constancy of the *Poles*, or the Valour of the *Russians*, and the Grofs of the *Saxons* not being able to enter into *Poland*, because the Passes were so closely guarded by our Troops, both those Princes agreed to keep on the defensive only, and trust to their strong Intrenchments, in case they were attacked in *Lithuania*; It being their Design to weaken us insensibly, by sending out large Detachments to harrafs and disturb us incessantly.

General *Renne*, who was posted at *Pultowsk* with certain Regiments of *Russians*, sent out Parties continually to pry into our Motions, and learn the Day when we began our March; And, after being informed that our Army were still quiet in their Tents, he detached a strong Party towards the *Vistula*, on the Side of *Plocski*, on Advice that a *Swedish* Captain had passed that River with sixty Men to levy Contributions. December 3. 1705. these two Detachments met, and, after a valiant Defence, which lasted from Morning till Night, the *Swedes* were obliged to surrender Prisoners of War.

The Army continued at *Blonia* till the End of *December*, without any Persons being able to guess the Day of decamping, or even what Rout they should take.

It would have been almost incredible, that Men could bear a Cold so excessive as then prevailed, covered only with Tents, exposed to every Storm, if our Army had not, this Winter, given a Proof of it in the Neighbourhood of *Warsaw*, that astonished all *Europe*. Even his Majesty exposed himself to all the Rigours of that severe Season, in a slight Tent, aired only at Night with red-hot Bullets, which emitted a most disagreeable Smell, as he had done before in *Courland* in the Year 1701. In the Day time his Majesty warmed himself from Time to Time, at the Fire belonging to the Guard: And, as if to encrease the Hardship, his Kitchen was so far removed from his own Tent, that his Victuals was ic'd over before it reached his Table.

Nevertheless, his Majesty, far from being shocked with a Life so deplorably wretched, persisted still in enduring it, till all the Rivers and Lakes round about were encrusted with Ice, to be the better able to fall upon the Enemy.

His Majesty, however, permitted the Prince of *Wurtemberg* and other Persons of Distinction, to build themselves Cabbins for their better Accommodation; and some threw up great Trenches in the Earth, which they covered with Planks, Turf or Tiles, to shelter themselves from Wind and Weather; insomuch that we did not ill resemble a Colony escaped from *Iceland*.

In the mean while, the *Vistula* was so filled with Ice, that the Bridge at *Warsaw* was broke; but soon after again repaired, and the King gave

Orders to decamp; marching the first Day, *December 29*, together with his Court, and the *Drabans*, four Leagues, as far as *Warsaw*, where he encamped near the *Vistula*, in the Camp of General *Nieroth*, a Part of whose Detachment had already passed the Bridge.

The next Morning the King, accompanied by King *Stanislaus*, the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, the two Courts, and the *Drabans* passed the *Vistula*; all the Regiments then prepared to do the same, marching towards the Bridge from the Camp on all Sides, and, at the same Time, with so much Order and Regularity, that no one Party interrupted another.

No body yet was certain what Rout his Majesty would take; some believed that the Army would march forthwith towards *Lublin*, to drive thence *Mazeppa*, General, or *Hiltmann* of the *Cosaques*, who had taken up his Quarters in that Neighbourhood with all his Forces; and others presumed, with greater Likelihood, that we should proceed strait on to *Lithuania* to dislodge the *Russians*.

Count *Schlippenbach*, General to the King of *Prussia*, who had followed the Army from *Ravitz*, and who designed to share in the Campaign, provided the King had taken the Road to *Lithuania*, and the Frontiers of *Prussia*, not knowing his Majesty's real Design, resolved to quit the Army and return home; especially, when he saw that the same Day the March was continued through the City of *Okumiof* to *Michaelow*, and the next Day, *December 31*. to *Stanislaw*; the King having it still in his Power to wheel

to either Side as he pleased, without any Bodies being able to discover which he would chuse.

Jan. 1. 1706. O. S. The Army took one Day's Repose at *Stanislaw*, where the Cold was so extremely piercing, that Liquids of all Kinds, and our Provisions likewise became frozen: This lasted the whole Months of *January* and *February*, and greatly contributed to facilitate our March over so many Rivers and Marshes as lay in our Way, and which were all Frost-bound.

The next Morning we advanced five Leagues and a half towards the City of *Wengarow*; and, in our Way, the Ice not being yet strong enough to bear our heavy Baggage, a great Part both of that and our Artillery broke in. Upon which the King immediately hastened to the Spot, to take Order to remedy the Mischiefs, a Carriage, among the rest, belonging to the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, being so far sunk down, that fifty Men could hardly drag it out: While this was doing, the Ice gave Way at the very Place where the King and Prince had stood, and both tumbled in, but were happily taken up again the same Moment. This March cost a great Number of Servants and Horses their Lives; and, at last, obliged the King to halt a whole Day at *Wengarow*, till the Baggage came up. We then began to perceive that his Majesty's Design was to march into *Lithuania*, and we were confirmed in this Conjecture, when the Army proceeded the 4th to *Korowice*, a Village in the Road to *Grodno*.

The 5th, we proceeded to *Krzimienka*, a Village upon the *Bug*, where we encamped. As that River was not

yet so firm frozen over, as to bear the Weight of the Army, the King, not to lose Time, and yet render the Passage safe, ordered a thin Bed of Straw to be laid over it, which being moistened with Water; and other Straw spread again upon that, the severe Cold froze all fast together, till by frequent Repetitions of the same Thing, a Sort of Bridge was formed upon the Ice, over which the Cavalry, Baggage, and Artillery, defil'd, and was followed by the Infantry without the least Danger, till towards the Close of the March; when the two Extremities of the Bridge seemed to give Way, and some Pieces of Ice absolutely broke loose, and carried away certain Men and Horses, though even those had the good Fortune to escape.

The greatest Obstacle was occasioned by a Rock of Ice on the opposite Shore, exceeding slippery, which we were obliged to surmount; though not without extreme Difficulty to the Cavalry, Baggage and Artillery; many Horses being killed by the prodigious Efforts they were constrained to make in climbing the Ascent.

The 7th, after having passed the *Bug*, we continued our March to *Poplawice*, where we rested one Day. This Village, which is in *Podlachia*, a Palatinate in the great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, was inhabited only by poor Gentlemen, who were destitute of all Things. The *Russians* and *Saxons* having stripped the whole Country before them; insomuch that the Army having neither Victuals or Forage, both Horses and Men suffered extremely.

Having halted a Day in this miserable

ble Place, the King gave Orders to decamp next Day, Jan. 9. when the Army marched through the City of *Suras* to *Boroffki*. Our *Valoches* near this Place carried off a *Russian* Lieutenant, and eighteen Men, after having killed fifteen. Here, likewise, every Thing had been consumed by the Enemy; and the Cold encreasing considerably, our Troops had not been able to subsist any longer, or bear up against the Rigour of the Season, if the next Day they had not reached *Stabudowa*, a small City, where the Reformed have a Church, and where we found some Victuals, and especially Forage for the Horses.

The Army rested here one Day, and, notwithstanding the excessive Cold, encamped almost in the open Air; his Majesty not permitting the Troops to be canton'd in the Neighbouring Villages, in order to conceal their Numbers from the Enemy. As the *Russians* were not informed in Time of the March of our Army, many of their Detachments were surprized in their Quarters, where they feared nothing less than our Approach: But when they were informed by those who had escaped our *Valoches*, and who spread the Alarm on all Sides, they provided for the Preservation of *Tykozin* and *Grodno*, where King *Augustus* was in Person, by instantly detaching fresh Troops to reinforce the Garrison there; fully resolved to abide on the defensive, and not to hazard a Battle in open Field.

At last they were perfectly convinced that the King of *Sweden* was much nearer than they believed, when (his Majesty having marched, *January* 12. from *Slabodowa* to *Krimri*, seven

dreadful Leagues in twelve Hours Time, without Pause or Rest, from eight o'Clock in the Morning till Night) our *Valoches*, who were foremost, surprized certain of King *Augustus's* Drabans in that little City; the greatest Part of whom made a Shift to escape, and carry that Prince the News, that we should pay him a Visit out of hand.

Augustus, surprized with a March so extraordinary, undertook in the very Depth of Winter, assembled immediately all his Regiments, which were dispersed in the Adjacencies of *Grodno*; and admitted them into the City, which was tolerably well fortified by the *Russians*, who had worked upon it incessantly to put it in a Condition to support a long Siege in case of an Attack. At *Krimri*, the King resigned all the Houses to the Sick, and encamped with the rest of the Army for a Day and two Nights which they remained there.

The 14th, the March was renewed to a Village call'd *Michalovice*, which is but a small League from *Grodno*. As there were no more Marshes to pass, and the Country was wide enough for the Army to extend itself in Front, his Majesty ordered it to proceed, with the Baggage and Artillery, in different Columns; one of which surprized an advanced Guard of the Enemy's commanded by a Lieutenant, who was taken Prisoner, with all his People. The Baggage arriving very late, the Army remained under Arms upon the Snow a great Part of the Night; soon after which, one of the Enemy's Parties, who were conveying a Number of Carriages to the City, fell in with our advanced

advanced Guard, which in the Dark they mistook to be *Saxons* and Friends; but, being soon undeceived, they made their Escapes in the best Manner they could, under Covert of the Night, notwithstanding which, abundance of their Men, and all their Carriages fell into our Hands.

The next Morning, *Jan. 15.* when it was broad Day, the Army removed to be nearer the City; his Majesty being resolved to pass the *Niema*, half a League above *Grodno*. As that River, which was froze over, had, on our Side, a very steep and rocky Shore, our Cavalry apprehended great Difficulty in getting over, more especially as it was to be done in Sight of the Enemy, who were ranged over against us, in order to dispute the Passage. The Artillery and the Baggage took another Rout, in order to proceed with less Difficulty.

At the first Movement of our Army, the Enemy had march'd all their Cavalry and Dragoons out of *Grodno*, as well as the greatest Part of their Infantry. Which last halted at some Distance from the City, while the first ranged themselves by the River's Side, as mentioned above.

The King, who arrived at this Instant, and observed that the Enemy, by ordering their Horse and Dragoons to alight, and take Possession of all the Eminencies, Defiles, and Passes, that might facilitate our Landing, prepared to give us as much Trouble as possible, forthwith ordered the whole Army to halt, and, placing himself at the Head of six hundred Grenadiers of the Regiment of Guards, descended from the Height down to the Ice, where he drew up his little Corps,

and led them on to the Enemy, with Bayonets fixed; who, animated with the Presence of their King commanding them in Person, charged the *Russians* with such Fury, that, notwithstanding the Superiority of Numbers, and Advantage of Ground, they were obliged to give Way after a few Volleys, and a very slight Resistance.

The *Russians* then remounted, and, retreating to some Distance, drew up in order of Battle, while our Battalion of Guards made themselves Masters, with inconsiderable Loss, of the Posts they had abandoned; the King, at the same Instant, commanding the Dragoons to follow, which they did, though slowly; it being with great Difficulty that the Horses kept their Footing either down or up such broken Ways, covered over with Ice and Snow.

The King, however, not waiting for the whole Body, joined the first Squadrons that came over, and galloped, Sword in Hand, against the Enemy; who, having no Desire to engage, retired still in good Order towards their Infantry, who were posted in a Valley near the City so advantageously, that the King, with the Handful of Troops which had followed him, did not think it adviseable to renew the Combat. Only certain Volunteers, who were ambitious of exchanging a few Pistol-Shot, and harassing the Enemy, that their Retreat might not be wholly undisturbed, ventured still on; and a little Skirmish, that followed, had like to have cost a Captain named *Saxo* dear, an *Italian* by Birth, and lately in the *Russian* Service; which he had quitted, and came over to us in Search of Preferment,

ferment, which he afterwards obtained. This Officer, extremely exasperated against a Nation, which he thought he had great Reason to complain of, exposed himself so much, that his Horse was killed under him, and himself taken Prisoner, after having most bravely defended himself against so great a Number, and received two Wounds, one in the Head and another in the Thigh; he had now been irrecoverably lost, if the brave Prince of *Wurtemberg*, who loved him, had not hastened to his Assistance, accompanied with Count *Sapieha*, *Pizars* of *Lithuania*, and a Squadron of Dragoons, who, having made Way thro' the Enemy Sword in Hand, effected his Deliverance.

During these little Skirmishes, which were smart enough, our Volunteers neither giving or accepting Quarter, the *Russian* Cavalry and Dragoons joined their Infantry, and ranged themselves together in order of Battle. His Majesty likewise, who continually was reinforced with fresh Troops, which had now pass'd the *Niema*, did the same, and marched on to attack the Enemy. But the *Russians*, daunted at the Aspect and fierce Movement of our Line, retired hastily behind their double Entrenchments, to expect us there, according to the Orders they had received from the Czar in case of an Attack: But the King, having no other View than to pass the River, did not think it proper to disturb them, and even gave them Time to join the rest of their Army; as already foreseeing, that Wants and Diseases would soon destroy them, if

they persisted in continuing there, without his being obliged to risque a single Man to dislodge them.

The rest of the Day was employed in defiling the Army, which, almost to the very Rear, whose Charge it was to guard the Baggage and Artillery, passed the *Niema* before Night. As the Country did not afford Villages and Houses enough to lodge all the Troops, who had neither Tents or Baggage, they were obliged both Horse and Foot to continue in open Field, in order of Battle, without the least Shelter, near the Village of *Dziwidozice*, half a League from the City, and to kindle Fires to warm themselves as they could: Being overcome with Fatigue, and pierced thro' with Cold, they threw themselves in their Ranks upon the Ground, and rested upon each others Feet, only covered with their Cloaks*, which were then of great Use.

The two Kings and the Prince of *Wurtemberg* reposed themselves before a great Fire, which was made within an Enclosure of Straw, by way of Shelter both from the Wind and Smoke. But his *Swedish* Majesty did not remain here long, but spent the greatest Part of the Night in visiting the Regiments, and making Excursions towards the City to reconnoitre the Enemy, and watch if they attempted a Sally.

Certain Waggons of Provisions were taken that Night, but nothing like a Supply for a whole Army, which was fainting with Hunger, and yet more with Thirst; Water being so scarce, that the Soldiers gladly parted with

* Every *Swedish* Soldier is furnished with a Cloak,

their Money even for a single Glass.

In the Morning *Jan.* 16. the King approached with his Army, within half a Quarter of a League of the Entrenchments of the City, in the same Order they had kept the Night before: And his Majesty being advanced too near, accompanied by Count *Stenbock*, Lieutenant-General of the Quarter-masters, and certain Engineers, for the better examining the Avenues, the Enemy fired a great Number of Cannon upon him and his Train, but without doing any Mischief.

His Majesty then judging, by what he observed, that the *Russians* were resolved not to quit the Advantage of their Lines, or venture into open Field, ordered the Army to wheel somewhat to the Right, and post themselves between *Grodno* and *Wilna*, to have all the Benefit they could of the neighbouring Villages; but, as they had stript most of the Houses of their Tiles, (perhaps Boards) to serve them for Fuel, to mitigate the excessive Cold, they found themselves obliged to pass yet another Night in open Air, though with less Inconvenience than they suffered the Night before.

During these Transactions, the greatest Part of our Baggage arrived; none having miscarried but certain Waggon of sick Soldiers, which in the Dark had mistook their Way, and wandered to the City, where they were all taken Prisoners by the Enemy.

The 17th, the Enemy continued in the same Place; his Majesty having taken up his Quarters at a Quarter of a League from the City. Our Parties, several Times that Day, came to

Blows with the Enemy, and the Combats grew always so much the more obstinate and bloody, as no Quarter was given on either Side. Towards Night the rest of our Baggage arrived safe.

The 18th, the Army decamped, and marched to *Skalubow*, two Leagues and a half from the City, where they were more at their Ease, being posted in the neighbouring Villages round about the City; and were indulged with some Days Repose, to wear off the inexpressible Fatigue they had sustained.

King *Augustus* now resolved to quit *Grodno*, where he had hitherto staid; and, accordingly, set out for *Warsaw* with his Body-guards, certain Regiments of *Saxons*, and four Regiments of *Russian* Dragoons; leaving Field-Marshal *Ogilvi*, Prince *Wisniowiski*, with the Generals *Allard*, *Venediger* and others at *Grodno*, with all the *Russian* Infantry, with Orders to continue behind their Intrenchments, and put nothing to the Hazard, till he was upon his Return with the *Saxon* Army, which he had already ordered to enter into *Poland*, to attack General *Rheinschild*, who was posted, as already mentioned, on the Frontier of *Silesia*.

Ogilvi obeyed punctually the Orders of King *Augustus*, and was never seen out of his Lines all that Time, but he soon perceived that Sickness and Want of Provisions rendered fruitless all the other Measures which he had taken. For the Place being too confined for the Number of Troops enclosed in it; and Necessaries growing more and more scarce every Day, it occasioned dreadful Diseases, which

lasted all the rest of the Winter, and carried off Abundance of Men.

The Kings of Sweden and Poland having rested at *Skalubowa* till January 22. decamped with the Army that Day, which was divided into two Columns His Swedish Majesty with the first marched to the Right, towards *Holowacz* two Leagues and a half from *Grodno*, having with him,

The Regiment of Life-guards,	} Horse.
The <i>Ostrogots</i> ,	
The <i>Smolanders</i> ,	
And that of <i>Kruus</i> .	
The Guards,	} Foot.
The <i>Uplanders</i> ,	
The <i>Dahl-Carlans</i> ,	
The <i>Ostrogots</i> ,	
The Regiment of <i>Jankioping</i> ,	
And that of <i>Calmar</i> .	
The Regiment of <i>Stenback</i> ,	} Dragoons.
Of <i>Meyerfeld</i> ,	
And of <i>Taube</i> .	

King *Stanislaus*, with the second Column, repaired to *Striowka*, having with him,

The Artillery.
The *Westrogots*, Horn, Infantry.
The Regiment of *Scania*, Cavalry.
And a Detachment of *Ducker's* Dragoons.

It was hoped these new Quarters, where the Regiments were distributed, would have been better supplied with Provisions. But they continued there no longer than the 25th, when the

King decamped, and reached *Kamiunka*, while King *Stanislaus* had already repaired over Night to *Zembrowa*.

The Polish Troops, commanded by the General Count *Sapieha*, the Palatine *Kiowski*, the Starost *Bobruiski*, and others, marched always on the Left of the King of Poland, and chose their Rout as they pleased, to the almost irreparable Damage of the Country.

But Misery followed us all; for, as the Inhabitants of these Provinces took their Flight at our Approach, and it is the Custom of *Lithuania*, *White Russia*, the Frontier of *Muscovy*, and in the *Ukrain*, not to keep their Corn, when it is threshed, or even their Honey, or other Victuals in their Barns, but to bury them under-ground, or in Caves hard to find, especially in Winter, when the Snow covers all, our Troops, to avoid perishing with Famine, were obliged to search for these Places, by piercing the Earth with their Swords and Pikes, as well round about the Houses, as without the Villages and Towns, and even in the Woods, where these People sometimes hide their Provision; which was done with so much the more Difficulty, in regard the Rigour of the Frost had rendered the Ground almost impenetrable. However, Necessity compelling, these subterranean Magazines were often brought to Light, especially when the Thaw came on; at which Time the Snow melted from off these vaulted Caverns first: But the Difficulty of finding these Provisions was not equal to the Danger attending the Discovery, to those who descended at the Instant the Cells were opened;

opened; such Abundance of Vapours immediately streaming out, as killed Numbers of our People, till fatal Experience taught them to wait with Patience till they were dispersed, to avoid Suffocation.

In this dreadful Manner, in a Country totally waste and desolate, were we obliged to toil for our daily Bread: Nor was this the only Inconvenience; for, after the Soldier had found the Corn, he was obliged to grind and dress it; which took up a tedious Quantity of Time and Labour; and, after all, it was never sufficient to the Wants of such Numbers of People. The very Table of the Kings participated of the same Misery; instead of Butter, all was dress'd with Lard and Oil, which caused frequent Disorders, and with which King *Stanislaus* in particular was visited.

But, however extreme our sufferings were in this painful March, they bore no Comparison with the Extremity to which the Garrison of *Grodno* was reduc'd: *Ogilvi*, therefore, seeing us so far removed, resolved to make use of the Opportunity to procure some Refreshments for his Troops, almost starved, and every Day diminished by Sickness, which carried them off by whole Companies. In this View, he detached all his Dragoons to bring in all the Provisions they could find in the Adjacencies of *Grodno*; but which was done with all possible Precaution, the River *Niema* being always between us and them, which they never presumed to pass.

Upon the first Advice which the King received of this March, he ordered out Major-general *Meyerfeld* and Colonel *Burenfeld* with two thou-

sand Horse to give them Chace, and carry off their Provisions; which Party having passed the *Niema*, thro' the City of *Luna*, pushed on to that of *Indura*, where there was a Regiment of *Russian* Dragoons in Garrison, to guard the Magazines deposited there of the Spoils of the Country, which was to be sent to *Grodno*.

As the Land all round about is extremely flat, it was impossible to avoid being discovered by the advanced Guards, who, after a slight Resistance, retired into the City, where they gave so terrible an Alarm, that the Regiments flew to Horse in a Moment, and made off full Speed, leaving only a Captain, a Lieutenant, and sixty Men behind, who were all killed upon the Spot, and fifty more who were taken Prisoners.

The Night coming on obliged *Meyerfeld* to halt here; upon which the Enemy returned with all the Strength they could collect, and seemed as if disposed to attack us. But *Meyerfeld* had scarce made one Movement with his Horse, when they all fled precipitately towards *Grodno*, leaving at *Indura* all the Victuals and Forage they had taken so much Pains to amass.

Both our *Valoches*, and the *Lithuanian* Nobles and Peasants, who were greatly exasperated against the *Russians*, came in to *Meyerfeld* next Morning with several Prisoners, taken, in their precipitate Retreat, which had left them scattered and cut off from their main Body. The General then returned to the King's Quarters, with all the Provisions he could carry off, after having burned the rest.

About this Time, the King published

lished a Manifesto, addressed to the *Lithuanians*, and dated from *Kamjunka*, Jan. 29. 'In which his Majesty again lays before the Nobles of that Duchy the Reasons which had induced him to enter with his Forces into *Poland*, to repel the unjust War begun upon him by King *Augustus*, and to deliver the Republick from the Slavery to which that Prince endeavoured to reduce it. That Heaven having prospered his Arms, *Poland* had, at last, chose another King in the Person of the most serene *Stanislaus* the First, who had been crowned with the usual Formalities. That his Majesty, having less regarded his just Satisfaction in that Event, than the Advantage of having obtained the Assurance of a sincere and inviolable Alliance, had made no Difficulty to re-establish the antient Amity by a Treaty of Peace with the Republick, as much to its Interest and Glory, as serviceable to disappoint the ill Designs of the *Russians* and *Saxons*, against whom he declared perpetual War, till they were driven out of *Poland*; till the publick Tranquillity was entirely re-established, and the Government of King *Stanislaus* confirmed. That returning with this Design into *Lithuania*, his Majesty could not doubt but the States and Nobles of that Province, (oppressed by the Enemy, which had compelled them till now to continue inactive, seeing likewise that his Troops were present to deliver them) were possessed with an Eagerness to shake off the Yoke of these Foreigners, proportionable to the insupportable Tyranny they had endured. That he could not doubt

but they would follow the Example of *Poland*, in making use of this favourable Conjunction, to enter into the Sentiments of those who laboured to deliver their Country. You see, it was said, the Standard of Liberty: You see it displayed in this March of King *Stanislaus*, who you ought so much the more to wish to see established on the Throne, as he is not a Foreigner, as he is moderate and valiant, as he both knows and loves the Laws of the Republick, and that it will be his Care to maintain that Liberty to which he is indebted for a Throne.

His Majesty, afterwards, proceeded to assure them of his Protection, of his good Intentions; of which there was no legitimate Reason to doubt, after the Proofs of his Sincerity given in *Poland*, to the Guardianship and Safety of which, he had consecrated his Arms.

He then placed before their Eyes the Conduct of King *Augustus*, and the Projects which he had formed, from the Beginning of his Reign, to oppress the Liberty of *Poland*, and more especially of *Lithuania*. And that, after he was convinced of the Impossibility of their Success, and saw himself thrown from his Hopes by the Arms of his Majesty, he had drawn into the Provinces of the Republick one of the most inveterate Enemies of the *Polish* Name; exhorting them to make a just Comparison between the equitable Declarations, confirmed in the last Treaty, to protect the Republick, and not to suffer it to be dismembred of its smallest Part, and the Views of the *Muscovites*, and the barbarous Nations with which *Lithuania* was over-run, and

‘and which had never come to the
‘Succour of King *Augustus*, if he had
‘not made considerable Offers to his
‘faithful Confederate, by way of Re-
‘ward for his iniquitous Services.
‘That those who yet doubted, might
‘draw more certain Inferences touch-
‘ing the Intentions of the Czar, if
‘they would regard the Letters which
‘he had writ the preceding Year in
‘*Muscovy*, where they would find
‘*Lithuania* among the Titles and Pos-
‘sessions of that Prince.

‘His Majesty then cautioned them
‘to be no longer blinded by the spe-
‘cious Pretences of those whose incon-
‘siderate Zeal and Ambition drew this
‘Plague upon their Frontiers, at the
‘Instance of King *Augustus*. *Beside*,
‘it proceeded, *will be who has already*
‘*manifested more than once, how little*
‘*he regards the Faith of Treaties, ob-*
‘*serve them more scrupulously now? By*
‘*what Means can Assurance be given,*
‘*that he, who has given Proofs of an*
‘*insatiable Heart, who has governed*
‘*the Poles and Lithuanians as Slaves,*
‘*and who has profaned the Worship of*
‘*holy Things, will become more mode-*
‘*rate? When he shall no more be aw’d*
‘*by the Terror of our Arms, he will*
‘*drop, make no doubt of it, he will*
‘*drop that Mask of Sweetness and Mo-*
‘*deration which he now wears. Then*
‘*he will treat even his own Partizans*
‘*and their Friends with so much the*
‘*more Severity, as he will be sure, that,*
‘*being convinced he has deceived them,*
‘*they will regard him but with an evil*
‘*Eye. Even thus far; what Fruit*
‘*have these Partizans of his reaped*
‘*from their Obstinacy, but to be them-*
‘*selves in continual Peril, to see their*
‘*Country ruined, their Relations,*

‘*Friends, Wives and Children dragged*
‘*into Captivity, and obliged to bow be-*
‘*neath the Russian Yoke.*

‘In fine, his Majesty exhorted them
‘to think better of it, and to unite
‘with those who, conjunctively with
‘King *Stanislaus*, had undertook to
‘restore their violated Liberties; pro-
‘mising a general Amnesty to all the
‘Partizans of King *Augustus*; as like-
‘wise Security and Protection, and to
‘fulfil exactly all the Engagements
‘taken to benefit or aggrandize the
‘two Realms; and, at the same Time,
‘menacing all those who despised
‘these Offers, with all the Rigours of
‘War. And, for the greater Assu-
‘rance of the Performance of his Pro-
‘mises, that his Majesty would order
‘this Letter to be sent to all the Pala-
‘tines of the great Duchy of *Lithu-*
‘*ania*, signed by his Majesty, and
‘sealed with the Seal-Royal.

Winter Quarters at Kam-
junka, Jan. 29. 1706.

CHARLES,
L. S.

and lower,
C. PIPER.

The Forces of Prince *Wisniowski*,
quartered near *Cauno*, and in *Samogi-*
tia, had resolved to surprize the Pala-
tine of *Kiovia*, who followed, with his
Poles, and the *Lithuanians* of *Sapieba*,
the Column of King *Stanislaus*, near
whom he encamped: For the Execu-
tion of which, it was requested of
Ogilvi, by whom the commanding
Officer of *Wisniowski*'s Troops had
communicated his Design by a Letter,
to detach Forces on his Side, by a
certain Day appointed for the Enter-
prize. By good Fortune this Letter

was

was intercepted and brought to King *Stanislaus*, who dispatched immediately the Palatine of *Kiowla*, to be before-hand with the Enemy; and such Expedition did he make in marching, Night and Day, without Intermiſſion, that he ſurprized the Enemy at *Oliſa* on the *Niema*, and gave them a total Overthrow, taking, beſide a great Number of Priſoners, all their Baggage, three Pieces of Cannon, and other Booty; General *Schimeſki* himſelf eſcaped with great Difficulty, in the Diſguiſe of a Peaſant, and made a Shift, at laſt, to join General *Bauer*, who commanded eight or ten thouſand *Ruſſians* in *Courland*.

We have before obſerved, that King *Augustus* had taken the Road to *Warſaw*, with certain *Saxon* Troops, and four Regiments of *Ruſſian* Dragoons, amounting in all to ſeven thouſand Men. Jan. 26. he arrived there, and ſent immediate Orders to General *Brauſe*, who commanded at *Cracow*, to hold his Detachment in Readineſs to march at a Moment's Warning, to facilitate his Junction with the *Saxon* Army, which was on the Point of entering into *Poland*, to attack General *Rheinfchild*, and either beat up his Quarters, or even oblige him to retire into *Polish Pruſſia*.

Schulenburg, agreeable to his Orders, paſſed the *Oder*, Jan. 30. and that his March into *Poland* might be made with the more Regularity, he ranged his Cavalry and Infantry in different Bodies, advancing towards the City of *Slawa* in *Sileſia*, where he arrived, February 1.

On the other hand, Field-Maſhal *Rheinfchild*, who, till then, had reſted quietly in his Winter Quarters,

which extended from *Koſſyn* to the Frontier of *Brandenbourg*, eight Leagues in Length, had no ſooner received Advice of the firſt Motion of the *Saxons*, but he aſſembled his Army and took the Field, to paſs the *Oder*, and enter into *Sileſia*, by the Road of *Liſſa*; at which Place having been informed that the Enemy had already paſſed the *Oder*, and was arrived at *Slawa*, he drew towards the Frontier, to offer them Battle in *Sileſia*, if Occaſion offered: But being adviſed that *Schulenburg* ſeemed inclined to paſs beſide him, and take the Road to *Poſnania* and the *Warta*, to join more commodiouſly the *Saxons* under *Brauſe*, who were in full March from *Cracow* in order to meet him haſtily, he gueſſed at the Enemy's Intention, which was to fall upon him behind, and manage him the more eaſily after that Junction: On which Account, and to avoid all Surprize, he meaſured back the Way he came, and paſſed by *Frauſtadt* in his Rout to *Swetiz*; giving out every where, as he paſſed along, that his whole Deſign was to avoid a Battle; and this he did, to draw *Schulenburg* from his firſt Plan, and tempt him to engage before he was reinforced by *Brauſe*.

This Stratagem ſucceeded to his Wiſh, *Schulenburg* gave Credit to theſe Reports, and, inſtead of purſuing what he had before projected, fell into the Track of our Army, and half perſuaded himſelf, that the very Terror of his Approach would alone be ſufficient to carry all before him. An Opinion which he was the more confirmed in, when one of his Parties, which he had detached to obſerve our pretended Flight, returned with ſeveral

ral Carriages loaded with Baggage, which they had carried off from our Rear. Full therefore of that Confidence he advanced as far as *Fraustadt*, where he posted his Troops.

Upon which *Rheinschild*, charmed that his Feint had prospered so well, Feb. 3. faced about without Loss of Time, and marched on to meet the Enemy, with twelve Battalions and thirty-seven Squadrons, in three Columns, which were composed both of Horse and Foot.

Schulenburg was then convinced he should have the Trouble of a Battle, and that it would be scandalous for him to retire with such superior Forces; having no less than twenty-nine Battalions, and forty Squadrons under his Command. He proceeded therefore to range his Infantry in two Lines near *Fraustadt*, between the Villages of *Jagersdorff* and *Roersdorf*; the first of these Lines being composed of sixteen Battalions, and the second nine; and in the Front he placed thirty-one Pieces of Cannon great and small, and forty-four little Mortars for throwing Grenades; then spread the whole Space of Ground before his Line, with *Chevaux de frise*, linked together with strong Chains, and all over bristled with sharp Spikes of Iron. And, that the *Swedes* might not penetrate into the two Villages which covered the Right and Left of his Infantry, he threw into each two Battalions; and, for the farther Security of his Foot, posted his Cavalry in the Wings, each of which was composed of twenty Squadrons, ranged in four Lines, to render them more impenetrable.

All this while Field-Marshal *Rheinschild* made his Approaches, and, be-

ing come within a certain Distance, formed of his two Columns three Lines, the first of which was composed of eight Battalions placed in the Centre, and commanded by the Major-Generals *Axel Sparre* and *Mardefeld*; having upon its Right twelve Squadrons, among which were mingled two Battalions: This Wing was commanded by the Field-Marshal himself. On the Left Major-General *Hummerbielm* commanded eleven Squadrons, and two Battalions, mingled, as on the Right, among the Cavalry. The second Line consisted of fourteen Squadrons ranged at some Distance one from the other, in such a Manner, however, that, both on the Right and Left, four Squadrons covered them in Flank.

The Enemy, commanded by an able General, who had made the finest Dispositions to receive the *Swedes*, waited in their Line to receive us till within about a hundred Paces Distance, when they made a general Discharge of all their Cannons, in order to thin our Ranks, and discompose the Firmness with which we had marched up to them. But we did not give them much Time to redouble their Fire, and before they had given us three Rounds, our left Wing, as being the most advanced, had begun the Combat, soon after which our Centre did the same, and all testified an extraordinary Ardour.

The *Chevaux de frise* placed before the Enemy's Infantry, seemed at first to check the Impetuosity of our Charge, but were soon hurled aside, Sword in Hand, in spite of the continual Fire of the Enemy, who were put to flight in less than a Quarter of an Hour; our
Troops

Troops having, till then, reserved their Fire, which so greatly contributed to our Success, that even their second Line was shocked, and on the Point of giving Way. However, they re-assured themselves with great Intrepidity, and made a continual Fire to abate the extreme Ardour of our Soldiers; but their most vigorous Endeavours were fruitless, and, though they again made Head, sometimes in forming themselves into an oblong Battalion, sometimes taking Advantage of the two adjacent Villages, and drawing up behind the Hedges in hope to retard the Victory, they were at last compelled to yield the Day, and take their Flight by *Fraustadt*, towards the Village of *Birzen*.

As to our Right Wing, we had there much less Difficulty to overcome. Count *Rheinschild*, who commanded it in Person, having only six thousand *Russians* divided into eleven Battalions to engage, who had turned their Coats in order to pass for *Saxons*; but who did their Duty so wretchedly, that after one single Volley, they fell into Disorder, and then, throwing down their Arms, hurried off in the greatest Confusion: Upon which our Soldiers removing the *Chevaux de frise*, and our Cavalry pouring in through the Opening, this whole Body of *Russians* were put to the Sword, not a single Man escaping, and their General *Westromirski* being made Prisoner.

The rest of the Enemy's Battalions, as well in the Centre as the Wings, having, in this Interval, been put to flight, our Squadrons, who, after having routed their Cavalry, were pursuing them at full Speed, now observing this total Overthrow of the

Saxon Infantry, push'd on before to cut off their Retreat, and, by surrounding them on all Sides near the Village of *Birzen*, oblig'd them to lay down their Arms, and surrender themselves Prisoners of War; by which Means in less than an Hour the whole Affair was ended.

It must, nevertheless, be acknowledged, that the Enemy's Cavalry made but a miserable Defence, and by turning Tail from the very first, were the principal Cause of the instant Defeat which followed, and of the total Loss of their Infantry.

The Squadrons of Horse Guards commanded by Colonel *Kosptob*, and attack'd by Colonel *Buchwald* at the Head of his Dragoons, behav'd much better than the rest; and, to do them Justice, it must be own'd they defended themselves gallantly, though they were broke at last, and oblig'd to follow the Herd; having been first abandoned by the other Squadrons of the Right Wing.

It is fact, that, except these two Squadrons which stood their Ground, all the rest, as well Infantry as Cavalry, betray'd so much Fear from the Beginning, that our Troops had nothing to do but drive them before them, and only advance, instead of fight.

The Field-Marshal had, from the first, detach'd certain Cavalry to pursue that of the Enemy, but though they pushed on full Speed, it was impossible to overtake them. So sharp a Spur is Fear!

Only some Hundreds, who had separated from the main Body, fell into the Hands of the *Swedish* *Valoches*, and were all put to the Sword, either in the open

open Field, or in the Wood adjoining to the Scene of Battle.

Thus the whole *Saxon* Army, rais'd with so much Toil, Care and Expence, commanded by a General who was a Master in the Art of War, and greatly superior in Number to the *Swedes*, was totally defeated in less than an Hour's Time, with the Loss of 7000 Men killed upon the Spot.

Among the Prisoners were Lieutenant General *Wustromirski*, Major General *Lutzelburg*, Colonel *Mellaredes*, and another Colonel who died immediately of his Wounds.

We had four hundred Men kill'd, and fourteen hundred wounded. Among the first of which were the following Officers of Distinction: Colonel *Lilleboek*, Governor of *Posnania*; Lieutenant Colonel *Cronbeilm*, and Major *Ornstedt*. And, among the last, Colonel *Buchwald*, the Majors *Wrangel* and *Suoski*, Captain *Loder*, and certain other Officers. Field Marshal *Rheinschild* had his Horse shot under him.

When the Battle was over, that General took care to have the wounded on both Sides put under Cure, and the Dead interr'd; after which he remov'd some Leagues from *Fraustadt* towards *Posnania*, where he distributed his Army all round about, to refresh themselves after their Fatigues.

King *Augustus*, who had set out for *Warsaw* with ten or twelve thousand Men, *Saxons*, *Poles*, and *Muscovites*, at the Time of the Battle, was not above fifteen Leagues distant from *Fraustadt*, hoping to enclose the *Swedes* between him and *Schulenburg*, and, by that Means, more easily defeat them: But, being disappointed in

his Expectations by the Loss of that Battle, he returned instantly to *Warsaw*, and from thence to *Cracow*, the Fortifications of which City he order'd to be repair'd and strengthen'd forthwith; detaching *Smigelski*, at the same Time, to keep an Eye upon the *Swedes*, and molest them in their Quarters.

The King of *Sweden* was then employ'd in preparing Quarters of Refreshment for his Army, where, after so dreadful a March in so dreadful a Season, they might recover their Health, and taste some Repose. Feb. 10. His Majesty set out from *Kanjunka*, and marched with the Army four Leagues to *Zadulek*, (a little City a League from the *Niema*, belonging to the *Sapiehas*) where he took up his Quarters in the Convent of the *Franciscans*.

King *Stanislaus* likewise decamped from *Zembrowa*, and repaired with his Column to *Wasielski*, four Leagues from *Kanjunka*, and certain Leagues from *Zaludek*: In which Place his Majesty receiv'd the News of the compleat Victory which Count *Rheinschild* had obtain'd at *Fraustadt*.

All the Army was distributed round the Quarters of the two Kings, and as close as possible: Certain Parties only being detach'd from Time to Time to reconnoitre the Enemy at *Grodno*, where the Garrison apparently diminish'd every Day. For, since the entire Defeat of the *Saxons*, and the Remoteness of the Czar, who was posted at the Head of twenty thousand Men near *Smolensko*, and gave little Hope of his marching to relieve *Ogilvi*; the last, who was block'd up in *Grodno*, and well knew that, while the *Niema* con-

tinued frozen, it was impossible for him to escape out of that calamitous Place, found himself at his Wits End. He had already buried above eight thousand Men, who died of Diseases, and the Remainder were reduc'd to a Condition most sad and deplorable: Notwithstanding all which he was still compelled to abide within his Lines, and suffer the last Extremities; all that was in his Power, being to order out his Cavalry, who were posted in the Adjacencies of *Tykozin* and other Places, to establish Magazines 'at *Augustowa*.

His Majesty, receiving early Intelligence of this Design, detached immediately Colonel *Kruus* with three hundred Horse to take Possession of *Augustowa*, and harass the Enemy on the Road; with Orders to put all they met to the Sword. This Party took the Road towards *Idura*, thro' which *Meyerfeld* was come a little while before. As they met with no body in that Rout, *Kruus* march'd strait to *Grodno*, within half a League of which he cut to pieces a little Party which had been detached to raise Contributions. After which he passed on, in sight of the Enemy, towards the City of *Nowiword*, situated between *Grodno* and *Tykozin*, detaching a Party by the way to give chase to a great Number of *Russians* in a neighbouring Wood, who were all killed upon the Spot. After which, upon the same Road, they encounter'd a Captain, by birth an *Englishman*, with seventy *Russians*, who, at first, stood upon his Defence in a certain Village, and even began to fire upon us, but was soon obliged to surrender himself Prisoner, with the few that remained of his

Troop, having first seen all the rest cut to pieces. Arriving at *Nowiword*, the Colonel surprized a Lieutenant with sixty Dragoons, who were all put to the Sword except the Lieutenant himself, who was taken Prisoner, and two Dragoons, who had the good Luck to make their Escape.

Kruus having taken up his Quarters at Night, in that Place, and being informed that two thousand three hundred of the Enemy's Horse were then in the long Village of *Dlugowitz*, where his Majesty had given Audience to the Ambassadors of the Republick, when upon his Entrance into *Poland*, *An.* 1702, he march'd thither the next Morning, when it was broad Day, in the hope to find them still there; but they, having received Advice by the two Dragoons, who escaped from *Nowiword*, made off full Speed, to save themselves in the City of *Lipkia*, where there was another *Muscovite* Regiment, which they took along with them, and all together galloped post to *Grodno*. *Kruus* followed instantly, and, to retard them, detached his *Valoches* before to harass their Rear: But notwithstanding, they never once faced about, and, aiming at nothing but to escape, left at the Mercy of the *Valoches* about fifty or sixty Men, who were all made Prisoners, together with a Lieutenant. The Colonel then, weary of pursuing an Enemy he could not overtake, and convinced that the Alarm of his Expedition was spread all round the Country, wheeled about, all at once, towards *Augustowa*, to which Place he had still ten Leagues to march; and the Way lying through a Wood eight Leagues in length, which was render'd quite impassable, by the Trees they had

had felled across the Road, he was compelled to take a new Rout across Morasses, Lakes and Rivers; during which Progress, approaching a Convent in the middle of a Wood, he surprized seventy *Russians* and two Lieutenants in an adjacent Village, who, except the Officers and a few of the Men, were all put to the Sword; after this, finding himself near *Augustowa*, he detached before him ten Horse to secure the Avenues which led to the City, and followed immediately after himself with the rest of his Corps.

As the *Russian* Major, who had been in garrison in that place, with some hundreds of *Russians*, was advised in time of the March of our Troops, he thought proper to retire the Evening before we arrived there towards *Prussia*, upon the Frontiers of which *Augustowa* is situated.

When the *Swedes* came before that City, they found it well furnished with Palisades, but very ill guarded, there being but one Lieutenant, one Cornet, and seventy Dragoons in the Place, who were surprized when taking their Repose, and all killed except the Cornet only, who, being a *Scotchman*, was allowed quarter.

After this Expedition *Kruus* rested some days at *Augustowa*, his Troops being extremely fatigued with so violent a March: when, having consumed the Provisions and Forage which the Enemy had amassed, and burned what they could not carry away, he returned through *Liepnin* and *Merecz*, where he cut to pieces certain Troops of *Wisniowski*, and then proceeded on to the King's Quarters, where he arrived without having lost any more than five Men, and after having marched

in six Days Time fifty-two Leagues.

The Territory of *Caun* had been assigned to the *Polish* and *Lithuanian* Troops commanded by Count *Potocki*, Palatine of *Kiowia*, and Count *Sapieha*, Palatine of *Wilna*, for their Winter-Quarters: but, as that District was too remote, and they mistrusted the near neighbourhood of the *Russians*, who were posted in the Duchy of *Courland*, it was but with an ill Will that they removed so far from the *Swedes*: neither was the Apprehension without Ground; for General *Bauer* having joined Prince *Wisniowski*, *Oginski*, and *Zaraneck*, with three thousand *Russians*, they formed all together an Army of eight thousand Men in the neighbourhood of *Sadowa*, in *Samogitia*. Upon the first Advice, therefore, that the King received from Count *Potocki*, he judged it expedient, for the Security of that *Palatinate*, to detach to his Succour nine hundred Dragoons, under the Command of Colonel *Ducker*, with Orders to attack the Enemy wherever he should find them, and, by that means, cure them of their Ambition to disturb the *Polish* Quarters for the future: and, in his Return, to ruin all the Estates belonging to the Enemies of the King of *Poland*, and put the City of *Wilna* under Contribution.

Accordingly, *Feb. 22.* Colonel *Ducker* marched straight on to the City of *Wolkiniki*, where he halted till the *Polish* and *Lithuanian* Palatines joined him with their Troops. In the mean while General *Bauer*, who knew nothing of all this, was on the Road to surprize the *Poles*, and already so near, that, when Colonel *Ducker* marched out of *Wolkiniki*, both Parties were a-

like surprized, to rencontre each other in a Wood, within a quatter of a League of that City.

Our van was presently attacked by that of the Enemy; and, though the Space between the Trees was very narrow, the Colonel drew up his Squadrons, one after another as well as he could, and advanced in good Order to a little Plain in the middle of the Wood, where he extended his Front, to make his Force appear to more Advantage. But he had scarce began to form his Line, before the Enemy rushed out from among the Trees to begin the Attack, but were so briskly received Sword in Hand, that they soon retired in great Confusion, and took Shelter yet farther in the Wood: however, not warned by this Essay, they returned a second Time to the Charge with more Troops, and renewed their Attempt on all Sides; but with no better Success than before, being again repulsed into the Wood. After which *Ducker*, to prevent a third Onset, which the Enemy were preparing, ordered a Part of his Dragoons to alight, and with the rest on Horseback penetrated the Wood, where he attacked the *Russians* so vigorously, that they instantly disbanded, and flew on all Sides, having made but one single Discharge.

The Enemy lost in this Action a Colonel, two Lieutenant-Colonels, four Captains, with a great Number of Soldiers killed or wounded, which they carried off with them according to their Custom. *Ducker* then returned to *Wolkiniki* to put under cure three of his Captains, three Lieutenants, and about sixty Dragoons who were all wounded.

As to the *Poles* they had very little Share in the Action, contenting themselves with looking on without shewing any Inclination to share in the Danger. The others (*Lithuanians*) never once appeared till all was over, when they fell in with the Pursuit; so that *Ducker*, with his nine hundred Dragoons, alone defeated the Enemy, who had thrice the number.

Feb. 25. he marched on to the City of *Wilna*, whither the *Russians* were retired; who had scarce heard of his Approach, before they flew to Horse, and made off full Speed towards *Samogitia* and the Frontiers of *Courland*, never once halting till they came to a Place of Safety. But what is pleasant enough, at *Mitau*, General *Bauer* ordered *Te Deum* to be sung; without question to thank God for his happy Escape out of the Hands of Colonel *Ducker*. Which last, not meeting with any of the Enemy's Troops in his Way to *Wilna*, rested there some Days, and put the City under Contribution.

The *Polish* Army, refusing to return to their Quarters till they were well guarded against a new Invasion from the *Russian* Posts in *Courland*, remained with the *Swedes* at *Wilna*, till they heard, a little after, that General *Bauer*, after having ruined the Castle of *Mitau*, was retired out of that Province into *Russia*; when they ventured to return to their Quarters in the Adjacencies of *Caun*.

The news of the Victory of *Fraustadt* being spread through *Lithuania*, so greatly discouraged the Partizans of King *Augustus*, who were beside wearied out with supporting both Friends and Enemies, that they began at last to

to acknowledge King *Stanislaus*: to which his Majesty's Manifesto so marvellously contributed, that Lords and Deputies arrived every Day at the King of *Poland's* Quarters at *Wasilieski*, to make their Submission to his Majesty.

Among the *Grandeess*, there remained only Prince *Radziwil*, sworn Enemy to the House of *Sapieha*, who would not follow the Example of the Majority, but obstinately adhered to King *Augustus*; as did likewise *Wisniowski*, *Oginski*, and certain others, though at so dear a Price, as the Ruin of their Estates, which were very numerous in this Country, and were all laid desolate by the *Polish* and *Swedish* Soldiers.

Provisions began now to be more plentiful in the Quarters of the two Kings, by the Care of the *Jews*, who rendered us great Services in the Course of this War, by procuring, at great Hazard to themselves, abundance of Eatables, and, especially exceeding good Wines.

Certain *French* Merchants of *Konigsberg*, likewise, did the same, and, though they run great Risque on the Roads, from Thieves and Murderers, frequent in *Poland* in time of War, they profited so well by the Commerce, as in all likelihood to make themselves easy for the rest of their Days.

As to the *Horses*, they always suffered greatly, through the Want of Forage, and, though our Troops had Leisure for Repose, Diseases still continued to rage among them. King *Stanislaus*, nevertheless, recovered from his Indisposition, which, at first, gave some Apprehensions.

The King of *Sweden* now gave Or-

ders to throw a Bridge over the *Niema*, or the *Memel*, one League from his Quarters, and nine from *Grodno*, where Count *Stenbock*, Lieutenant-General, had his Quarters, with the Regiment of *Dabl-Carlia*, and likewise the Direction of the Bridge.

Nevertheless, the King often repaired thither to encourage the Labourers, and observe what Progress they made; and one Night, *March* 8. being there, and near the Bridge, when he was on his Return over the Ice, to take Horse for his Quarters, at a Place where the Current was exceeding rapid, and the Ice exceeding thin, it gave way, all at once, underneath him, and plunged him up to the Neck in the River.

The Danger was extreme, and so much the more dreadful as the Rapidity of the Stream would have infallibly dragged him down, without a Possibility of Succour: had not he, by good Fortune, found footing on a Heap of sunk Ice, upon which, he stood upright, and supported himself against the Torrent.

In this terrible Extremity, the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, (who had once already saved the King's Life, and was always near him) Mr. *Siegroth*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of *Dabl-Carlia*, and the young Count *Wachtmeister*, threw themselves instantly upon the Ice; and the Prince catching hold of one of his Majesty's Hands, held it above Water, till more Help came to draw him out, which was at last happily effected, though not without great Difficulty and Danger.

It may justly be said, that the King was never in greater Danger than on this Occasion, in his whole Life; which,

which, in all human Probability, had here lost, if the Ice had not held firm under those, who threw themselves along upon it for his Preservation.

Count *Stenbock*, who came up with the other Officers of his Regiment in this Interval, turned pale at the Spectacle, and stood as if immoveable, at the Sight of the Danger to which his Majesty had been exposed. But, though he implored him to stay that Night *Ollowa*, to change his Cloaths, and get himself warm again, the King replied as usual, *'Twas nothing*, and, remounting his Horse, though dripping wet, his Boots full of Water, and the Weather piercing cold, returned in that Equipage to *Zaludeck*: In the Road to which Place he had another dangerous Fall, at the instant that a Waggon-load of Timber was driving on to the Bridge; his horse being already under the Wheels, and his Majesty on the point of perishing, when the Team was stopped by the very Outcries of those who were Witnesses of his Danger.

Thus a Journey, which threatened so many Misfortunes, ended at last without any ill Consequences: his Majesty only, contrary to his usual Custom, keeping in his Lodgings all the next Day, where he, nevertheless, gave Audience to the Deputies of *Wilna*.

The Czar, while at *Smolensko* with his Army, had summoned thither General *Mazeppa* with thirty or forty thousand *Cosaques*, who shewed themselves in several Places in the neighbourhood; and, after having been reinforced by some thousands of *Russians*, they took up their Quarters in *Minsko*, *Sluczsk*, *Nieswiecz*, *Lacowiecz*, and o-

†

ther little Cities; from whence they made continual Excursions, in hope to surprize us.

Though his Majesty had already Parties on the other side the *Niema*, or *Memel*; he nevertheless, on receiving this Intelligence, detached Lieutenant-Colonel *Trautfetter* with one hundred and eighty Horse towards *Novogrodeck*, to join the two hundred and seventy already in Garrison there, and after gave Chace to fifteen hundred *Cosaques*, who were posted in the City of *Nieswiecz*, belonging to Prince *Radziwil*, great Chancellor of *Lithuania*, and near to which he had a Castle fortified, into which the Commander had refused them Admittance.

The Lieutenant-Colonel, in Obedience to these Orders, so regulated his March, that he arrived, *March 13*. before *Nieswiecz*, by Day-break; when, ordering all his Men to alight, and forming three Battalions, he happily scaled the Walls, and made himself Master of the City-gates; after which he attacked the *Cosaques* on all sides; who having had Time to draw up in the Market-place, barricaded the Streets in the best manner they could, and, at the same Time, kept a continual Fire upon the *Swedes*, who, nevertheless, pressed upon them so vigorously, that, in less than half an Hour, they killed three hundred of them, together with their chief, and took four Pieces of Brass Cannon.

After which *Trautfetter* ordered his Horse to scour all the Streets, that none might escape: but, notwithstanding this Precaution, five hundred threw themselves into a Convent; and the rest, having taken Shelter in the Houses

Houses round the market-place, fired upon us continually and wounded several. To put a Stop to which in the most effectual manner, *Trautfetter* ordered the Houses to be fired, by which means six hundred *Cosaques* were destroyed in the Flames, and those who escaped surrendered themselves Prisoners, who, together with those taken in the Action, amounted in all to a hundred and eighty Men.

As to those who retreated to the Convent, *Trautfetter*, not being able to master them so easily, left them in Peace; and, according to Order, marched on to dislodge, likewise, the two thousand, posted near the Castle of *Lakowiecz*, after having sent to the Army the Prisoners and the Wounded, the last of which including the Officers, amounted to forty Men.

This second Enterprize did not, however, succeed, because the Enemy was already retired to the Castle, after having first set the City on fire. *Trautfetter*, therefore, seeing it was not in his Power to reach them, returned to *Novogrodeck*, ordering out his Parties, by the way, on all Sides, to lay waft the Enemy's Estates, which gave Occasion to several little Encounters that were smart enough.

March 26. his Majesty detached yet another party of six hundred Horse, under the Command of Baron *Charles Creutz*, Colonel of the Regiment of Horse-guards, with Orders to march to *Slonim*, as well to observe the Enemy in their Quarters, as, afterwards, to re-assemble all our Detachments posted on the other Side the *Niema*, and give Chace to all the Enemies they met, to enable himself to lay Siege at leisure to *Lacowiecz*, where the Co-

saques were inclosed.

When, therefore, Colonel *Creutz* was arrived at *Slonim*, and found the Enemies he was to observe were only certain miserable *Polish* Vagabonds, he did not think it worth his while to pursue them, but contented himself with collecting together the Parties, which had been detached in different Places.

As soon as all these were re-assembled, the Colonel put himself at the head of fifteen hundred Horse and Dragoons, without reckoning the *Valloches* and *Poles*, and marched directly to *Lacowiecz*: near which he encountered a large Body of *Cosaques*, who were soon drove for Refuge into their Castle. He then posted his Troops in the best manner he could, in the Houses in the Suburbs, which the Flames had spared, and, in that manner, held the Enemy closely blocked up, though they fired their Cannon continually, and made frequent but ineffectual Sallies, with a View, principally, to set fire to the Houses in which the *Swedes* were lodged.

It was about this Time, that the Rocks of Ice, loosened with the Thaw, and carried down the *Niema*, by the Waters melted from above, broke the Bridge we had thrown over the River near *Ollowa*: and, though we laboured instantly to repair it, General *Ogilvi*, who waited for that Opportunity, took the Advantage to retire from *Grodno*, which he effected with such Diligence, (after having sunk all his Cannon and Ammunition in the *Niema*, of which he had great Abundance) that it was impossible to overtake him.

That General had lost, during the Blockade,

Blockade, above eight thousand Men, beside two Generals, who died by Sickness; and the rest of his People were so enfeebled by Hunger and Wretchedness, that Numbers perished in that precipitate Retreat; which was made thro' various Roads little frequented, and in various Columns, thro' *Brescici* towards the *Volbinia*. They had, however, the Precaution to leave certain Detachments in the Passes of the Morasses through which they marched, to retard our Pursuit in case we had followed them.

Though it seemed impossible to come up with the Enemy, who had gained so many Days March, especially as the Bridge was broke, and the Roads were, beside, almost impassable, his Majesty, who had rested some Days longer in his Quarters, resolved, nevertheless, to decamp, as soon as the Bridge was repaired. Accordingly, *April 4.* he passed the *Niema* with his Column, and another little River, over, which, likewise, they had thrown a Bridge, near *Orta*, marching that day five dreadful Leagues and a half through *Skura*, as far as *Dcrezini*.

It is impossible to express how much the Men and Horses suffered in that one Day's March: as the last, in particular, were almost famished for Want of Forage, as the Country was marshy, and the Roads filled with Mud, rotten with the late Thaw, it was with the utmost Difficulty they were able to drag their Legs through: and, as to the Baggage, it sunk in so deep, that it took two Days to extricate it again; but one Carriage belonging to the King, being able to make way.

During all this Time, no Provision could be made for the King's Table, and he thought himself happy in having a Morsel of Bread in his Pocket, to appease the Hunger he felt, in a Country wholly desolate. The next Day, *April 5.* his Majesty proceeded as far as *Blezenice*, where he was obliged to halt for the Baggage.

King *Stanislaus*, who had with him three Regiments of Foot, *viz.* the Artillery, and those of *Rank*, and *Clerk*, and certain Cavalry, the whole commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Stromberg*, set out, *April 6.* from his quarters at *Wafiliski*, with his Court and the Grandees of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, who followed him, and marched that first Day three Leagues, as far as *Zaludeck*, from whence he pursued the same Rout the King of *Sweden* had taken, and met with the same Difficulties and Hardships we had undergone before him.

However painful this horrible March was, his Majesty, *April 10.* after the Arrival of his Baggage, still persisted; but could reach no farther than *Zezernice*, one League, where he was again obliged to halt certain Days, the Roads being become wholly impassable, because of the huge Morasses, we met with almost at every step; and, to compleat our Misfortunes, all the Villages and Houses we found in our Way, were deserted, and no more Provisions any where to be met with for the Army.

But, in spite of all these Obstacles, the King continued still resolute to make War upon the Partizans of King *Augustus*: to which purpose, he determined to march into *Polesia* and *Volbinia*, both for the better subsisting his Troops,

Troops, and to reduce the Malecontents to reason; tho' there were nothing but Morasses to cross from thence to *Kiow*, and though it was represented to him, as an Enterprize wholly impracticable for an Army.

April 14. The King continued his Rout as far as *Rosanka*, a considerable City, belonging to the *Sapiehas*, but then so wholly ruined, as well as the Castle, by *Oginski* and the *Russians*, that, except the *Jews* who had a Seminary there, we did not meet one living Soul. At this Place the Morasses begin, and extend through the whole Rout, without interruption.

The 16th, the Army entered into *Polesia*, where the greatest Families of *Lituania* have fine Estates, and reached a village called *Alba*, where there is a fine Seat belonging to the Starost *Bobrowiski*, of the Family of *Sapieha*, and where we found a large Quantity of Corn, which came most seasonably. Here the King received Advice that fifteen thousand *Russians* were posted five Leagues from thence, near the Convent of *Bereza*, to defend the Pass, which was some thousand Paces long, and, to the full, as broad; beside which it was cut thro' in several Places, and the Communication preserved by Bridges, then all broken down by the Enemy; who had likewise raised Barricades on the other Side, and of Course rendered the Passage more difficult than ever. His Majesty, however, gave Orders immediately for two Battalions of Foot-guards and certain Field-pieces to lead the Way, in profound Silence, and under Cover of the Night, through the great Woods and Marshes, to surprize to *Russians*, at present employed in raising Redoubts

and other Works on the other side of the Pass.

The next Morning the King himself followed, and, finding the Infantry already arrived, immediately ordered his Cannon to play, which killed ten or twelve Men. The Issue of this Enterprize, however, appeared so much the more uncertain, as the number of Inlets and Barricades in the Causeway, presented an Obstacle, which seemed hardly possible to be surmounted.

The King, nevertheless, without hesitating a Moment, put himself at the Head of his Grenadier-guards, accompanied by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, Major-General *Meyerfeld*, and certain other Officers, rushed into the Pass, and threw himself into the Water, under the Angles of the first Barricade, where there had been a Bridge: at the same Time, causing the Depth to be sounded with Pikes, in order to know what Danger there was of drowning.

The *Russians*, astonished at such Intrepidity, and observing with what a menacing Countenance the *Swedes* made their Approaches, never waited for their Arrival, but, without losing a Moment, made off full speed; and, by that Means, spread such a Panick through another of their Parties entrenched some Leagues off, near *Sielce*, that they retreated, likewise, in spite of the Resolution they had taken at first to defend themselves: all flying together in great Confusion towards *Pinsk*.

When his Majesty was got to the End of this Pass, which might easily have been defended by a handful of Men against a whole Army, if the E-

enemy had been resolute; he ordered the *Valoches*, having no other Horse with him, to give them Chace, which they did and returned with several Prisoners.

We found among the wounded near the *Radoubi*, a Captain, a *Frenchman*, by birth, lying on the place, who had lost his left Arm, by a Cannon-shot, and was moreover wounded on the same Side, whom the King regarding in that miserable Condition, with that noble Compassion, inseparable from the brave, stopt to have him ask'd, if he believed his Wounds were curable? Which the Captain observing, and by the Description he had heard of his Majesty, believing it to be him, instead of answering the Question put to him, enquired with great Earnestness of those about him, if the King of *Sweden* was in the Action? adding, that he ardently wished to see him before he died. Upon which the Prince of *Wurtemberg* distinguishing his Majesty with his Hand, the Captain bowed with great Veneration towards him, bestowing on him a thousand Benedictions, and protested he should now die in Peace. He expired a few Hours after in a Village, whither he had been conveyed, with a Tranquility that surprized every body, and even the King himself, who could not help lamenting the Death of so gallant a Man. He was interred the next Day with all the Honours of War.

The King, having left the two Battalions at *Bereza*, and given Orders for repairing the Bridges in the Pass, returned the same Day with the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, wet as they were to *Alba*, from whence he set out again the next, *April* 18. for *Bereza*: where

his Majesty took up his Lodgings, together with his Court, in the *Chartreux-Convent*, which is a rich Foundation, well built, endowed by one of the *Sapiebas*, and situated in a Country both fertile and agreeable. His Majesty rested there one Day; after which the Army decamped, *April* 20. and, marching through continual Marches, with infinite Fatigue, reached the Village of *Lacowice*, and the 21st, *Comok*, leaving on the left, a quarter of a League from that City, a Fortrefs, called *Zabirs*, surrounded on all sides with Fens, and belonging to Prince *Wisniowski*: accessable only in one Place, defended by four Bastions, a deep Ditch, and Palisades, and having above forty Pieces of Cannon upon the Ramparts.

It happened, during this March, that one of the Enemy's Parties, consisting of three Companies of foot, commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Troops of *Pockiei*, who King *Augustus* had made Great-Treasurer of *Lithuania*, were discovered, and taken Prisoners in a manner singular enough.

They had Orders to throw themselves into *Zabirs*, from which they were not far distant; but, unhappily for them, Count *Sapieba*, Treasurer of the Crown, Adjutant-General *Tittinghof*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Hammerbielm*, and *Charles Adlerfelt*, a Gentleman of the Court, with some others, and their Servants, who might in all amount to fifteen or sixteen Persons, being by chance strayed a little out of the Road, fell in with them, and, without Ceremony, bid them lay down their Arms.

This the *Poles*, at first, seemed inclined

clined to dispute, but when they saw the *Swedish* Army advancing at distance, they thought no more of Resistance, and surrendered themselves all Prisoners of War. The King, being then come up, immediately commanded certain Troops to conduct them, together with their Baggage and their Waggons to *Comok*: but, being advised they belonged to *Pocziefi*, set them at liberty the same Evening; having first ordered half their Beards to be clipped off, the Skirts of their Cloaths circumcised, and Passports to be tied about their Necks, with Menaces that, if ever again they appeared in Arms against the King of *Sweden*, they should all be hanged. Upon these Terms the Soldiers were permitted to escape, but, as to the Officers, they were still detained, and obliged to follow the Army: which, after one day's Repose at *Comok*, without making any attempt on the Fortrefs of *Zabirs*, set out again, *April 23.* for the village of *Drazalovice*, and from thence, the 24th, for *Pinsk*, which, after *Breszizi*, upon the *Bug*, is the Capital of *Polesia*; making part of the Domains of the Kings of *Poland*, though then belonging to *Wisniowski*: it is of considerable Extent, and would be handsome, if the Buildings, began there, were finished; especially the Palace of *Wisniowski*, which is grand and spacious, having a fine Garden, but, like the rest, is not compleated.

This City is situated as in the Centre of all these vast Marshes, which here, at some Seasons, look like a Sea; and may be navigated with Barks of considerable Burden down as far as the City of *Kiow*, especially with the help of the River *Pina*, which with

several others, discharges itself into the *Nieper*, and which was of great Service to a party of the *Russians*, who, after their Defeat, took this Rout, as the safest, towards their native Country.

In the middle of this huge Marsh, or Sea, certain Eminencies rise like Islands, though not approachable but in Skiffs or Canoes; and, tho' all this Extent of Water is covered with Bulrushes, which gave it the Resemblance of a Labyrinth, the Inhabitants are, notwithstanding, so well acquainted with all the Turns and Doubles, that they never fail of finding the Place they aim at, somewhat in the manner of travelling on the Canals in *Holland*; whereas a Stranger shall lose himself a hundred Times, before he lights upon the right Track he ought to follow.

There is in this City a College of Jesuits, who have a Dispensary, which is a thing very rarely to be met with in this Country. Beside these it is inhabited by all sorts of People, of different Religions, especially *Greeks*, and a great Number of *Jews*, who have a Synagogue. The Inhabitants of this Province are, likewise, more laborious than elsewhere: and the Manufacture of *Russia* Leather at *Pinsk*, is esteemed the finest in the Kingdom.

Never Army before had dared to penetrate so far; the most antient Histories of *Poland* mentioning no such thing; and the People were so generally convinced, that it was impossible to surmount the Difficulties, which such a continual Succession of Marshes must offer upon a March, that they were under the greatest Astonishment to see the *Swedes* within their Borders.

The King was scarce alighted off his Horse,

Horse but he ascended the Steeple of the *Jesuits* Church, to examine the Situation of that strange Country, and, observing that continual Succession of Water, till the very Eye-sight failed, he said smiling, *See my non plus ultra*. It was, in Effect, absolutely impossible to penetrate strait on from hence into *Volkinia*, either by the Help of Bridges, or Barks, as his Majesty had at first proposed.

The King, therefore, resolved to remain some Weeks at this Place, to wait the Arrival of the rest of the Regiments, which were as yet far behind. During which Interval, he ordered the Roads to be repaired with all Diligence, and Bridges to be thrown over several Places, to render his Egress more commodious than his Entrance had been.

Colonel *Creutz*, who was left in Rear to continue the Blockade of *Lacowitz*, having received Advice that some thousand *Russians* and *Cosagues* seemed inclined to march to the Relief of that Fortrefs, detached certain Parties for more exact Information: who not only confirmed the Arrival of the Enemy in the Adjacencies of the City of *Kleisk*, at three Leagues Distance, but, likewise, that they intended, after taking one Day's Repose, to set out towards the Evening, in order to surprize him, under Covert of the Night.

That Day the Colonel had received a Re-inforcement of four thousand Dragoons, commanded by a Major, which his Majesty had detached, while upon his March, to join him, and, therefore, resolved to take the Advantage, and be before-hand with the Enemy. Accordingly, he set out at eleven

o'Clock the same Evening, having left Lieutenant-Colonel *Traut-fetter* to watch the Blockade.

But, whatever Care the Colonel had taken to conceal his March, it was discovered by the advanced Guards of the Enemy; who, having had Time to range themselves, he found them, at Day-break, in order of Battle; part in the City of *Kleisk*, and part on the other Side, and beyond a Marsh covered with a Bridge: beside which the Streets were filled with *Russian* Foot, and the *Cosaque* Cavalry.

Notwithstanding all which fine Dispositions and Preparations, *Creutz* began the Attack in several Places, especially, where he believed it most to his Advantage: and though the Enemy returned a violent and continual Fire, he had the good Fortune in less than half an Hour's Time, to push all the Infantry into the Marsh, where, not being able to advance or retire, they were all cut to pieces. At the same time, the Bridge, which, as observed before, led out of the Marsh, was so choak'd up with the Bodies of Horses and Men, killed and wounded, that *Creutz* could hardly get over to attack the rest of the Troops on the other Side, which made their utmost Efforts to dispute the Passage.

Our Squadrons, however, having gained Ground by little and little, and, at last, arrived to the End of the Bridge, those who passed first attacked the Enemy, Sword in Hand, with such Impetuosity, that both Horse and Foot were repulsed, and driven off in Confusion to the Distance of a quarter of a League.

Creutz then lengthened out his Line, to give them chace in Platoons: because

because it was difficult to advance in large and close Bodies in such a boggy Country: and, in this Order, put to the Sword, all they could overtake for half a League together; when, not caring to pursue them any farther, he returned towards the City, and sent out his Parties, on all Sides, to destroy all the *Russians* and *Cossagues* who had hid themselves in the Houses, and Ovens; above four thousand of whom perished in the City, and the open Field; among which was *Apostol Andres*, the *Cossaque* General, sent hither by *Mazeppa* in his Place.

The *Russian* General had the Happiness to escape with a Wound in his Arm; and no Quarter was given but to one *Cossaque* Colonel, one Captain, and seventy men, who were made Prisoners. We took, beside, four pieces of Brass Cannon, sixteen Standards and Ensigns, and four pair of Kettle-Drums.

The Besieged, in the mean while, no sooner observed that a large Body of the Besiegers were marched off, but they endeavoured to make Use of the Opportunity, by making continual Sallies; and, as their Number, likewise, continually increased, *Trautsfetter* saw himself obliged to send Advice to *Creutz* by an Express; who, having received it, staid but two Hours after the Action of *Kletsk*, before he returned without loss of Time, leading the Way himself, and being followed only by a Handful of his Men.

The Besieged perceiving the Return of these Troops, took it for granted the *Swedes* were beat, and even signified their Joy upon the Occasion, by sounding their Trumpets and Kettle-Drums: but it lasted no longer than

till the Arrival of the rest of the Detachment, who posted thither as fast as possible: for the Besieged, then seeing the Trophies which were spread before them, and hearing the Discharge which the *Swedes* made upon the Castle, with the Assistance of the four pieces of Cannon just taken, while, on another Side, they raised Batteries, and opened the Trenches, lost all Courage, and beat a Parley in order to capitulate, which being refused, they surrendered at Discretion, May 2. 1706. to the Number of one thousand, three hundred and sixty-one Men, Officers, and Subalterns, included, who all laid down their Arms. We likewise took nine Pieces of Cannon, and nine Ensigns and Standards.

King *Stanislaus*, who, as hath been observed, followed with his Column that of his *Swedish* Majesty, passing near *Zabirs*, summoned the Governor to surrender, who, not only refused, but fired upon our Troops; which the King of *Sweden* being made acquainted with, detached thither immediately Major-General *Meyerfeld* to reduce him to Reason: but he receiving no other Answer, than had before been given to King *Stanislaus*, his *Swedish* Majesty repaired thither himself, and, after having made the Tour of the Fortress, as well as the Marsh would give him Leave, returned to *Pinsk*, to order the Artillery. Upon which the Governor, who, till then, would listen to no Proposal, began to change his Tone, especially, when he was threatened with the utmost Rigour, if he persisted in his Obstinacy, and surrendered at Discretion with all his Garrison, which consisted of seven hundred Men, As this place belonged

ed to *Wisniowiski*, it was levelled with the Ground, the forty pieces of Cannon on the Ramparts were burst, and all the Houses, together with the Magazines, burnt to Ashes.

King *Stanislaus* then wheeled from *Gomok* near *Zabirs*, more to the Right, towards *Poland*, and, after having passed through *Opolia*, and the City of *Motol*, reached *Malodowa*, four Leagues and a half from *Pinsk*, where he took up his Quarters, April 27.

It was about this Time, that the King received the News of the Defeat of the *Russian* and *Cosaque* Succours at *Kletsk* by Colonel *Creutz*, but as he was yet ignorant of the Reduction of the Fortress of *Lacowitz*, he ordered thither the Artillery, destin'd for *Zabirs*, under an Escorte of fifty Dragoons, and, without saying a Word to any body of his Design, stole from his Quarters, May 2. at two o'clock in the Morning, without so much as a Servant, accompanied only by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, whom he had advertised over Night to be ready to follow him.

They rode twenty Leagues on a Stretch that Day to *Lacowitz*, and found the Place already given up. Upon which his Majesty ordered it immediately to be raised, which was done so effectually, that, except the inner Castle, which belonged to the *Sapiehas*, all was laid level with the Ground.

The King then repaired to *Kletsk*, to survey the Field of Battle, and, upon his Return, decamped from *Lacowitz* with *Creutz* and his Detachment, and marched over to *Niezvice*, where Lieutenant-Colonel *Trautfetter* had defeated fifteen hundred *Cosagues*,

as hath been already related, and set Fire to the City; only a Lieutenant-Colonel, and certain Troops being left at *Lacowitz*, as well to guard the Prisoners, as compleat the Demolition of the Ramparts and Walls which surrounded the Castle.

When the King was arrived at *Niezvice*, the Garrison of which consisted of two hundred Men, beside the Burghers and Populace, he immediately summoned it to surrender, by Adjutant-General *Rosenstierna*; and, upon the Commander's Refusal, ordered him to be told, that he should be hanged with all his Garrison, if he obliged the *Swedes* to handle one Shovel, or discharge one Cannon: upon which, not caring to put his Life to such a Hazard, he resolved in an Hour's Time to comply, and surrendered at Discretion to his Majesty.

That Fortress, which was esteemed one of the finest in *Poland*, was secured by four Stone Bastions, strong Counterscarps, and every thing capable of Defence, without any one Defect. The seventeen pieces of brass Cannon, and the four of Iron found there, were all melted down, and his Majesty gave Orders to blow up the Fortifications, and raise the whole Pile, because it belonged to Prince *Radziwil*.

Several parties were detached to lay waste the rest of the Possessions of that Prince, which lay in that Country, and which were of such an Extent, that they equalled the finest Principality. Those of many other discontented Lords underwent the same Fate. The King then, May 12. repaired, with the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, to *Slucsk*, the Castle of which, belonging to

to Prince *Charles Philip* of *Neubourg* *, in the Right of his Wife, threw open its Gates immediately to receive him. His Majesty made no Stay in this City, which is one of the largest in the Country, and, after having given Orders to Colonel *Creutz*, to keep a strict Eye on the whole Province, as well as to burst all the Cannons of *Sluck*, which carried above eight Pound Ball, and might serve the Enemy for Field-pieces, he returned without any Escorte to *Pinsk*.

It was six o'clock in the Evening, May 13. that the King set out on Horseback from *Sluck*, leading in his own Hand, as well as all those in his Train, a spare Horse, for a Change in case of need; and, by four o'clock the next Day, arrived safe at his Quarters, having rid, across Marshes and Rivers, thirty Leagues upon a Stretch. The Prince of *Wurtemberg*, Major-General *Meyerfeld*, and two others, were the only Persons able to support the Fatigue; the rest remaining behind at different Places. When they were almost at their Journey's End, they came to the Side of a Lake, and, not seeing any Person to ferry them over, were greatly embarrassed, till chance led them to a small Skiff, which they resolved to make use of themselves, for that Purpose.

The King took Charge of the Helm, the Prince held the Horses, which were to swim by the Side, and the others rowed. At first all went well; but when the Horses discerned no Land on the other side, they stopped all at once, and would proceed no

farther. The Prince then stood in need of all his Strength, to hinder them from over-setting the Skiff, or dragging him into the Lake: which he both accomplished, and, likewise, so pacified them at last, that they swam the rest of the Way quietly, and, thereby, contributed to the Ease of the Rowers: by which Means all got safe to Land, and reached the Head-quarters, without any ill Accident whatever.

In this Interval, *Creutz* executed the Orders he had received, and, after *Niezvice* was totally burned and raised, rejoined the Army with his Detachment. As to the Garrison of that Place they were set at Liberty, together with their Commander, with Menaces, however, to hang them all up, in case they ever more bore Arms against King *Stanislaus*, or the King of *Sweden*.

The King now prepared to leave *Pinsk*; but before his Departure, ordered a Sort of Castle or Palace, at the Entrance of the Suburbs, because it belonged to *Wisniowski*, to be blown up. At the same Time he commanded the Suburb itself to be burnt for the same Reason, and it was reduced to Ashes accordingly.

His Majesty, in his March, inclined to the right, to avoid the largest of the Marshes; and May 23. reached *Duboi*, a Place belonging to the Jesuits of *Pinsk*. The same Day he likewise made a Tour to *Zabirs*, to see what Progress was made in the Demolition of it; and, by the way, the Prince of *Wurtemberg* had the Misfortune to

* At present Elector-Palatine, whose first Wife was a Princess of the House of *Radziwilk*.

tumble into a Marsh, from whence he was dragged out with great Difficulty, but lost his Horse irrecoverably.

The 25th, the Army passed the River *Pina*, and came to *Dolski*, where they halted till the 28th, when they reached *Lubiszowa*, or *Dubieski*, a City which had the Guilt of belonging to *Wisniowski*, and therefore was reduced to Ashes.

The 29th, we marched on to *Horo-nize*, and, afterwards to *Serviza*, from thence, the 30th, to *Novaruda*, where we continued till June 2. both to refresh the Army, and wait for the Baggage, which was still behind: the Bridges, thrown over the Marshes, not able to support such a Number of Carriages, being broke down in several Places.

June 2. the Army advanced to the City of *Holuwka*, from thence the 3d, to *Zokulof*, and the 4th, by the River *Sier*, to *Roficze*, where his Majesty ordered the Bridge over that River to be repaired. After which the 6th, the Army entered into *Volbinia*, and marched on to *Klockzyn*, from whence, passing by the City of *Luko*, the 9th, it reached the Castle of *Jari-Bowice*.

Here the King continued some Time; and, to facilitate the Arrival of the rest of the Army, he ordered them to march in several Columns, and by various Routs; the Rear having it in Charge, to burn and spoil all the Estates of the Enemy in their Passage.

Major-General *Meyerfeld* was detached, at the same Time, with four Regiments towards *Breswizie*, a noted Pass, situated on the *Bug*, bordering on *Lithuania* and *Poland*, it being ad-

vised that *Pocziesi* was posted there with a large Number of *Poles*. *Meyerfeld* hastened his March as fast as possible to surprize them, but his Diligence was of no Use: no Enemies being yet arrived. He therefore posted himself in the City to expect them, which is famous for the University the *Jews* have there, who repair thither in Crowds from *Germany*, *Italy*, *Moravia* and *Silesia*, to study and take their Degrees. The whole *Palatinate*, likewise, takes its Name from this City, though by some it is called *Polesia*.

During the Time that *Meyerfeld* waited at *Breswizie*, partly by Gentleness, and partly by Threats, he induced the greatest Part of the Nobility of that Country to declare for King *Stanislaus*, and all that refused were punished with the total Ruin of their Estates.

Some little Time after this, the Troops of *Sapiehas* amounting to four or five thousand Men, joined him, which he employed with Success to scour the Country. They returned one Day with eleven Companies, and a Regiment of *Polish* Infantry, which they had taken Prisoners, and who, afterwards, entered all together into the Service of King *Stanislaus*.

That Prince, likewise, quitted his Quarters at *Molodowa*, together with his Court and his Column of Troops, May 24. the Day after the King had quitted his, and marched as far as *Bronitza*, where the Regiments halted one Day. The 26th, they proceeded to *Balandize*, through the Marsh, and the Pass near *Niefzitze*, which is a Branch of the River *Pina*. The 28th, the Regiments repaired to *Dolsky*.

The

The next Day they passed the *Pina*, and marched within half a League of *Luboschow*, to *Wola*. The 31st they removed to *Sczerwitz*, and having halted there one Day, they marched through the City of *Trojanacka* to *Holunka*, the 5th, to *Zanucki*, and the 6th, to *Roekize*, where they threw a Bridge over the River *Sier*, and where the Regiments of the *Artillery*, *de Rank*, and *de Clerk*, continued of the other Side, and did not pass the Bridge at all.

The 9th, King *Stanislaus* with Lieutenant-General *Stromber*, the Court, the Guards, and some Horse, repaired to *Kollzin*, where he took up his Quarters. The rest of his Column marching the 10th, to *Doroboisai*, and to *Targonitze*, which was but one League from the Head-Quarters of *Jarislawice*.

On the Approach of our Army into *Valbinia*, the Inhabitants hurried off on all Sides, and the King immediately ordered Magazines to be established for the Refreshment of our Troops, after the dreadful Fatigues they had undergone.

This Country appeared to us quite a Paradise, in comparison with the Province which we had left behind us; the Fertility being so great, and the Plenty of Corn so extraordinary, that the Inhabitants could not consume it, to our very great Satisfaction.

While we took our Repose in this charming District, several Parties were sent out to levy Contributions, and compel the Malecontents, by plundering their Estates, to pay what was exacted of them: being the best Method imaginable to reduce the *Poles* to Reason. In the Course of which Executi-

on, these Detachments extending themselves as far as the Adjacencies of *Kiow*, the *Russians* were so alarm'd, that they assembled the Body of an Army; dreading an Attack, from the Nearness of the Neighbourhood.

The Nobility of the Country, likewise, who were Friends to *Augustus*, concerned for their Estates, were in the utmost Consternation to see the King of *Sweden* among them. Having never been able to fancy, that an Army incumbred with Baggage and Artillery, could traverse fifty Marshes, such a Number of Passes and Defiles, believed, till then, impracticable, and penetrate, at last, into a Country, where an Enemy had never been known.

Prince *Radziwil*, Grand-Chancellor, appeared above all others the most sensibly touched; for, beside, that his Estates in *Lithuania* were already ruined, and his Towns laid in Ashes by the *Swedes*, he had still the Chagrin to see them on the Point of dividing the rest of his Possessions: the King of *Sweden* being quartered a few Leagues only from *Olyka*, a fine City of his, where there is an Academy, thought it proper to send thither a *Swedish* Garrison. Major-General *Meyerfeld*, being also posted in the Adjacencies of *Biala*, another fine Estate belonging to that House, but a little Way from *Baeszizie*, so that it was impossible for either of them to avoid the like Fate, which had visited all the rest.

Count *Jablonowski*, Palatine of *Russia*, and his Brother, the Standard-bearer of the Crown, appeared, likewise, greatly embarrassed at our Arrival: for, though they were Uncles by

the Mother's Side to King *Stanislaus*, their Inclinations were for King *Augustus*, whose Friendship they preferred to the nearest Ties of Blood, whence it was easy to conclude, what sort of Treatment they would receive.

The Grand-Chamberlain *Lubomirski*, together with his Nephew, the *Oboizni-Coronni*, or Quarter-Master-General of the Crown, who had already submitted to King *Stanislaus*, importuned them incessantly to follow their Example, and do the same to avoid the Chastisement, which the King of *Sweden* would certainly inflict: and which would be so much the severer, as that, having once acceded to the Confederacy of *Warsaw*, they, nevertheless, a little after the Election of King *Stanislaus*, changed Sides, and, together with the late Grand-General *Lubomirski*, went over to King *Augustus*.

These Noblemen, as well as several others, studied all manner of Expedients to play their Parts dexterously, in this critical Situation, and behave themselves in so nice a Manner, as to leave it in their Power, afterwards, to follow which Faction they pleased. The first Step they took, therefore, was to insinuate themselves into the good Graces of King *Stanislaus*, to whom they protested an Infinity of Zeal and Sincerity, in the most respectful Terms, and with all the Humility possible: which had so good an Effect on that Prince, always gracious and condescending, that he not only took them into his Protection, but even promised to procure them Access to the King of *Sweden*.

But his Majesty, who had several Times already experienced the incon-

stant Humour of that Nation, would not suffer himself to be won so easily, and demurred for some time to the Sollicitations of King *Stanislaus*. At last, however, giving way to the reiterated Importunities of that Prince, he agreed to fix a Term for those Noblemen to accede to their Duty, which he insisted should be done in a Body, and with an unanimous Submission to the new King.

Prince *Radziwil* was the only one who made a Difficulty to comply, and he suffered the Time limited to elapse before he came to a Resolution. At last, however, having received repeated Commands to come in, and acknowledge his sovereign Lord, he obeyed, and did Homage to King *Stanislaus*. The rest of the Nobility of *Volhinia*, among whom was a Prince of the illustrious House of *Czatorinski*, then followed his Example, and did the same; having first met in full Assembly, and sent Deputies to acknowledge him in Form for their legitimate Liege-Lord. In this manner did the King of *Sweden*, in a very short time, finish the Affairs of *Volhinia*, that he might, with the greater Celerity, proceed on to compleat what yet of his Plan remained imperfect.

King *Augustus* was still at *Cracow*, where he had constant and indisputable Advices of all that passed in *Volhinia* to his Disadvantage; neither did he believe himself in Security there, when he learned that Field-Marshal *Rheinschild* was making his Approaches to *Warsaw*, and made certain Motions which indicated he meant to inclose him there: to prevent which, he took a Resolution to return into *Lithuania*, as likewise to be nearer the Czar, and,

and, if possible, draw the King of Sweden out of Poland, far from the Frontiers of his hereditary Dominions.

Leaving, therefore, at Cracow a Garrison sufficient for the Defence of the Place, with the Residue of his Troops, and certain Russian Regiments, he marched Night and Day; and, near Radom, fil'd off towards the Vistula, which he passed without a Moment's Delay. After which, having joined the Crown-Army, he made a feint to attack General Meyerfeld who was posted at Breszizie: but, having halted on the Side of the Bug, twelve Leagues from Breszizie, all at once, he passed the River, the Water being then very shallow, and repaired first to Tykoxin, and then to Lithuania, where he distributed his Troops in the Neighbourhood of Novogrodeck, expecting, with much impatience, what Measures the King of Sweden would take; and whether he would follow him, or not.

His Majesty, however, was far enough from being amused any longer by an Enemy, who flew before him from one Province, Country and River to another, only to mislead him from his Purposes, and ruin his Troops in pursuing him by continual Marches, and intolerable Fatigues. On the contrary, he resolved to put a finishing Stroke to the War, by entering into Saxony, and consequently oblige King Augustus to abdicate the Crown, or, in case of Refusal, to reduce his Country to such a Condition, that it should not recover Strength again for Years, much less furnish out the exorbitant Expences of the War. His Majesty, nevertheless, kept his

Purpose so secret, that no body knew what step he would take next, though all his Troops had Orders to hold themselves ready for a March.

The King's Birth-day was celebrated at Zarisslowice, before our Departure, after the usual Manner, without any distinction from other Days, or any Pomp whatever: we had not even heard the Sound of the Drums and Trumpets that day, if it had not been Sunday, and it was the Custom to call the Troops to publick Worship by that Signal.

Some Days after, his Majesty made one of the greatest Promotions that ever was upon Record, either in the Reign of Charles XI. or his own: Creating eight Senators, or Counsellors of State, which is the first Dignity in the Kingdom. Count Otto Welling was named the first, and likewise appointed President of the Tribunal of Abo, in Finland; Count Gyllenstierna, Counsellor of State, and Governor General of Brema; Count Rheinschild, Counsellor of State, and Field-Marshal of his Majesty's Armies: General Frolich, Counsellor of State, and President of the Tribunal of Dorpt; General Niks Stromberg, Governor of Revel; Count Poffe Governor or Sate-Holder of Stockholm; General Nieroth, Counsellor of State, and President of the Tribunal of Zankioping; Baron Arwid Horn, was created a Count, and Counsellor both of State, and of the Chancery. Count Magnus Steinbock was made General, and Governor of Scania. Count Adam Lowenhaupt, General and Governor of Riga; and Mr. Maydel, and Baron Arwid Axel Mardefeld were appointed Generals of Foot.

There were, moreover, appointed,

thirteen Major-Generals of Infantry, and seventeen Colonels; not to mention Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, and other Subaltern Officers.

July 7. 1706. All the Parties, which had been detached to levy Contributions, being recalled, the Army decamped from *Zarisslowice*, passed over the River of *Ster* near *Scheckne*, and, leaving the City of *Lusus* on one side, reached *Skurza*, where they rested one Day.

The 9th, we passed through the City of *Woinin* in our way to *Sainstiza*, the next Day, marching by different Routs, we arrived at *Podbaize*. The 11th, we marched through the City of *Wlodzimir* to *Horodla*, in *Red Russia*, and the *Palatinate* of *Beltz*, where the King very easily passed over the River *Bug*, which, being there near its Source, is neither broad, or deep enough to be navigable. The 12th, we reached the City of *Dubinka*, which belonged to King *Stanislaus*, and where a Part of the Army, which had taken a different Rout, joined us. After which, the 14th, we proceeded to the City of *Cbelm*, the Capital of the *Palatinate* of that name, where we took one Day's Repose.

The 16th, his Majesty directed his Course to *Moglize*, the 17th, to *Lenczna*, having left the City of *Lublin* on the right; the 18th, *Nazubow*, the 19th, through the City of *Korow*, to *Pulawa* upon the *Vistula*, an Estate belonging to the *Palatinate* of *Belsk*, *Siniowski*, whom King *Augustus* had elevated to the Dignity of Grand-General of the Crown, in the room of the late Prince *Lubomirski*.

This March was made with so much Diligence, that, before the Enemy

were advised that the King of *Sweden* had decamped from *Zarisslowice*, he was far off *Volbinia*, on the Banks of the *Vistula*.

Just at this time, Count *Zinzendorff*, with Mr. *Adelshausen* his Secretary, and the rest of his Train, being on the Point of passing the River, in Search of his Majesty on the Frontier of *Volbinia*, fell in with our Van, who informed him the King of *Sweden* was at Hand. Upon which, surprized at the Intelligence, he immediately repaired to Count *Piper*, and earnestly demanded a private Audience of the King: which having as soon attained, he represented to his Majesty, in the most lively Terms, that the Imperial Court was greatly alarmed at the Report which had been spread of his *Swedish* Majesty's Design to enter into *Saxony*, which in the present Posture of Affairs, had given Birth to a thousand Apprehensions, with regard to the Empire; resulting from the strict Friendship which always had, and then actually did subsist between *France* and *Sweden*. To which it was replied, That the Emperor might depend on the King's upright Intentions, who had nothing more at Heart than to preserve a good Intelligence with his most Imperial Majesty: That the Friendship, subsisting between *France* and *Sweden*, had no Relation to the Affairs of *Poland* and *Saxony*: And, finally, that he might be satisfied his Majesty would never think of troubling the Repose of the Empire, to oblige any Power whatever. Upon receiving which Assurances, the Envoy took his Leave, and returned to his Court.

During this Time, all the necessary Preparations

Preparations were made for throwing two Bridges over the *Vistula*, one near *Pulawa*, and the other near the City of *Casimir*, that the Army might continue its March more commodiously, in different Columns, one of which was to be commanded by King *Stanislaus*.

As to the Detachment under Major-General *Meyersfeld*, and which, till then, had continued at *Breszizie*, it took the Road of *Lukow* in the *Palatinate* of *Lublin*, and repaired to the *Vistula*, which it passed over. *Meyersfeld*, in this March, had the Misfortune to lose a Captain and six Dragoons, who, having Orders to levy Contributions, was attacked by some Thousands of *Poles*, and killed with most of his Men.

When the Bridges were compleated, July 23. the King proceeded in his March from the *Vistula* to *Zwolim*, and the 24th, to the City of *Radom*, where the Army continued some Days. But, the next following Night at eleven o'Clock, his Majesty took a Resolution to push on eighteen Leagues farther, to *Pionteck*, where Field-Marshal *Rheinschild* was encamped with his Army. Chusing for his Companions only the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, Prince *Charles Leopold de Mecklembourg*, who joined the Army in *Volbina*, Major-General *Meyersfeld*, Adjutant-General *Canifer*, two *Drabans*, and a *Polish* Guide, in all seven Persons.

Having travers'd a Wood, two Leagues from *Radom*, at dead midnight, they fell in, all at once, with one of the Enemy's Parties, consisting of three hundred *Poles*, who were posted at the End of the Wood, and in the Road on the other Side: who, at the first, imagining them to be of

their own Party, and the King, on the other hand, believing them to be *Swedish* *Valoches*, his Majesty found himself almost in the middle of them, before any Explanation ensued on either Side. But when Adjutant-General *Canifer*, who led the Way together with the *Polish* Guide, and who was well versed in the *Polish* Language, had demanded the *Word*, and received no Answer, all were undeceived, and every one, putting Spurs to his Horse, thought of nothing but making their Escape.

At that instant the Enemy gave Fire, and pursued the King and his Train back into the Wood; however, without doing them the least Mischief, the Darkness, as well as the Trees, so effectually covering their Retreat, that they all happily repassed the Wood; and the Enemy, manifestly for fear of an Ambuscade, then gave over the Chace.

This Rencontre, nevertheless, so dispersed the whole Company that the King, being soon after thrown from his Horse, had no body near to give him Assistance; but, as he held the Bridle fast, notwithstanding his Fall, his Horse could not run away, and his Majesty had Time to remount. This Mischief, however, attended it, that he afterwards lost his Way, and was entirely separated from his Retinue.

The Prince of *Mecklembourg*, likewise, fell from his Horse; but he was not so lucky as the King, his Horse taking the Bit in his Teeth, and leaving him to shift for himself as he could: which obliged him to foot it back to the Wood, and there search out the most shadowed Places to hide himself till the Morning.

The

The Prince of *Wurtemberg* and Major-General *Meyerfeld* kept the Road with the rest; and took it for granted, that the King, according to his usual Custom, had got the start, and was arrived at *Radom* before them.

But, when they came to the Camp, and heard no News of his Majesty, it occasioned an universal Uneasiness; upon which Count *Piper*, being immediately apprized of what had happened, ordered out Colonel *Burenschild*, with two hundred Horse, to go upon the Spur in Search of him, all along that Road.

But, though this Detachment dispersed themselves on all Sides, they found only the Prince of *Mecklenbourg* in an Equipage ridiculous enough, and which would have excited much Laughter on any other Occasion: he being mounted on a little Pad, he had found near a Village, without either Saddle or Bridle, and labouring hard to put him on, to very little Purpose.

As to the King, after having wandered all Night, he had the good Fortune, at Sun-rise, to recover the Road to *Radom*, where he arrived alone: and, having learn'd that two hundred Horse were out in quest of him, he immediately mounted a fresh Horse, and, without stopping a Moment, hastened to join them, accompanied by Count *Wrangel*, Captain-Lieutenant of the *Drabans* and Major-General.

About two Leagues from *Radom*, his Majesty fell in with the Detachment, and selecting fifty of the Number, sent back the rest to the Army.

With these he continued his Journey, and arrived happily at Count

Rheinschild's Quarters, who was greatly surprized to see his Majesty there, when he believed he had not yet passed the *Vistula*. His Majesty continued here but few Days, during which, he visited the Regiments, and, having left behind him the Escorte he brought from *Radom*, and taken another from *Rheinschild's* Army, returned to his own, *July* 28. which continued where they were, for a few Days longer, till the Residue of the Troops had passed the *Vistula*.

The *Russians* now recommenced their Excursions, on the Side of *Kiow*, with large Detachments. Delivered from their Apprehensions, that his Majesty would conduct his Troops, into *Russia*, which they feared was his Design, in that painful March which he made through *Polesia*, and learning at the same time, that he had left *Volbinia*, they believed the Opportunity favourable to reduce that Country anew to his Obedience; and so much the more favourable, as they had no Reason to expect the least Resistance.

There was, nevertheless, but one strong Party detached, among so many others, to fall in with our Rear, and harass us upon our March: And this had the good Fortune to surprize a *Swedish* Lieutenant, with forty Horse, at *Lublin*; who, having rambled about from Side to Side, to raise Contributions, and neglected to join the Army, before it had passed the *Vistula*, was attacked on such a Surprize, that, in spite of the brave Defence they made, almost all of them were put to the Sword: the Lieutenant himself being dangerously wounded, and escaping with the utmost Difficulty, together with a few of his Men, to the Army.

The

The *Russians* having no great Stomach to pursue us any farther, halted on the other Side of the *Vistula*, where they became, in the Sequel, every where Masters: especially when Prince *Menzikoff* arrived there from *Lithuania* to the Succour of King *Augustus*, with twenty thousand Men, as we shall see presently.

July 31. His *Swedish* Majesty departed from *Radom*, and, together with the Army, marched on to *Nowamiaſto*, having crossed the River of *Piſa* in their way. August 1. they proceeded to *Rowa*, and the next Day to the City of *Berezini*, where they rested some Days, during which his Majesty celebrated a Fast, with Prayers suitable to the Occasion: many of which had that Year been observed in *Sweden*.

Aug. 6. The Army continued its March to *Strikowa*, which was but one League from *Piontek*, where that under *Rheinschild* had continued till then; both of which being now joined, comprehended all the Forces his Majesty had in *Poland*.

Aug. 11. The Army again decamped, and reached the little City of *Lutomiers*, the Column under *Rheinschild* marching all the way a-breast with that of his Majesty. The 13th, they proceeded to the City of *Warta*, the 14th to *Blaski*, the 15th, to *Olchock*, a Cloister so called; the 16th to *Oſtro-wice*, and the 17th, to *Solmerzine*, a Place on the Frontiers of *Sileſia*, belonging to King *Stanislaus*.

Here the King rested till the 27th, when his Majesty, in one Day's March, passed through the Cities of *Zdun*, *Justozin*, and *Goska*, to *Ruvitz*, where his Majesty had his Winter,

Quarters the Year before.

The King had no sooner taken a Resolution to enter into *Saxony*, An. 1706. and to quit *Poland* for some Time, than he ordered General *Mordefeld* to post himself near *Kabis* in *Great Poland*, that he might have a continual Eye on the Motions of the Enemy, and keep those Parts under an Obedience to King *Stanislaus*, who had a considerable Party on his side.

The Body of Troops which the King left under General *Mordefeld* was composed of the Regiment of Horse of *Scania*; three Regiments of German Dragoons: three Regiments of Foot, one *Pomeranian*, under the Command of Colonel *Charles Horn*; one *Bavarian*, whose Colonel was named *Goertz*; and a third consisting of two Battalions of *French* and *Swissers*, which were taken Prisoners at the Battle of *Fraustadt*, and had since, at their own Request, entered into his Majesty's Service. They had been commanded by a *French* Colonel of the Family of *Joyeuse*, who was killed by the first, and indeed the only Discharge of the *Swedes*, and now *John Funk* was made their Colonel. The *Polonaise* were commanded by the *Palatine* of *Kiovia*, and Count *Sapieha*. At the same Time, a Garrison was left at *Pesnania*, to defend that Town in case of an Attack.

The Ministers of *England* and *Holland*, the *Sieurs Robinson* and *Haersalt*, who continued at *Dantzic*, by the Order of their Masters, received at this Time the Copy of a Paper, containing Reflections on the Satisfaction demanded of *Saxony* by *Sweden*, and the Reasons which obliged his Majesty to enter

ter into this Electorate. The Ministers writ to Count Piper, that he would divert the King of Sweden from invading this Country. The King, who had decamped from Rawitz, and advanced six Leagues thro' Hernstadt in Silesia, towards Odermuble near Steinau on the Oder, sent from thence an Answer to the Ministers of the Maritime Powers, by a Declaration signed in his Name by Count Piper, who likewise writ to them at the same Time.

This Declaration and Letter contained the Reasons which induced his Majesty to enter into the hereditary Dominions of King Augustus. They made it appear, *That the Empire had no cause to distrust the Honesty of his Majesty's Intentions in this just Enterprize: That the Rumours raised by the Enemies of Sweden on this Occasion were without Foundation: That France would have but little Room to congratulate herself that she had imposed on the Estates of the Empire, and made them fear the Consequences of this Inroad: That it was hoped the high Allies would have such Assurance of, and Confidence in his Majesty's Sincerity, as would admit of no Umbrage. The obliging Carriage which his Majesty had supported to his Friends and Allies, since the Beginning of this War, being a convincing Proof that he proposed no other End, than the obtaining a just Satisfaction, and had taken no more than the necessary Steps to insure it.*

The King passed the Oder at a Ford at Steinau, at the Head of the Cavalry, while they were busy in making a Bridge for the Passage of the Infantry, Artillery, and Baggage. King Stanislaus arrived the same Day with the Regiments under the Command of

Count Stromberg.

The Army having passed the Oder at Steinau, advanced presently two Leagues to Altsadt near Lieben, where it halted that Night. The next Day, being the 24th of August, they marched to Geltzig near Kleinbaus, from whence, on the 25th, they arrived at Loisdorff, which is but a Quarter of a League from the Town of Lowenberg. On the 26th, they marched three Leagues towards the Village of Krummensele, which is situated on the Frontiers of the Upper Luface, near the Town of Greiffenberg.

Though the Count of Zinzendorf was advertised of the Necessity under which the King of Sweden lay to pass thro' Silesia, which was a sufficient Excuse of the Court of Vienna, and elsewhere, an universal Clamour was nevertheless raised, that his Majesty had infringed the Peace of the Empire, and made adreadful Inroad into Germany.

The several Courts were divided in their Opinion in this Affair, as these were guided either by Friendship or Hatred to the Swedes.

The Ministers of the interested Powers attended with great Vigilance to whatever might concern the Tranquillity of their Masters. As to those of England, at Ratisbon, at Vienna, and the Hague, they endeavoured to alarm the Emperor and the States of Germany, to interpose on behalf of the Elector of Saxony, by assisting in his Deliverance from the Swedish Oppression. Their Representations on this Subject met with so much the more Attention, for that the Consequences of this Invasion now were seen in a dangerous Light, particularly to the Empire, on

Account

Account of this strict Alliance which subsisted between *Sweden* and *France*.

The *Swedish* Ministers were not backward on their Parts in their Assurances to the several Powers, that his Majesty, far from meditating the least Enterprize which should tend to the Disadvantage of the *Roman* Empire, thought of nothing more than to give her new Instances of his Friendship. That he proposed no other End by this Diversion, than to oblige King *Augustus* to give him at length a just Satisfaction, of which Intention he would give all necessary Assurances, though the Moderation which he had demonstrated in his late Expedition to *Denmark*, ought to be a sufficient Proof of that which he would promise to preserve on the present Occasion. That as King *Augustus* always employed the Riches of his Country to the Prolongation of the War, of which it highly imported his Majesty to see an immediate End, it was natural to have Recourse to the same Source, to make an absolute Conclusion of this fatal and miserable Diffension, which had already endured so long.

These Ministers declared at the same Time, that Justice being on the Side of the King their Master, who had only repelled the Injury of an unjust Aggressor, his Majesty had taken a firm Resolution, while he was making Reprisals, to declare against all such as his Enemies, who should pretend, without any Necessity, to intermeddle in this Affair.

This Declaration being every where dispersed, gave some Check to their Spirits, who, nevertheless, heartily wished, that the King of *Sweden* had not taken this last Step.

Saxony was now under the greatest Consternation; an hot Alarm had already diffused itself at the Beginning of *August*, on a current Report, that the King of *Sweden* was on his March with six or seven thousand *Swedes* only, but with an Army of upwards of twenty thousand *Poles*, to sack the whole Electorate. And though no body was able to prove or to give the least positive Assurance of this News, it was yet so generally believed through the Country, that the Minister of King *Augustus* transported thence hastily all the Archives and publick Acts, and every Individual thought of securing his Effects with all possible Expedition.

This Terror was considerably augmented by the Regency of *Dresden*, who, before they had received these Orders, which were soon after sent them by King *Augustus*, spread abroad an Ordinance, representing, in the most lively Colours, the dreadful Consequences which were to be apprehended from this Irruption.

But *Saxony* soon recovered from their Fears, when they perceived, in their Letters from *Lower Lusatia*, by which they apprehended the King would take his Rout, no mention of any Hostilities. This encouraged them to revoke their Orders which they had given, to transport away the most valuable Effects of King *Augustus* and the Queen his Spouse.

As they now gave into a contrary Excess, and regarded all the former Reports as Fables only. The Assembly of those whom the *Saxons* call their Militia of Defence, and of the Body of Hunters, who had Orders to march with all those who were able

to bear Arms, now proceeded but slowly. They reinforced only, to avoid Surprize, the Garrisons of *Dresden*, *Wittenberg*, *Leipsic*, and the Castle of *Pleissenburg*. As to the Rout of the regular Troops, they were ordered to assemble on the Frontiers of *Lower Luface*, to oppose the Entry of the King of *Sweden*.

This State of Tranquility did not last long, for the King having taken quite another Rout by the *Higher Luface*, was already on the Frontiers of *Saxony*, even before it was believed that he enter'd it.

King *Augustus* remained all this while with his Troops at *Novogrodeck* in *Lithuania*, where having learnt the March of the King of *Sweden*, and his Passage over the *Vistula*, drawing towards *Great Poland*, he had no longer Room to doubt but that his hereditary Dominions were about to become the Theatre of War. And his own Situation was at present so miserable, that he saw no Hopes of his being in a Condition to prevent the Ruin of his Country, which now seemed to him inevitable.

Germany, which was now engaged in one of the most bloody Wars she had ever sustained, was in no Capacity of yielding this Prince any Succour. And the twenty thousand Men sent him by the Czar, rather embarrassed than assisted him. Nor could he hope from any other Ally a Force strong enough to drive out of his Kingdom the victorious Army of *Sweden*, entirely composed of Troops enured to War, nor did there appear any Possibility of his making in an instant any advantageous Diversion. As to the *Poles* who yet sided with King *Augustus*, he could

not flatter himself that they were capable of assisting him in this melancholy Conjunction: so that, upon the Matter, there remained to this Prince no Glimpse of Hope to recover his *Polish* Crown, whilst he saw his Dominions exposed to the Mercy of his Enemies. It was then the Dictate of Prudence to sacrifice that which no longer existed in Reality, to preserve that which did.

All these Considerations hurried King *Augustus* to ask Peace of the King of *Sweden*, without communicating it to the Czar, who would not have failed to use all Measures to have dissuaded him. *Augustus* named two Commissaries for this Purpose, namely, the Baron *Imhoff*, President of the Chamber, and the Privy Referendary *Pfingsten*. They were sent in *August* to *Novogrodeck*, with full Instructions to seek the King of *Sweden*, and enter into a Treaty of Peace with him.

These Instructions contained three principal Articles. First, That in case the King of *Sweden* would not hazard an Entry into *Saxony*, but remained still on the Frontier, the Commissaries might take Advantage thereof, and propose Conditions more advantageous to their Master; but in case the Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild*, with King *Stanislaus*, had already entered into the Country, they should instantly seek out the King of *Sweden*, and begin the Treaty on such Conditions as he should think fit, even, by an absolute Cession of the Crown to King *Stanislaus*; and this they were to submit to, if, which was the third Circumstance, the King of *Sweden* should at their Arrival enter upon the Electorate.

King *Augustus* at the same Time sent Advice

Advice by a Courier, to the Regency of *Dresden*, of the Negotiation which he was bringing on the Tapis. This occasioned the Regency to send a Trumpet to his *Swedish* Majesty, who was entered into *Silesia*, with this News, and to demand of him a Passport for the Commissaries, who were now sent in quest of him.

No Answer was given to this Message, before *Pfingsten* was himself arrived at *Glogau* in *Silesia*, whence he dispatched a Drum, with King *Augustus's* Letter to the King of *Sweden* in his Camp. It was written with the King's own Hand, who testified an ardent Desire to recover the Friendship of the King of *Sweden*, and to strike up a Treaty of Peace with him, on such Conditions as he himself should think reasonable and agreeable to his Inclination.

The Chancery expedited for this Purpose the necessary Passports for the Commissaries *Imhoff* and *Pfingsten*, who received immediate Orders to proceed to meet his Majesty.

As *Saxony* was ignorant of all that was on the Tapis to these Purposes; and on the other Side, her Inhabitants could no longer doubt of the March and Approach of the King, their Spirits were seized by such a Pannick, that they betook themselves to a general flight, abandoning their Towns, their Villages, and Estates, each Individual endeavouring to carry away and save what they had.

It was remarked at this Time, that the Carriers received two Tons of Gold, or twenty thousand Crowns, for conveying away those Effects which were withdrawn from *Leipsic* only; and though no more than 1*d.* per hundred

weight be paid at the Ballance in this Town, the Sum arising from the great Quantity of Goods which were weighed, amounted to upwards of two thousand Crowns.

The Queen of *Poland*, with her Royal Highness the King's Mother, and the Prince Electoral, departed likewise from *Saxony*, with a great Number of the noble Families of the Country. The Queen went to her Father, the Margrave of *Bareuth* and *Culmbach*; the Prince Electoral, with her Royal Highness, retired to *Magdaborough*, thence to *Hamborough*, and so to *Rendsborough* in *Holstein*. As to the Moveables of Value, they were transported for Safety to the Castle of *Königstein*.

To restore the Spirits of the People, and deliver them from that Pannick which had seized them, the King of *Sweden* caused a Declaration to be published, in Favour of the Electoral Inhabitants of *Saxony*. The Tenure of which follows.

We, Charles, by the Grace of God, King of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, &c. do make known, that, where-as we have thought proper to enter into Saxony with our Forces, endeavouring to stifle entirely a most unjust War, which that Country had raised and fomented, we might with great Reason have retaliated that Treatment, which their Elector King Augustus had in the Beginning of the War shewn to our Provinces and Frontiers. Notwithstanding which, we have thought fit, for certain Reasons, to forget our just Resentments, and kindly to signify by these Letters Patents to the Estates and Inhabitants of the Electorate of Saxony, of whatever Quality they be,

that all such as shall remain in their Houses and Dwellings, without sending away their Effects, and who shall voluntarily and without Opposition contribute what may be exacted of them for the Entertainment and Subsistence of our Troops, shall not only be taken under our Royal Care and Protection, but shall enjoy the most perfect Security in their Persons, Families, Goods, Houses, Lands and Effects, nor shall any of our Officers or Soldiers offer either to their Persons or Properties any Injury or Violence whatever. On the contrary, those who shall put themselves in a Posture of Defence, who shall abandon their Houses and Dwellings, and remove their Goods and valuable Effects, either hiding or burying them; likewise, those who shall revolt against the Imposts laid on by our Commissaries or Officers, or who shall refuse to execute that which is ordered them, of whatever Degree or Condition they may be, shall not only be cast from our Grace, but treated as Enemies without any Reserve, and with the utmost Rigour, wherever they or their Effects can be found, and they shall be pursued and punished by Fire and Sword. In consequence of which, we have signed these Presents with our Hand, and sealed them with our Royal Seal.

Given at our head-quarters at Krummenolse, Sept. 5. 1706.

CHARLES.

and under,

CHARLES PIPER.

The King, after this gracious Declaration, departed from Krummenolse, and entered the *Higher Lusatia* in his Way to *Saxony*. He marched by the

Towns of *Greiffenberg* and *Narkliffa* near *Schonberg*, where the Army rested one Day. Here, having learnt that some *Saxon* Troops posted in the *Lower Lusatia*, by which Road they had expected his Majesty to pass, had marched thrice to the *Higher*, in order to observe the Motions of our Army, he detached Colonel *Gortz*, who had formerly served in the *Saxon* Troops, with two hundred and fifty Dragoons, and some *Valoches*, in quest of them.

From *Schonberg*, the Army marched to the Village of *Markersdorff*, which stands half a League from the Town of *Gorlitz*, and on the morrow arrived at *Boschitz*, which is but half a League from the Town of *Bautzen*. On these two Towns Contributions were raised.

Septemb. 1. The King marched by *Bautzen* to *Bischoffswerde*. At his Arrival Col. *Gortz* returned with his Party, and reported that he had a brisk Encounter with two *Saxon* Regiments, each consisting of six hundred Horse, whereof ninety were left dead upon the Place, and more than an hundred wounded; that he had twice run through with his own Hand Major-General *Jordan* their Commander, so that he with great Difficulty escaped with those Wounds, of which he died the next Day; that we had only one inferior Officer and some Dragoons killed, and Captain *Ehrenpreys* mortally wounded.

At *Bischoffswerde* arrived Messieurs *Imhoff* and *Pfingsten*, the Commissaries of King *Augustus*. As this Negotiation was to be carried on with great Secrecy, their Master being then in *Poland* at the Mercy of the *Muscovites*, from whom it was desired to conceal it with

all

all possible Caution, least this Prince should be exposed to the Vengeance of his Ally, they had no Audience of the King, but made their Declaration only to Count *Piper*, under Pretence that the only End of their Voyage was to beseech his Majesty to spare the Country, and to regulate the Contributions. It was likewise insinuated, that it was with this View that the Trumpet and Drum had been sent from the Queen and the Regency of *Dresden*.

The Conferences were very secretly held at Count *Piper*'s, but the Partition of the Kingdom of *Poland* between King *Augustus* and King *Stanislaus* being proposed on the Part of *Augustus*, the Count absolutely refused to accept this Proposition, and assured the Commissaries, that the King of *Sweden* would never make Peace on any lower Terms than that the following Articles (which that Prince himself dictated to Count *Piper*, and were by him reduced to Writing) should be the Basis and Foundation of the Treaty.

1. That King *Augustus* should renounce the Crown of *Poland* for ever; that he should recognize K. *Stanislaus* for the lawful King of *Poland*, and should promise never to think of remounting the Throne even after the Death of *Stanislaus*.

2. That he should renounce all other Treaties, and particularly those made with *Muscovy*.

3. That he should send Home with Honour the Princes *Sobieski*, and all those Prisoners he had been able to take.

4. That he should deliver all the Deserters, who had passed over to his Ser-

vice, and namely, *Rheinhold Patkul*; and should forbear all Proceedings against those who had deserted from his Service to the King of *Sweden*.

These were the Conditions on which Count *Piper* was charged to negotiate with the Plenipotentiaries of King *Augustus*; who, seeing the Impossibility of bending the King of *Sweden*, and of softning the Article which related to the Renunciation of the Crown, consented at last to what was demanded of them, so that the greatest Part of the Articles of Peace, and other Points thereon depending, were almost entirely regulated at *Bischoffswerd*.

The King of *Sweden* departed the 3d from *Bischoffswerd*, and marched two Leagues for *Radeberg*, where Major-General *Meyerfeld* was detached with three Regiments to march on the other Side of *Dresden* towards *Pirna*, and the Castle of *Sonnenstein*.

His Majesty decamped the next Day, and posted himself in the Vineyards under the Town, at half a League from *Meissen* near *Weinbybl*, so that he seemed to have a Design on *Dresden*, of which however the King gave over all Thoughts as soon as the Face of Affairs began to be changed.

Baron *Printz*, Minister of *Prussia*, arrived this Day in the King's Camp, to congratulate his Majesty on his Arrival in the Neighbourhood of *Prussia*, offering at the same Time the Mediation of his Master between his Swedish Majesty and King *Augustus*. He was answered, that this Mediation would not be disagreeable to his Majesty if there was any Occasion for it. Baron *Grove*, the *Hannoverian* Minister, came

came with Mr. *Printz*, with the same Compliment to the King.

The 5th, the Army marched thro' the Town of *Meissen*. Here the Cavalry passed the *Elbe* at a Ford, the Water being then very low, the Infantry and Baggage filing over the Bridge. Hence the King advanced a League to *Zheren*, a little Village situated on the *Elbe*, with Hills on one Side, and Vineyards on the other. He took up his Quarters here one whole Day, which Time he employed in sending out his Orders to the Circle or Marquisate of *Misnia*, to contribute two thousand Crowns.

As soon as his Majesty had pass'd the *Elbe*, the Garrisons of *Leipsic* and *Wittenberg*, together with the Troops which had been posted in *Lusace*, began to retreat. This gave a sensible Pleasure to the Villages where those Garrisons had greatly incommoded the University as well as the Trade.

The Town of *Leipsic* presently sent Deputies to the King, who was encamped at *Zheren*, submitting themselves to this Prince, and imploring him to protect their Commerce, and not burthen them with a Garrison. These their Requests were granted, by a Declaration published within a few Days, and which was dated from the Quarters at *Tauchsa*, Sept. 10. so that the great Fair was held at *Leipsic* as usual, the Merchants repairing thither with perfect Safety, nor did the *Swedish* Soldiers, dare to give them the least Trouble or Molestation.

From *Zheren*, the Army advanced six Leagues to the Town of *Grimm*. The King having received Advice that the *Saxon* Troops, which had retreated, were not far off, he took nine

hundred and fifty Horse, and all the *Valoches* to the Number of five Hundred, and being followed by Prince *Wurtemberg*, put himself in Pursuit of the Enemy. The *Valoches*, who were in the Van of this Party, fell, near *Wiessenfels*, on their Rear-guard, of which they killed several, taking Prisoners, one Captain, one Lieutenant, and thirty-four Soldiers. The Colonel of the *Valoches* had the Misfortune to be killed in this Rencontre.

This Blow disheartned the Enemy, who, fearing least worse might follow, betook themselves to Flight. The *Russians*, with some Regiments of the *Saxons*, made a hasty March towards *Naumburg* and *Erfurt*, being pursued all the way by the *Swedes*.

The King followed the Pursuit no farther than one League beyond *Naumburg*, whence he returned by the same Road with the Prince of *Wurtemberg*. In the mean while he ordered Colonel *Gortz* not to quit the Pursuit till he came up with the Enemy.

During the King's Absence, the Army, which was ordered to decamp, left *Grimm*, and marched strait on to *Leipsic*. General *Gyllenkrook*, Quarter-Master, with all the other Quarter-Masters of the Army, being, with fifty Dragoons, in the Van, posted themselves, on their Arrival, in the Market-Place. The Magistrates were immediately assembled to consult on the Distribution of the Army in the Neighbourhood of the Town.

As there was still a Garrison of two hundred Men of the Country Militia in the Castle of *Pleissenburg*, not under the Command of the Town, *Gyllenkrook* summoned them to surrender. The Commandant made a Feint of Resistance,

sistance, for Form-sake only; but seeing no Hope of Succour, he rendered himself Prisoner, together with all those under him. The King, a few Days afterwards, set him at Liberty, and gave the Soldiers leave to go Home.

The Regiments betook themselves to those Quarters which were assigned them. The Head-quarters were settled at *Taucha*, a little Town one League from *Leipsic*, belonging to a Magistrate of that Place. Here the King staid one Day, in which he gave Audience to the Envoys from the Courts of *Saxony* and other Princes, and some Deputies of the Circle of the Electorate. The King thinking proper to change his Quarters, and being unwilling to lodge in a Town, he chose a Gentleman's Country-seat, named *Alt-Ranstadt*, one League and a half from *Leipsic*, where *Gustavus Adolphus* had quartered in 1632, at the Time of the Battle of *Lutzen*, which is a Town just by *Alt-Ranstadt*. His Majesty found himself more commodiously lodged here than at *Taucha*, and this engaged him to fix his Abode here all the Time he remained in *Saxony*.

The rest of the Army, which followed, was cantoned in several Cities and Towns of the Country all round *Alt-Ranstadt*. Major-General *Meyersfeld*, who, with his Troops, had passed the *Elbe* above *Dresden*, received Orders to approach this City, and to shut it put on all Sides.

Colonel *Gortz*, of whom we spoke above, gave a brisk Pursuit to the *Saxon* Troops on the Road to *Erfurt*; and, as this City refused to receive them, General *Schulenburg*, their Commander, was obliged to proceed far-

ther to the City of *Ilmenau*, near the Wood of *Thuring*, where being arrived, he placed the Cavalry and Baggage in the Front, and stood himself with the Infantry in the Rear.

Gortz, at his first Arrival at *Ilmenau*, fell in with some *Saxon* Guards, whom he drove back, and pursued to the Wood, in which, having advanced two Leagues on the Road to *Coburg*, he met the *Muscovites*, who, by throwing down Trees, had so barricaded the Road, which is strait enough of itself, that it was impossible to advance two a breast.

Notwithstanding this Obstacle, *Gortz* dismounted his first Squadron of Dragoons, who attacked the Enemy with all imaginable Fierceness, but unfortunately repulsed, and that with so much Vigour, that many of them lost their Lives; two Captains were killed, and a third mortally wounded.

Gortz not judging it proper to push the Attack any farther on that side, by which many brave Men must be exposed to perish without procuring any Advantage, turned another way, hoping to find out a Winding, by the Assistance of which he might fall on the Enemy. He met a Peasant, who for a small Reward conducted him another Way through the Wood, leaving behind him two hundred Horse to observe the Enemy. Scarce had he marched an Hour, before he saw a *French* Battalion in full march. He immediately attacked them with his Dragoons, who were again obliged to dismount. The *French* defended themselves so bravely, that *Gortz* judging it necessary to surround them, as the only Way to compel them to yield, detached

detached two Captains of the Horse-guards, with their Troops, to come at them in the Rear. These Captains, one of whom was named *Tornflycht*, Brother-in-law to Count *Piper*, having executed their Orders, dismounted their Party, and attacked the Enemy, who was now surrounded on all Sides. The *French*, nevertheless, stood their Ground a full Hour, and then, throwing down their Arms, they ran with all Speed they were able across the Wood, leaving eighty dead on the Spot, and fifty Prisoners.

Schulenburg made good use of this interval to save the rest of his Troops, for the Wood being extremely large, he had no Opportunity of joining his Forces, and besides, his Men were all separated in Platoons, and making the best of their Way to avoid the Pursuit of the *Swedes*.

Goritz, who saw how useless it would be to advance any farther, returned with his Detachment, and some days after rejoined the Army. As to *Schulenburg*, he took the Road of *Rhin* with his Troops, and the broken Remains of that gallant *Saxon* Army. These Troops were to be employed against *France* as the Quota of the Electorate of *Saxony*.

After the King's Arrival at *Alt-Ranstadt*, this Prince, being desirous of seeing the field of Battle near *Lutzen*, where *Gustavus Adolphus* so gloriously lost his Life for the Liberty of *Germany*, went to the Place, with few Attendants, taking with him two very ancient Burgesses, who, by Tradition from their Fathers, were acquainted with the Particulars of that famous Day.

The Prince ran over with the most curious Eye all the little Eminencies,

the Defiles, and the Fosses: he likewise well recollected all that he had read thereof in History, on which he discoursed a long Time with the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, the Counts of *Rheinschild*, *Nieroth*, and others of his Train, to whom he recounted the Order and the Names of the Regiments which engaged on the one Side and on the other. At length he finished, saying to them in a most affecting manner: *We have always endeavoured to copy our Life from him; perhaps, God may likewise grant us the Blessing of dying in the same Manner.*

All this Time, the Negotiations for Peace went on, and though it was necessary to take all Measures for concealing it from the Ministers, and those who examined into every thing, there was however no Neglect of regulating all the principal Points, as well as those which were already concerted at *Bischoffswerd*. Secretary *Cederbeilm* made frequent Voyages to *Dresden*, to communicate to the Regency whatever came on the Carpet on this Occasion.

The Peace was signed on the Part of the King of *Sweden* by Count *Piper*, Senator of the King, and Great-Marshal of his Court, and by *Hermelin* Secretary of State: and on the Part of King *Augustus*, it was signed by Baron *Imhoff* and Sr. *Pfingsten*.

The Treaty could not, however, be yet sent to King *Augustus*, because as the Renunciation of the Crown by this Prince was specified therein, King *Stanislaus* had naturally so much Concern in Treaty, that it was fit to communicate it to him. Mr. *Cederbeilm* was therefore dispatched for that Purpose to *Meissen*, where that Prince then

was,

was likewise to demand of him what Articles concerning *Poland* he designed should be inserted in the Treaty.

When all Matters were regulated with the *Saxon* Ministers, the Treaty was engrossed and signed on the Part of King *Stanislaus*, by Count *Jablonski*, Palatine of *Russia*, and Uncle on the Mother's Side to this Prince; and by the Count of *Sapieha*, Marshal of *Lithuania*, who both repaired to *Leipsic* on that Account.

This Negotiation was so secretly transacted, that the Court itself had not the last Intimation of it. Thus was the Peace concluded to the Glory and Satisfaction of his Majesty, after a War no less just than long and bloody.

It is very astonishing, that a Negotiation of this Importance, which decided in this Manner the Lot of an entire Kingdom, could be carried on so secretly and kept so long concealed. Both parties, indeed, seem to have equal Reason to prevent the Disclosing it. For the King of *Sweden* was pleased to bring about his End without the Assistance of a Mediator, who would only have retarded the Conclusion of a Peace; And King *Augustus* was interested in the concealing this Affair, till he could separate himself with his Troops from those of the Czar, who were extremely superior to his own, and had it in their Power to serve him a very unlucky Turn.

As the most essential Point of the Treaty was to cause an entire Cessation of Hostilities, the Peace was no sooner signed, than the King of *Sweden*, with a view of keeping it a Secret, caused a Truce of six Weeks to be proclaimed

at *Alt-Ranstadt* to the Sound of Trumpets and Kettle-drums, by the following Ordinance.

CHARLES, &c.

WE have thought good to suspend all Hostilities in the-Electorate of Saxony, and the Country thereon depending, and to consent to a Truce of six Weeks, we order and command for that Purpose all the great and inferior Officers of our Army, and all those who are anywise under military Command, as also to every other of our Subjects, to abstain, during that time, from all Hostilities against the Electoral Country of Saxony, her Troops and Subjects, and to do them no manner of Wrong or Damage, but rather to treat them favourably and amicably on all Occasions; enjoining them at all Times to avoid holding any Conversation or Communication with the Militia and Troops of Saxony. The whole to be observed under Pain of the severest Punishment, which shall be inflicted on those who disobey, and on the Infringers of our Orders and Commands, to which it imports every one to conform himself with perfect Obedience. In witness whereof we have signed these Presents with our Hand, and have thereto put our Royal Seal.

Given at our Camp at *Alt-Ranstadt*,
Sept. 15. 1706.

CHARLES.
and underneath,
C. PIPER.

Sr. Pfingsten prepared for his immediate Departure from *Poland* with the Treaty of Peace, in order to bring back the Ratification of the King his Master. Though the King of *Sweden*

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gave him at the same Time Letters for General *Mardefelt* and *K. Stanislaus*, and also charged him with one to the Palatine of *Kiovia*, by which they were enjoined to abstain from all Hostilities against the *Saxons*; this Minister was not, however, to remit them to these Generals before King *Augustus* had ratified the Treaty. He was at the same Time charged to regulate his Voyage in such a manner, as to return in six Weeks, the Time stipulated in the Treaty, in Default of which his *Swedish* Majesty should think himself no longer bound by his Engagements. These Measures were taken before *Pfingsten* began his Journey.

The King, who had always caused the most exact and severe Discipline to be observed among his Troops, gave, some Days after the Publication of the Truce, a fresh Proof of his Love for Order, and of his Moderation, by an Ordinance signed the same Day with the Peace, *Sept. 14.* at *Alt-Ranstadt*, and which was communicated to all the Regiments. The Officers and Soldiers were obliged to conform themselves in *Saxons* to the Articles contained in this Ordinance, under pain of incurring the most rigorous Punishments.

This Piece does too much Honour to the King of *Sweden* to be denied a Place here, and if his Soldiers have sometimes run counter to his Orders, this Prince has inflicted the most exemplary Chastisements on them. So that *Saxony* must complain with a very ill Grace, seeing that any Army but our own would have made another Use of the Right of Conquest. Here follows the Ordinance I mentioned.

CHARLES, &c.

Whereas we have graciously resolved that the great and inferior Officers of our Army, the Soldiers and Troopers should receive their Pay regularly every Month, we ordain in Consequence thereof:

I. That no Soldier shall attempt to exact any Thing in his Quarters, without paying immediately for what he receives, excepting Forage, which is not to be paid for; and we order our Officers to take Care that no Village or any Inhabitant be charged above his Quota.

II. Since the Officers and Soldiers are to pay ready Money for their Victuals and other Things necessary for their Subsistence, we forbid any of our Army to invite any one whatever to his Quarter to the Prejudice of his Host.

III. The Suttlers with their Domesticks and Horses shall exact nothing in their Quarters, but shall pay ready Money to their Hosts for whatever they receive, as well of Victuals, Drink, and other Things, as of Forage.

IV. We forbid all of what Condition, Rank or Quality soever, to exact for their own Use any Horses or Carriages from any of the Gentry, Clergy, Citizens or Peasants, without paying ready Money for the same; but in case it be for our Service, the Officer is to take Care that such Carriages be restored to their Owners, in the same Condition they were taken from them, in default of which he shall be answerable for all the Damage, and all the Mischiefs which may happen.

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‘ V. When any Officer or Soldier is commanded on a Party, he shall not insist, at his Return, on any Money from his Host, on pretence of his having been absent, and that his Quarters were for that Time exempt from the Contribution of Forage.

‘ VI. We also particularly order, that no Person be forced to sell or exchange his Horses, much less that they should be wrested by open Violence from him, or by any Means taken without immediate Payment to the Proprietors.

‘ VII. It is not permitted to any Officer or Soldier to chuse such Quarters as are most agreeable to him, or to change them in Detriment to any other, or in lieu of Quarters, to extort some other Thing under any Pretence from the Peasants or Owners; but it shall be lawful for the Possessors to arrest the Offenders, and to conduct them to the next Regiment.

‘ VIII. All hunting, as well within as without the Woods and Parks, is absolutely forbidden; and all fishing with Nets, as likewise the gathering Fruits in the Gardens and Vineyards, without instantly paying for what they take in this manner.

‘ IX. Every one is strictly charged to forbear beating his Host or Domesticks, or doing them any kind of Injury; much less may they rob or pillage in the publick and private Roads, in the Streets or Inns of the Towns and Villages, or commit any other Violence whatever.

‘ X. All Waste of Forage is most severely prohibited; those who are convicted of this, shall be compelled to make Amends, and this shall be

‘ stopt out of their monthly Pay.

‘ XI. The Officers and Soldiers are to take particular Care not to set Fire to their Quarters; all the Mischief which shall arise thence will be placed to their Account, and they will be forced to answer it.

‘ XII. That we may be perfectly acquainted with the Behaviour of our Troops in their Quarters, we do expressly ordain that the Officers who command our Regiments, take, every Month, or on every Exchange of Quarters, Certificates signed and witnessed by the House keepers or their Substitutes, the Bailiffs and chief Officers of Villages, and that they send these Certificates to our Commissary General, to the End that we may be exactly informed of the punctual Execution of this Ordinance; and we strictly forbid any Persons to extort by Force such Certificates as shall not be agreeable to Truth.

‘ XIII. All the written Evidences, Acquittances, and Papers which our Troops deliver to the Inhabitants of the Electorate, shall be written in *High-Dutch*, that they may plainly comprehend the Meaning of the Contents.

‘ XIV. At the same Time we forbid, under the most severe Penalties, all our Forces to stop and obstruct the free Passage of the Posts: our Pleasure being that the said Posts, Travellers and Traders, with their Merchandize, whether on Post-horses, Waggon, or other Carriages, may freely pass and repass: much less will we permit any one to search any of the Posts, Coaches or Waggon. All Travellers, as well by the Post, as others who are on the

‘ Road shall receive all Manner of Succour from our Army, not only for their Persons, but their Domesticks, Carriers, Horses, Waggon, Money, Merchandize, &c. Nor will we suffer any Person whatever to lay hold of Horses in the Post-Houses of the Towns or Villages, without first agreeing on the Price: for we have taken all the Post-masters with Carriers, Horses, &c. into our Protection, and it is our Will that they be free from all Quarters.

‘ We farther order by these Presents, that, if any one acts contrary to the above-named Points, or indeed against the Articles of War, the Inhabitants of the Country may make their Report to the Officer, who is at the Head of the Regiment; or if the Offender be one of a Party, then to the commander of that Party; and if they apprehend that speedy Justice is not done them, let them carry their Complaints to the Commissary-General, who will take Care it shall be rendered to them.

‘ Lastly, it is our Pleasure that those who have any Command in our Troops, do not only pay an exact

‘ Obedience themselves to this Ordinance, but farther, that they are vigilant in obliging the Soldiers and those who are under them, to live regularly, and observe punctually, what we have here prescribed to them, on pain of incurring our Displeasure, the Delinquents having nothing to expect but a speedy and exemplary Punishment. In witness whereof we have signed these Presents with our Hand, and have thereunto put our Royal Seal.’

*Given at our Camp at Alt-Ranstadt,
September 14. 1706.*

CHARLES.

*and underneath,
C. PIPER.*

This excellent Ordinance, which was immediately published all over Saxony, gave so much the greater Joy, as the Probity of his Majesty was known to be such, that he never broke his Word. Indeed, the many exemplary Punishments his Majesty had inflicted at his first Entrance into the Country *, in order to preserve a severe Discipline among his Troops, who

* *A Remark of the Author.* We will only give two Examples among many, which might be alledged. At Markersdorff, near Gorlitz, two Soldiers of the Guards had taken away by force a Dish of Milk Curds, and wounded a Child who endeavoured to resist them. The King, who passed by that Moment, hearing an Uproar, stopped, and having asked what was the Matter, the Father of the Child, a Peasant of the Village, brought the Child to the King in a very bruised and mangled Condition. The King ordered the two Soldiers to be arrested on the Spot, and to draw Lots for their Lives, and he on whom the Lot fell was sentenced to be shot, which was instantly executed, notwithstanding the Intercession of all the Officers of the Regiment, he being a very fine Man.—Some Days after, a Dragoon of the Regiment of Duker, having ill used his Host for attempting to prevent his killing some Fowls, the King coming accidentally by, and the Villager making his Complaints to him, his Majesty ordered him to be shot on the Spot. These two Executions, done in a manner at once, struck such a Terror into the Soldiers, that they durst not attempt any Thing against the Inhabitants of the Country.

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were now Marching victorious into a rich and plentiful Country, had given a sufficient Assurance that he would not suffer the least Looseness of Manners or Discipline to insinuate itself on their changing their Situation.

The Ministers from different Courts flocked together to *Alt-Ranstadt*. Besides the Barons *Printz* and *Grove*, the *Prussian* and *Hannoverian* Ministers, the Emperor sent also the Count of *Wratislaw*. He was charged to assure his Majesty, (offering him at the same Time his Master's Mediation) that he would do all that was possible to persuade King *Augustus* to make an absolute Cession of his Crown. This Minister soon departed from *Alt-Ranstadt*, very well satisfied with the gracious Reception he had met with. Mess. *Haersolt* and *Robinson*, the Ministers of *Holland* and *England*, arrived here likewise successively from *Dantzic*. Baron *Jessen*, Envoy from *Denmark*, who presented nine beautiful *Danish* Horses to his Majesty, arrived, at the same Time, with Baron *Goertz*, Privy-Councillor and Envoy extraordinary from the Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*. Here were also the Baron *Kettler*, Envoy from the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, and his Marshal of the Court, and Mr. *de Rheinburg*, Minister of the Elector of *Mayence*, not to number the several Deputies of the little Courts of *Saxony*, and the neighbouring Provinces, who came to compliment his Majesty, and to recommend themselves to his Protection.

Such was the Situation of Affairs in *Saxony*, when King *Augustus* marched from *Lithuania* for *Lublin* with his Troops, where, having joined the *Muscovite* Succours which the Czar

had sent him under the Command of Prince *Menzikof*, consisting of Horse and Dragoons to the number of twenty thousand Men, he passed the *Vistula* at *Casimir*, and marched towards *Great Poland*, with an intention to give battle to General *Meyerfeld*, who, as we said before, remained there with a Body of the Army.

Augustus was now advanced as far as the Town of *Pietrekow*, when *Pfingsten* arrived with the Treaty of Peace signed at *Alt-Ranstadt*. This Prince instantly approved all that was contained in the Treaty, and dispatched *Pfingsten* with plenary Powers, to expedite all Instruments, and other Points regarding the Ratification.

It hath been pretended that *Pfingsten* did not clearly enough explain all the Points of the Treaty to the King his Master, hoping to be able to prevail on the King of *Sweden* to soften some of the hardest Matters, when that Prince perceived the ready Condescension of King *Augustus* to his Will. Be that as it will, King *Augustus* sent him back instantly, whether this was to gain Time, or because he had no other Person with him whom he would intrust, with the Dispatch of the Ratification.

Pfingsten returned without Delay into *Saxony*; he was, at first, desirous to carry himself the Letters with which he was charged to General *Mardefeld*, and the Palatine of *Kiovia*, the Danger appearing the more evident, because the *Russians*, who were still advancing, had a perfect Information of the Weakness of the Troops under *Mardefeld*, and continually press'd King *Augustus* to attack and disperse them; but having afterwards considered that

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it might stop him too long on the Road, having a large Compass to make, he sent the Letter another Way; this occasioned the Accident which afterwards happened, *Mardefeld* not receiving the Letters till the Blow was over.

As *Menzikoff*, ceased not to solicit King *Augustus* to go in quest of the *Swedes*, this Prince was obliged, lest he should give Suspicion by his Slowness in advancing, to march immediately with the Army, hoping however that the *Swedish* General was already informed of all by the Letters in Question and by *Pfirzsten*. However, to act on a surer Foundation, and to avoid a Battle with the utmost Precaution, he gave the General Notice under hand, by means of a Person of Confidence to whom he had communicated the Negotiation. *Augustus* advised *Mardefeld* to retire a little, assuring him if he did, he should have nothing to apprehend. The Express was ordered to represent to him at the same Time how much the *Russian* Forces were superior to his own. *Mardefeld*, who was absolutely ignorant of all that had past, concerning the Peace, and who had not yet seen the Letters, believed that all the Advice King *Augustus* gave him was only a Snare which they had laid for him, and resolved to take Measures directly contrary to what he was advised.

The two Armies having approached each other near *Kalis*, there was no longer any Possibility to avoid a Battle. General *Mardefeld* was encouraged to come to Blows with the Enemy, by the Behaviour of the *Polonese* under the Palatine of *Kiovia*, who appeared resolute to do their Duty, and gave posi-

tive Assurances that they would stand firm and fight to the last Drop of their Blood. These Protections inspired the General with a Belief that he was strong enough to hazard a Battle with, and to repulse the Enemy.

He was posted on an advantageous Ground between the two Villages of *Dobresze* and *Koselnawisch*, on the Road leading to *Posnania*. He had on his Flank the River of *Prosna*, which winds about *Kalis*, a Town but a quarter of a League distant from the Field of Battle.

The *Swedish* Troops were ranged in the Centre, in two Lines, the Cavalry and Infantry being intermixed. These Troops might amount to a few more than four thousand Men, and were commanded by *Mardefeld* himself. The two Wings entirely composed of *Polonese* were ranged on three Lines, the right being commanded by *Kiowski*, and the left by *Sapieha*.

It was between three and four in the Afternoon, on the 19th of September 1706. when the Battle began. The Enemy, who was much superior in Number, gave the right to the *Russians*, and the left to the *Saxons*. At the very first Charge, our *Polonese*, after very little Resistance, turned their Backs and fled, one Party of them retreating within a Bulwark, which they had made of Waggon fastened together adjoining to the River, in the Rear of the Battle.

The whole Force of the Enemy then fell upon the *Swedes*, who exerted all imaginable Efforts of Valour, and repulsed them on several Attacks. The Battle having lasted till Night, and the Horse on all Sides suffering a terrible Execution, Dark-

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ness caused a Separation among our Squadrons, who being furrounded one after the other, and having defended themselves some Time, each Regiment and Squadron apart, they were at last all cut to Pieces or taken Prisoners.

The Foot sustained the longest the redoubled Attacks of the Enemy, and one Party, with General *Mardefeld* at their Head, made so gallant a Defence in the Form of an hollow Square, that the Enemy were obliged to capitulate with them in the open Field, before they could be brought to surrender.

Mardefeld was made a Prisoner, after having done all that could be expected from Valour or Conduct. The Colonels *Gustavus Horn*, *Charles Horn*, *Markschalck*, *Muller*, and a great Number of Officers, shared the same Fate with their General. Major-General *Crassau* had the Happiness to escape in Safety with some hundred Horse to *Posnania*, after having been cut off from the rest of the Troops in the Dark, without any Possibility of rejoining *Mardefeld*.

The *Polonese*, who were shut up in the Midst of their Waggon, and surrounded by the Enemy, were also obliged to surrender themselves. In which Number were the Palatine of *Kiowia*, the Count of *Tarlo*, with the chief Officers of the *Polish* Army and their Wives. In the mean Time, the three hundred Men whom *Mardefeld* had placed as a Garrison in *Kalis*, and all those who were retreated thither from the Battle, were constrained to throw down their Arms, a Multitude of *Calmucks* and *Cossacks* having so closely shut them up, that it was impossible for them to escape.

The Affairs of King *Augustus* seemed

within a bare Possibility of being re-established after this Battle, and so much the more, as he was now Master of all *Poland*, excepting *Posnania*. It was likewise thought at first, that the Siege of that Place would be undertaken immediately after the Victory; nay, it was even doubted whether *Swedish Pomerania* would not become the Theatre of the War, in order to give a powerful Diversion to the King of *Sweden*.

Whatever was the Intention of the *Russians* and *K. Augustus* himself, besides the Peace which was ratified of his Part in all its Forms, it is moreover certain, as to the first Article, that the Enterprize on *Posnania* was very doubtful, that Town being provided with every thing necessary for its Defence, and a sufficient Garrison to make a stout and vigorous Resistance; on the other Side, King *Augustus* had only Cavalry with him, the *Muscovite* Infantry being as yet on the other Side of the *Vistula*, in the Province of *Russia*. As to the second Article, which was to invade *Pomerania*, King *Augustus* had all Reason to fear that the King of *Sweden*, who saw himself Master of *Saxony*, would use Reprisals in sacking the whole Country, and entirely cutting off his Retreat.

All these Considerations were but too capable of destroying the Joy arising from this compleat Victory which King *Augustus* had obtained against his own Inclination. He had yet Reason to apprehend the Rage of the King of *Sweden*, whose Sentiments on the News of this Defeat, he could not yet divine.

Augustus determined to write to the King of *Sweden*, to excuse the Necessity he was in of engaging, which he had not done,

done, but to prevent any Suspicion of the Negotiation in the *Russians*. This Prince, instead of advancing farther after the Battle of *Kalis*, repaired to *Warsovia*, whither he carried the Prisoners with him, assigning the *Russians* Quarters in *Volhinia*, to put them at a Distance from his Person. His *Saxon* Troops marched at the same Time towards *Cracovia*, and took up their Quarters in the Neighbourhood of this Town.

That no one might imagine there was a Treaty of Peace on foot between the King of *Sweden* and King *Augustus*, the latter published a Proclamation at *Warsovia*, inviting the States of the Kingdom to hold a grand Council, and consider of Means to push on the War with Vigour, forbidding any, in the mean Time, to declare on the *Swedish* Side, but commanding them, on the contrary, to abandon it instantly.

As soon as *Pfingsten* returned into *Saxony*, an immediate Exchange was made of the Ratifications. He brought with him a Letter from King *Augustus* to the King of *Sweden*, purporting, *That as the Loss of his Affection had given him more Concern than the Crown of Poland had given him Pleasure, the Loss of this was become indifferent to him, since he had thereby regained his Friendship.* With which Letter the King of *Sweden* appeared so satisfied, that he answered it in the most obliging Terms.

They as yet knew nothing in *Saxony* of what had happened in *Poland*; but when, soon after, the Letter from General *Mardefeld* brought the disagreeable News of the Defeat at *Kalis*, there was just Reason to believe (supposing that he had received the King's

Letter from *Pfingsten*) that all was done by Design, and that King *Augustus* had no Intention to perform what he had so sacredly promised in the Treaty of Peace.

This could not fail of sensibly affecting the King of *Sweden*; surmounting, nevertheless, his Passions on this Occasion, as he did on all others, and without suffering the first Starts of his Indignation to break forth, he resolved to inform himself with the utmost Exactness, before he would strike any great Blow, whether an Advantage had been designedly taken of the Confidence with which he had acted, or whether this Battle had happened by an Accident; and with a Temper which deserves the Admiration of Posterity, at a Season when he could naturally suspect nothing less than a Fraud, he ordered Secretary *Cederhielm* to repair to the *Saxon* Commissaries, and to declare, without any Wrath, to them, that if this Hostility had been committed on purpose, and they hoped to reap any Advantage from this Victory, or if they hoped to carry on the War with better Success for the future, than they had hitherto found, his Majesty signified to them, that he was ready to renounce and deliver them up their Treaty of Peace, the rather, that he was now entitled to demand a just Satisfaction for the Wrongs and the Damages which his Troops had sustained.

It is not to be imagined into what a Consternation the Commissaries were cast by this short and precise Declaration of a Prince, whose Justice they admired, as much as they feared his Valour. They employed all possible Methods to soften his Majesty, and to excuse what had happened.

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This Suspicion appeared too well grounded, to give them Hopes of immediately effacing it in the King's Mind. In a few Days however arrived the Letter from King *Augustus* to *Pfingsten*, which we have before said he writ on the Affair: wherein he not only testified an extreme Mortification at this Accident, protesting that this Blow had been given contrary to his Inclination, but gave Assurances that he was ready to yield any Satisfaction agreeable to the King of *Sweden*, if he would not be contented with this Declaration.

This Letter written by King *Augustus*'s own Hand, and shewn to the King of *Sweden*, had the desired Effect; that King demanding no other Satisfaction, than an immediate Delivery of all the Prisoners taken at *Kalis*.

To have a full Assurance of the true Intentions of King *Augustus*, and that he proposed a religious Observance of all Points of the Treaty, the *Swedish* Ministers began to press strongly the Execution of the Conditions of the Peace, one of the principal being the setting at liberty the *Polish* Princes. Many Weeks passed before any Thing was regulated with respect to this Article, and many others, the *Saxon* Commissaries always pretending that they could undertake nothing, without an express Order signed by King *Augustus* himself.

The Distrust was yet augmented by reiterated Advices from *Poland*, of the close Friendship which subsisted between King *Augustus* and the *Russians*. These Advices added, that this Prince held continual Conferences with the Grandees of *Poland* of his Party, on

the most efficacious Means to push on the War briskly with the *Swedes*.

When it was represented to the *Saxon* Ministers, how much his Majesty was offended at a Conduct so contrary to the strongest Assurances, which King *Augustus* had given; they answered, That their Master was obliged to act in this manner, to lull the *Russians* and *Poles*, and to disembarass himself of them without any Danger, that he might repair in Person into *Saxony*: They added, that it was necessary to keep the Peace concealed, as well as the Execution of the Points of the Treaty, to prevent exposing their Master to the Vengeance of the *Russians*, which he had great Cause to apprehend.

Notwithstanding these Reasons, his Majesty saw so much Dissimulation in this Affair, that he resolved no longer to retard the Publication of the Peace; the rather, for that it had been agreed at the Exchange of the Ratifications, to conceal the Peace no longer than eleven Days after the Ratification; a Term which then appeared sufficient to give King *Augustus* an Opportunity of securing himself from the Power of his Allies.

On the other Side, the King of *Sweden* would not consent to amuse any longer the Ministers of so many Powers who resided constantly at *Leipzig*, labouring to forward the Peace, and making continual Representations to his Majesty on that head; the Count *de Zinzendorf*, being just arrived from *Vienna* in the room of Count *Wratislaw*, with new Concessions on the Part of the Emperor.

What chiefly wrought on the King, was to take away, by that Means all

Opportunity from King *Augustus*, to intangle himself with any new and more dreadful Intricacies, in taking fresh Measures, or seeking after new Pretences, to elude some Points of the Treaty which he had most at Heart.

The Peace was published four Days after the Exchange of the Ratifications, by the Ministers of his Majesty and by Letters. It caused the greater Surprise, seeing no one could have imagined, that it would have been so glorious in all Respects, and so advantageous for the King of *Sweden*. As to the Ministers of *Saxony*, who were at the *Hague* and other Courts, they seemed ashamed to avow it, notwithstanding all that was shewn to them, and which they were forced to believe against their Inclinations, such Precautions had been used to keep this Negotiation secret.

As King *Stanislaus* was the most interested in this glorious Peace, he did not delay sending an Embassy to the King of *Sweden*; his Ambassadors being Mr. *Landskoronski* Palatine of *Cracovia*, and Mr. *Sczuka* Under-Chancellor of *Poland*, to return Thanks to his Majesty for having at last procured Peace and Tranquility with such Advantage to King *Stanislaus*, and to the Kingdom of *Poland*.

These Ambassadors delivered their Speech in *Latin*, and *Hermelin*, Secretary of State, answered them on the Part of his Majesty, in the same Tongue. Some Days after the King of *Sweden* sent Count *Otto Welling*, Counsellor to the King, Senator and President of the Tribunal of *Abo*, with Secretary *Hermelin*, to K. *Stanislaus*, who congratulated this Prince on the

complete Acquisition of the Crown, in a very fine Oration in *Latin*, which was answered by the Under-Chancellor *Sczuka*. The Compliments of other Courts arrived likewise, sooner or later, as the several Powers stood better or worse affected to *Sweden*.

During these Transactions, the King applied himself to the Execution of the Articles of Peace, and to consulting with the States concerned, and the manner of settling the Contributions towards the Support of the Army. He had already appointed an Assembly of the Estates of *Saxony*, by their Deputies at *Leipfic*; and tho' the Estates of the Electorate of the *Upper* and *Lower Luface*, of the County of *Mansfeld*, of the Bishopricks of *Merseburg* and *Naumburg*, were assembled in sufficient Numbers, great Disquietudes still continued at *Dresden*, and the Regency there were in all the Commotions imaginable, to render this Matter odious to the People, and to obstruct it as much as possible, or at least to bring in a Treaty there, rather than permit the Conferences to proceed above with the Estates of the Country.

A Declaration was published in the Name of the Regency, forbidding the Deputies assembled at *Leipfic* to enter into a Negotiation with the *Swedish* Commissaries, before they had spoke with Baron *Imhoff*, President of the Chamber, and had received the necessary Instructions how to comport themselves on this Occasion. At the same Time that they endeavoured to protract the Affair, by throwing these Difficulties in the way, the Regency attempted, on the other Side, to represent to the *Swedes*, that the Estates were

were very obstinate Persons, who would stubbornly desist from giving any thing unless compelled by Force. These Intrigues succeeded so well, that the Term elapsed before any Regulation was perfected, the President *Imhoff* pretending himself to make Propositions to the Estates. As Count *Stenbock*, Director of the Commissary-General of War, was of a contrary Opinion; this Diversity of Sentiments prevented any Conclusion, till his Majesty issued a new Order to treat immediately with the Estates of the Electorate, to whom they then made the four following Propositions.

1. To specify what Quantity of Demesne Lands was in the Country, and how much each had paid in the two last Years, as well in ordinary Imposts as in extraordinary, such as the Entertainment of Ambassadors, Gratuities, and extraordinary Expences of the Militia; for the Reinbursements of Interests, on these Principal Sums which they had levied; for the Imposts on Corn, such Imposts as concerned the Defence of the Country, such as they had laid on Chimneys, those of Forage, of Drink, and all other Tributes or Taxes of every Kind and Appellation.

2. To specify by the pecuniary Edicts the Manner in which each particular Contribution ordinary or extraordinary had been usually levied.

3. To specify the Names of the Demesnes situated within the Country, how much they had paid the two last Years in Contributions ordinary and extraordinary, and to set down at the same Time the Names of the Ministers and Officers of their several Precincts, their Functions, and the Places of their Habitation.

4. To deliver in the Receipts of the Diets of the Country since the Year 1704.

At the same Time they enjoined the Bishopricks of *Merseburg* and *Naumburg* to transmit to the Commissaries an exact List of the Contributions, as well ordinary as extraordinary, which the Regency of the Electorate had exacted these two last Years.

The Estates of the Electorate presented their Explanations, but demanded at the same Time, if the Chamber was to be comprised within the Demesnes, saying, they could give no Account thereof. As to the rest, they specified the Circles of the Electorate, as those of *Thuring*, *Misnia*, *Leipsic*, *Ertz-Geburg*, or Mountains where there are Mines, *Voeghtland*, the Circle of *Neustadt*, the *Higher* and *Lower Luface*, with all their Revenues, and the Sum to which they had amounted these last Years. They declared at the same Time, that in the Year 1704 and 1705, the Country had granted twenty-one and a half, and twenty-three and a half Quatembres, and that they had been obliged to give twenty-four Quatembres extraordinary, which King *Augustus* had levied through the Country by military Execution.

Count *Stenbock*, who absolutely insisted on the Chamber's being comprised within the Demesnes, addressed himself for that Purpose to Baron *Imhoff*, who answered, that he had already delivered the whole into the *Swedish* Chancery; but this was only an Evasion, with which the Count was however forced to be contented.

As to the Bishopricks of *Merseburg* and *Naumburg*, they said, they had never done Homage to the Emperor, nor

contributed to his Supplies; for that they were separate Fiefs holding immediately of the Empire, and did not depend on the rest of *Saxony*; that they had their own Ministers and Princes elected by the Chapter, to whom only they had taken an Oath, and to whom, according to their Laws and their Customs, appertained all the Imposts, and all the Gratuities which were granted by their Estates, assembled by order of their Lords; that if they had paid to the Elector the third Part of their Gratuities drawn from their Chamber, this had been done in Consequence of certain Conventions and Treaties, and of an Indemnity from all Charges payable to the Emperor, which the Elector had undertaken for all the Circles of *Saxony*.

President *Imhoff* had obtained Permission to declare (*Sept. 30.*) to the Estates, that the Pleasure of the King of *Sweden*, reported by Count *Stenbock* to the Privy-Council of *Saxony*, was, that as well for the hereditary Countries antient as new, as for the Bishopricks and Portion of *Schwarzburg*, and of the other Fiefs of *Saxony*, there should be paid monthly six hundred and twenty-five thousand Crowns, whereof one hundred and twenty-five thousand should be deducted for Forage, and the rest paid in ready Money.

This Demand appeared at first Sight exorbitant to the Estates, especially to the Bishopricks, who, besides the Impossibility they fore-saw of supplying it, thought it hard to be comprized within this Tax, as being immediate Fiefs of the Empire. They took upon them to make fresh Representations, with a very humble Petition, to be suffered to enjoy their separate Rights

and Customs, as they in no sort belonged to the Electorate of *Saxony*, though the *Saxon* Princes were their Governors, asserting, moreover, that they never contributed to the War in *Poland*.

The Estates, on their Part, excused themselves on their Incapacity to furnish so large a Sum, and prevailed so far by their Entreaties, that his Majesty contented himself with five hundred thousand Crowns per month. But as they could not agree, and always hesitated at taking a sudden Resolution, under Pretence that they had not a Freedom of acting, his Majesty irritated by all these Delays, and the new Obstacles which the Regency of *Saxony* continually raised, at last lost all Patience, and ordered his Troops to take their Quarters in Proportion to and to levy the Contributions conformably. As the List of the Imposts had been carried out of the Country with the Archives and publick Instruments, as we have said before, they were much embarrassed how to make a Distribution of the Quarters; several Lists were laid before them, but these were not congruous. At last one was found under the Cabinet Seal of King *Augustus*, in which a Quantity of . . . was set down, which they had not been capable of exacting since 1628, and in which the Bishopricks, and above all *Thuring*, with many other Places, were overcharged. As the King had no other List, he distributed the Quarters in all the Circles of *Saxony* agreeably to this, and he caused his Troops to levy Contributions according to the same List.

Many Complaints arose on the Part of

of those Quarters which were the most oppress'd. The Members of King *Augustus's* Council were obliged themselves by a Declaration to avow that they were overcharged. But it was now done, and too late to be remedied; for as the Troops were already entered into the Quarters assigned them, and as every Thing was regulated, there was no Way open for an Alteration, so that for each . . . the Saxons were obliged to pay by the Month four Imperial Gros, for the Months of *September, October, November, December.*

Those Regiments, for which there was no Room in the Towns, were quartered in the Villages and other neighbouring Places.

We left King *Augustus* at *Warsovia*, making a Feint to call a Grand-Council, with Intent to carry on the War; but this was only a Pretence to give him an Opportunity of escaping from *Poland* with his *Saxon* Ministers and Troops. In effect, as soon as he had ridded himself of the *Muscovites* in *Volbinia*, under Colour of Winter Quarters, he suddenly quitted *Warsovia*, and hastened to *Leipsic* to Baron *Imhoff*, having left his *Saxon* Troops near *Cracovia* till farther Orders.

The next Morning he notified his Arrival to the King of *Sweden*, and set out a few Hours after, at Noon, with a small Train, for *Gundersdorff*, where Count *Piper* was lodged, and which was but a short half League from the Head-quarters, in hopes of finding the King of *Sweden* there, as he had been informed he should.

Count *Piper* immediately acquainted his Majesty, who rose on a sudden from Table, mounted on Horseback,

and rode to the Count. King *Augustus* met him on the Stairs, the King of *Sweden* prevented his descending lower, by hastening to go up. These two Monarchs embraced each other with all the Marks of a perfect Reconciliation and sincere Friendship. After they had spent some Time together in a Conversation on indifferent Subjects, but in a most familiar Manner, they remounted their Horses, being accompanied by about a hundred Horsemen, most of them Officers, who came to see the Interview.

These two Princes proceeded to *Altr-Ranstadt*, the King of *Sweden* giving the Right to King *Augustus* all the Way. When they were arrived at the Head-quarters, they had a Conference together which lasted near three Hours. After which King *Augustus*, being fatigued with his Journey, retired to the Bed-Chamber of the King of *Sweden*, where he reposed himself a short while in a great Chair till Supper was served.

During the Supper, King *Augustus* was placed on the Right, and was waited on by two Chamberlains. The King of *Sweden* being seated next him on his Left. The rest of the Table was filled by Count *Pflug*, Grand-Marshal of *Saxony*, who sat next to King *Augustus*; by Count *Piper*, who sat by the Side of the King of *Sweden*; by Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild*, Count *Poss*; President *Imhoff*; President *Welling*; and General *Stromberg*.

After Supper, which lasted not long, the King of *Sweden* conducted King *Augustus* to his Bed-Chamber, where after a short Conversation, the King of *Sweden* retired to another Apartment at the Top of the House, to repose himself;

himself; twelve *Drabans*, during this Time, remained on the Guard before the Apartment of King *Augustus*.

On the next Day, the two Kings remained together till noon, when King *Augustus* returned to *Leipsic*, having first given the necessary Orders for the Enlargement of the Prince *Sobieski*. The King of *Sweden*, on this Account, sent Major-General *Meyerfeld* and Secretary *Cederbeilm* to *Dresden*, who were to receive these two Princes, first settling and reducing into Writing the Demands of King *Augustus* on the Princes, and those of the Princes on him.

As King *Augustus* had given Orders to restore the Trophies taken from the *Swedes* during the War, they were delivered in Pursuance of the Treaty, to General *Meyerfeld*; they consisted of three Standards, and two Pair of Kettle-drums.

The 11th of *December*, in the Forenoon, the King of *Sweden* paid a Visit to King *Augustus* at *Leipsic*. Two Days after which King *Augustus* came to *Alt-Ranstadt*, and returned the same Day to *Leipsic*, whence he departed the next Day to *Dresden*, where he spent some Weeks.

These frequent Visits much augmented the Hopes which had been conceived of a perfect Union between these two Monarchs, who were also near Relations, being Cousin-Germans. A Medal was struck on this Occasion, which represented on one side the Gods *Mars* and *Hercules*, whereof the former was made to resemble the King of *Sweden*, the latter King *Augustus*, taking each other by the Hand, in Confirmation of their Friendship, and trampling Discord under their Feet,

with these Words of *Virgil*, *Æ. XII.*
Cognato sanguine victa.

Conquered by his own Relation.

On the Exergue were written these Words:

Pax Sueciam inter & Poloniam facta
Alt-Ranstadt, 1706. Peace made be-
tween Sweden and Poland at Alt-Ran-
stadt, 1706.

The Reverse represented the City of *Leipsic*, where the Peace had chiefly been negotiated, *Mercury* flying above proclaims Peace and Tranquility to this mercantile City in these words:

Alma pax Genteis alat, ensesque lateant.
Senec. Her. Fur.

May Peace nourish the Nations, and
Swords remain in their Scabbards.

On the Border were these of *Virgil*,
Æ. VIII. v. 639.

Fidem inter se, posito certamine Reges,
— — — Jungebant fœdera.

The King laying aside Contention made
a Peace and Alliance.

They struck another very beautiful Medal at *Stockholm*, of which that famous and learned Antiquary, Assessor *Keder* was the Inventor, and that great Medalist *Carlsten* the Maker. It represented on one Side the King of *Sweden*, with these words, *Carolus XII. D. G. Rex Sueciæ*: On the other was a Palm-tree, on which was hung a Buckler; at the Foot of the Tree were Trophies of Arms, and round this Device these Words, *Nexum Fecere Triumphi, Triumphs made the Union*. In one Line under the Palm-Tree were the following Words, *Arma posita in Pago Alt-Ranstadt: They laid down their*

their Arms in the Village of Alt-Ranstadt, Sept. 14. 1706.

On the 17th, the King mounted his Horse, attended by some Officers, and accompanied by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, who was returned from a Visit he had paid to his Mother at *Stutgardt*, in the Company of Major-General *Cruus*. His Majesty's Design was to proceed to meet King *Stanislaus*, who was coming by the Road of *Leisnitz* to *Alt Ranstadt*, with the Princes *Sobieski*, who were now released.

The King of *Sweden* had not gone more than half a League when he met the King of *Poland* and his Train, who presently alighted from their Coaches and mounted on Horseback. At Noon, they arrived at *Alt-Ranstadt*, where the two Princes *Sobieski* repeated their Thanks to his *Swedish* Majesty, on having procured them their Liberty, on which they were complimented by the *Swedish* Generals, the Court, and other Persons of Distinction.

At the Table King *Stanislaus* was placed at the upper End, on the right of the King of *Sweden*, having on his other Side the two Princes *James* and *Constantine Sobieski*, and next to them Count *Jablenowski* Palatine of *Russia* and *Lemberg*, Count *Sapieha*, Marshal of *Lithuania*, and Count *Sapieha*, Pi-sart of *Lithuania*. On the King of *Sweden*'s Side, sat the third Prince of *Poland*, *Alexander Sobieski*, the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, Count *Sapieha*, Grand-Treasurer of *Lithuania*, and Count *Welling*, General and Counsellor of the King. About Evening King *Stanislaus* returned to *Leisnik* with his Train.

In the Beginning of the Year 1707. an Act of the King of *Sweden*'s appear-

ed to increase greatly the good Intelligence and Friendship which reigned between the King of *Sweden* and K. *Augustus*. This was his *Swedish* Majesty's Remission, (on the humble and reiterated Remonstrances of *Saxony*) some part of the Contributions which they had at first raised. Inasmuch, that for the Months of *January* and *February* 1707, they demanded but three *Gros*, for *March* and *April* two *Gros*, and for the Month of *May* one only of each for all but one Million nine hundred thousand Crowns payable at several Times.

The Estates, after having reflected on the Means of enabling themselves to levy this Sum, concluded at last to negotiate some Part on the Credit of the Country. In Consequence whereof they sent Deputies to *Holland*; but, unhappily for them, King *Augustus* ordered them at the same Time to negotiate also a Sum of one Million five hundred thousand Crowns for himself; on which so many Difficulties were made in *Holland*, that the Business was there at a stand, and they would not advance the Money in any Manner.

When this News came to *Alt-Ranstadt*, his Majesty resolved to maintain his first Resolution, and to levy the Contributions by his Troops. On which subject Orders were sent to the Commanders and Colonels of the Regiments, so that the Contributions moderated by his Majesty were uniformly regulated.

King *Augustus* seeing now the Fault which he had committed, set all his Engines at Work to procure the Direction of the Levy of the Imposts for this year 1707. But this Project succeeded not: for his *Swedish* Majesty would

would have the Money pass through few Hands, and those of his own Troops.

The Saxons then saw but too clearly the sensible Difference between the Payment of what the Swedes had at first demanded of the Estates assembled at *Leipfic*, at the first Entrance of the King, and exposing themselves to the Choice of the Soldiers of what they liked best.

The City of *Leipfic* reaped considerable Advantage from the neighbourhood of the King of Sweden's Court. Being not only full of foreign Ministers, who lived in a most sumptuous and expensive Manner, but likewise a great Number of Princes of the Empire, who came thither successively to make their Court.

On the new Year, the Duke of *Saxe-Gotha*, and all the Princes of the House of *Saxony*, came to pay their Compliments to his Majesty at *Alt-Radstadt*. There were likewise Duke *Christian Augustus*; Governor of *Holstein-Gottorp*, the Margrave of *Anspach*, the Landgrave of *Hesse Darmstadt*, the Landgrave of *Hesse Homburg*, the two Princes of *Mecklenburg*, the Hereditary Prince of *Woolffenbuttle*, two Princes of *Bevern*, and many other Nobles, who being there with their Families, joined to a large Number of Ladies, who were, by his Majesty's Permission, arrived from *Sweden*, to see their Husbands, made the Assemblies extremely agreeable and brilliant.

Some Polish Lords likewise arrived, who had been the most obstinate in refusing to recognize King *Stanislaus*. In which Number were reckoned the Bishop of *Warmia*, General *Brand*, and some others.

As the King of *Sweden* desired that all the World might have a free Access to see him at Dinner, *Alt-Radstadt* was every Day filled with an infinite Number of People, and the Hall where the King dined was often so crowded, that the Pages and Dome-sticks found it difficult to wait at Table; the Spectators, for want of Room, were forced to stand upon Chairs and Windows, to get a Sight of the King; and this continued during his whole Abode in *Saxony*.

King *Augustus* had published the Peace with a Thanksgiving to God, on the first Day of the Year, in all the Churches of *Saxony*. The King of *Sweden* had also caused the same to be done in his Kingdom. As several Pamphlets were wrote at this time in *Poland*, with an Appearance of being published by the Order of King *Augustus*, raising Doubts concerning the Peace, this Prince disavowed them publickly at *Leipfic*, by a Paper which was Printed and dispersed every where.

The King of *Sweden* went a Stag-hunting the same Day with King *Augustus*, but spent only a few Hours in that Exercise. These two Princes visited each other often, and there appeared a perfect Harmony between them. As to King *Stanislaus*, he had had no Interview with King *Augustus*. They met only one Day at *Leipfic*, and King *Augustus* Horse making a false Step at the Moment they came up to each other, this Prince whipping his Horse, past swiftly by King *Stanislaus*, saluting him with his Hat, who, on his Side, very politely returned the Salute.

Whilst these Things past, the Swedish

disb Officers were very busy in recruiting their Regiments, and remounting their Cavalry.

The national *Swedish* Regiments received their Recruits from *Sweden*, and the new Regiments of Dragoons raised in *Prussia*, as we have noted before, 1704, made their Levies in divers Places, especially at *Breslaw*, and the other Towns of *Silesia*, with such extraordinary Success, that they were compleat in a short time, the young Fellows quitting in Throngs their Father's Houses to enter into the Service of the King of *Sweden*, so that our Officers had nothing to do more than to pick out the finest Men.

Colonel *Gortz* having had Orders in *October* last Year, to raise a Regiment of Dragoons, he raised one consisting of three thousand Men, all well made, well mounted, and well drest. These, after the Death of their Colonel, were divided into three Regiments, as we shall see hereafter.

The Queen of *Poland*, King *Augustus's* Consort, returned from *Bareith* to *Leipsic* the 25th of *January*. Three Days afterwards, the Prince Electoral arrived there also, on which Day the King of *Sweden* entered into *Leipsic* with King *Augustus*, who had been with him at *Alt-Ranstadt*, and made a short Visit to the Queen of *Poland*. The 31st, the Prince Electoral came to *Alt-Ranstadt* to make his Court to the King, who received him with much Grace and Distinction. This young Prince set out thence for *Lichtenburg*, where her Royal-Highness the Electress his Grandmother was arrived from *Holstein*.

All these fine Hopes of Friendship and Confidence on all Sides were on

the very Point of vanishing, by an unforeseen Accident, which had like to have caused a new Rupture.

King *Augustus* had invited the King of *Sweden* to a grand Hunting of wild Boars and Stags, which was to be, *Feb. 7, 1707*, at *Liebenwerda*. His Majesty promised to come thither. The Prince of *Wurtemberg* was already there with several *Swedish* Generals and other Courtiers and Officers of Distinction. But the King of *Sweden*, at the end of three Days, during which he had paid a Visit to the Electress his Aunt, the Mother of King *Augustus*, at her Castle of *Lichtenburg*, where he held a Conversation of three Hours together with her after Dinner, changed his Mind all of a sudden, on some certain private Whispers which came to his Ear, and seemed not ill-grounded, and sent an Excuse to King *Augustus*, who had expected him with Impatience, by Major-General *Lagercrona*, desiring him to begin the Hunting without waiting for him.

These Whispers perhaps had not prevented the King of *Sweden's* going to *Liebenwerda*, if at the same Time they had not shewn him certain Letters, which had been intercepted in *Poland*, and by which he saw with Astonishment the original Orders of the Court of *Saxony* to their Partisan *Smigelski*, to secure the Palatine of *Kiovia*, made Prisoner at the Battle of *Kalis*, and who was set at Liberty by the Treaty of Peace at *Alt-Ranstadt*. He was likewise ordered to engage the *Poles*, to publish an Interregnum, to proceed to a new Election, with Assurances that whoever was elected should be supported.

There were likewise Letters to the
U u Czar,

Czar, to his Ministers, and to the Grandees of *Poland*, by which it was plain, that King *Augustus* intended to amuse the King of *Sweden* in *Saxony*, till an Opportunity presented itself to break the Peace, and to shake off the Yoke of the *Swedes* by the Assistance of the *Russians*.

The Discovery of all these Intrigues joined to the above-mentioned flying Reports of a Plot formed against the Person of the King of *Sweden*, put a Stop to the Journey of this Prince to *Liebenwerda*; and as certain Instructions intercepted in *Saxony* contrary to the Tenor of the Peace were to be produced, the King of *Sweden's* Friendship must of Necessity cool, and so much the more, as King *Augustus* deferred every Day to fulfil the rest of the Points stipulated by the Treaty of Peace.

The Court of *Saxony* endeavoured to excuse this last Article, as well as it was able; but the King of *Sweden* irritated with these affected Delays, together with the late Discoveries, resolved at once to put an End to the Affair.

Secretary *Cederhielm*, who had continued all this Time at *Leipsic* to press the Ministers of *Saxony* to an entire Execution of the Articles of the Peace, and who could obtain nothing by all his Instances, was made choice of to mention the Matter to King *Augustus* himself. He set out for *Dresden* with Orders to propose to this Prince to issue a solemn Proclamation for the Suppression of all Writings which had been published since a certain Time, and were in Opposition to the Peace. He was likewise charged to demand an Accomplishment of all those Arti-

cles which had not been yet executed, and to declare at the same Time that his Majesty was only zealous to put an End to this Affair for the Sake of *Saxony*, which he could not quit before these Matters were entirely concluded.

Cederhielm, at his Arrival at *Dresden*, found King *Augustus* and all the Court on the Point of departing for the grand hunting at *Liebenwerda*, so that he could get nothing determined. He received Orders, however, to attend this Prince, who gave him in the mean while the Draught of an Instrument for the Suppression of the Writings in Question signed by himself, reserving the rest till the End of the Hunting, which was very fine, a hundred and ninety-nine wild Boars, and more than five hundred Stags being killed.

What retarded most the entire Execution of the Treaty of Peace was the Article of *Patkul*, whom King *Augustus* had great Reluctance to deliver up to the *Swedes*, seeing that this Prince had promised the Czar, to whom *Patkul* was General and Minister in full Power at his Court, never to agree to it. This very Point produced so many Difficulties, that though *Cederhielm* followed the Court from *Liebenwerda* to *Torgau*, where the Queen of *Poland* then was, to press this Affair, he could not, however, possibly obtain a final Answer, and was obliged to return with nothing concluded on; his *Swedish* Majesty dispatched him instantly to *Dresden*, giving him Orders not to come back till every Thing was settled.

Cederhielm found, on his Arrival, the whole Court in a terrible Alarm; the King of *Sweden's* failing his Appointment

pointment at the Hunting caused very serious Reflections, as he was the most religious Observer of his Promise; several Accounts likewise arrived one after another, which gave Reasons to apprehend some Resentment in the King of *Sweden*, perhaps an open Rupture from the Jealousies which might have grown in that Court on several Proceedings, as liable to Suspicion as those of the Court of *Saxony*; what increased these Fears was, that they were entirely ignorant of the true Sentiments of the King of *Sweden* on these Matters.

These Anxieties, however, were soon dissipated, and after some Eclaircissements on each Side, all seemed to be forgotten, without the least Spark of Resentment remaining, as soon as King *Augustus* had declared that he would punctually execute all the Articles of the Treaty.

The Article purporting the Surrender of the Jewels and other Ornaments, and Ensigns of Royalty to King *Stanislaus*, was, next to that of *Patkul*, one of the most disagreeable to King *Augustus*. What retarded the Execution of this was, that the King of *Sweden* adhered strictly to the Letter of the Treaty, that all these should be delivered to King *Stanislaus* himself, which King *Augustus* absolutely declined, desiring to deliver them into the Possession of his *Swedish* Majesty. This Affair was at last determined to the Satisfaction of King *Augustus*, and the Jewels were placed in the Hands of the King of *Sweden*.

Another Article, which stuck much with King *Augustus*, was that by which he was to be despoiled of the Arms and Title of the King of *Poland*;

though he might, during his Life, retain the Name and Honours of a King. Many Representations were obliged to be made to him, before he could be brought to this; for long after the Exchange of the Ratifications, he was continued to be prayed for in Churches without any Change in the Forms, being there always called King of *Poland*; the same Title still remained on his Arms and his Coin. However, this Article had the Fate of the others, and this Prince at last gave up the Title of King of *Poland*.

One Thing gave the *Swedes* some Trouble, which was, that no Printer in *Saxony* would print the Instrument of the Peace. This gave a Suspicion of a secret Order from the Court of *Dresden*. Our Dragoons soon removed this Difficulty, and set the Press a going in the finest manner in the World.

All these Circumstances, which were perplexing enough, occasioned a longer Stay of the Army in *Saxony* than was intended; for his *Swedish* Majesty, without obtaining an effectual Execution of the Treaty of Peace, resolved by no Means to quit those glorious Advantages which his Arms and his Valour had procured him, after so many Battles and Victories, and the Loss of so much Blood.

Patkul was taken the 28th of *March* out of the Fortress of *Konigstein*, and being delivered to a *Swedish* Detachment, was strongly guarded to the Army.

The next Day, King *Augustus* recognized King *Stanislaus* by the following Letter which he writ to him.

SIR, my Brother,

WE did not answer sooner that Letter which we had the Honour to receive from your Majesty, because we thought there was no Necessity of our entering into a particular Correspondence of this Kind. Nevertheless, to please his Swedish Majesty, and that it may not be imputed to us that we make a Difficulty of complying with his Demands, we congratulate your Majesty by these Presents on your coming to the Crown, and we wish at the same Time that you may find in this Country more faithful and more obedient Subjects than those whom we have quitted. All the World will do us the Justice to own, that all our Kindnesses, all our indefatigable Cares have been repaid only with Ingratitude, and that the greatest part of them made it their whole Business to form Parties against us to our Ruin.

Recommending your Majesty to the divine Protection, we wish you may not be exposed to a like Reverse of Fortune.

*Given at Dresden this 29th of March,
1707.*

SIR, my Brother,

Your good Brother and Neighbour,
AUGUSTUS R.

*The Direction was to his Majesty the
K. of Poland.*

King Stanislaus answered this Letter a Month afterwards by a Letter somewhat longer, containing in Substance, that the Correspondence of his Majesty was a new Obligation that he had to the King of Sweden; that he was sensible of the Compliments which he

made him on his coming to the Crown; and that he hoped his Subjects would have no Occasion to fail in their Fealty, since he should observe the Laws of the Kingdom.

This Prince had already been acknowledged in the Month of February by the King of Prussia, who was also recognized in the same Quality by King Stanislaus. As the King of Sweden always kept up a firm Union with the Houses of Lunenbourg, his Majesty engaged King Stanislaus to write a Letter to the Elector of Hanover, and to the Duke of Wolfenbottle, to notify his Accession to the Crown. These Princes by their Answers acknowledged him to be King of Poland: As did the King of France, who sent an Officer of his Swiss Guards into Saxony, to compliment him thereon.

Thus the King of Sweden obtained his Purpose, and put an happy Issue to an Affair, the Success whereof had appeared impossible to the whole World. No Person being able to imagine seven Years before, when three Enemies drew their Swords against him at once, that he would bring the Business to so glorious a Conclusion; and that one of his Enemies, a Prince otherwise rich and powerful, should be obliged to resign his Crown to one whom the King of Sweden should chuse to fill his Place.

All the Differences being thus adjusted, by the full Execution of all Points of the Treaty, a new Incident retarded the Departure of the King of Sweden from Saxony, and had perhaps caused an open Rupture between him and the Emperor, if they had not found Means to remedy it in good time.

Baron

Baron *Stralenheim*, Envoy from Sweden to Vienna, being at an Entertainment at one of the Emperor's Ministers with Count *Zobor*, an Hungarian, and Chamberlain of the Emperor, a petulant little Man, and Son-in-law of the rich Prince of *Lichtenstein*, this Count took upon him to utter some Words not very respectful, which glanced at the King of Sweden, in comparing him to two others, who, he said, troubled Europe, *Stanislaus* and *Ragolski*, and he would not name the third.

Upon this very high Words arose between Baron *Stralenheim* and the Count, tending towards a Challenge, Baron *Stralenheim* held forth his Hand to the Count to accept the Challenge, on which the Count who sat opposite to him gave him a great Blow, after which the Company prevented them from any farther Violence.

The Baron complained against the Count of *Zobor*, and demanded a Publick Satisfaction for the Affront offered to the King his Master. The Emperor, to appease him, ordered the Count to be arrested, and a Process exhibited against him.

This did not satisfy the King of Sweden, to whom *Stralenheim* repaired immediately, without taking his Leave of the Court of Vienna. To augment the ill blood which this might occasion, he met in *Bohemia*, in his Way to Saxony, Parties of twenty and thirty *Muscovites*, who belonged to that body of fifteen hundred Men, who fled from Saxony into the Empire, and whom the King of Sweden had some Time since demanded at Vienna to be delivered to him, and concerning which that Court had affected much

Slowness in its Answer. To know in Reality if these Men had escaped with the Connivance of the Imperial Court, *Stralenheim* ordered his Servants to tell the *Muscovite* Officers, that he was the Count of *Wakerbath*, a Saxon, a Fiction which made them avow the Truth, but very much irritated the King of Sweden, as soon as the Baron had reported it to him.

Besides all this, there had been a Quarrel at *Breslaw*, where some Insults had been used to the Swedes who were recruiting there, and in which a Corporal was killed.

The Imperial Court alarmed at the sudden Departure of the Swedish Minister, and the other Circumstances, dispatched an Express to Count *Zinzendorff*, with a Letter from Count *Wratislau* to Count *Piper*, by which Count *Wratislau* signified, that if he might be permitted to approach the King of Sweden, the Emperor, his Master, had fixed on him to testify the Dispositions of his Imperial Majesty, to preserve continually a good Understanding with his Majesty of Sweden, and to give him all possible Satisfaction on those Causes of Displeasure which he might imagine himself to have against the Emperor.

The Count *de Zinzendorff* was ordered at the same Time, to acknowledge King *Stanislaus* under three principal Conditions:

1. That King *Stanislaus* should engage to maintain inviolably all the ancient Treaties concluded between the House of *Austria*, and his Predecessors the Kings of *Poland*.

2. That he should not intermeddle directly nor indirectly with the War in *Hungary*.

3. That

3. That he should guaranty the Emperor from all Damages which he might suffer on the Part of the *Muscovites*.

These three Points being conceded a short time afterwards, King *Stanislaus* was recognized in form by the Emperor.

The King of *Sweden* insisted too strongly in the Conferences between Count *Piper* and the Count *de Zinzendorff*, on the Article of the fifteen hundred *Muscovites*, and the re-establishment of the Grievances in Religion in *Silesia*, where he claimed a Restitution of the *Lutheran* Churches, which had been seized since the Peace of *Westphalia*, whereof his Majesty was Guarantee by Right of Succession, as King of *Sweden*.

It was then proposed to the Imperial Minister, to remit that Quota of the Subsidies which *Sweden* was either to pay into the Chest of the Empire in Money, or to supply an Equivalent in Troops for the Army of the *Germanick* Body, in Consideration of the heavy War in which *Sweden* had been engaged. The Limitation of the right of Primogeniture in *Holstein*, and the Confirmation of the Bishoprick of *Eutin* to the Descendant of the younger Branch of *Gottorp*, made another Point. The Delivery of the Count *de Zobor*, and of the Officers of *Breslau*, which his Majesty demanded as a Preliminary, was likewise an Article absolutely necessary to the Admission of Count *Wratislau*. Count *Piper* writ some Days afterwards a Letter to Count *Zinzendorff*, transmitting to him at the same Time the King's Declaration touching the *Muscovite* Troops. We shall see hereafter, what Measures the Imperial

Court took to lay that Storm which was ready to burst on its Head.

In this Month of *April*, 1707, an Envoy from *France* appeared all of a sudden in *Saxony*, this was the Baron *Bossenwald*, who had passed thro' the Empire under the Disguise of a Merchant, and arrived safely at *Leipsic*, where he presently appeared with an eclat, though this gave a Subject for Murmurs at *Ratisbon* to the Allies, whose Distrust was encreased by a *Bavarian* Minister's presenting himself at the same Time in *Saxony*. But the Arrival of the Duke of *Marlborough* at the King's Quarters, and the Assurances which he carried back, soon removed all Jealousies conceived of the King of *Sweden*.

The Duke of *Marlborough* landed from *England* in *Holland* the 5th of *April*, and presently set out for *Saxony*, to assure himself precisely of the King of *Sweden's* Intentions.

He arrived the 17th of the same Month at *Hall*, where Mr. *Robinson* the *English* Minister, with the Imperial and *Dutch* Envoys, came to meet him. While he was on the Road from this Town to the King of *Sweden's* Quarters, he was informed that his Majesty would not give him an Audience till the next Day. This News prevailed with my Lord Duke to repair directly to the Quarters of Count *Piper*, who assured him on the Part of his Majesty, how agreeable his Arrival would be to him. The Audience was fixed for the next Day at eleven, being the 4th Day of *Easter*, as soon as his Majesty came from Church.

The Duke went from Count *Piper* to *Kotschau*, a little Village which they had

had prepared for his Quarters, and which was but a short Quarter of a League from those of the King. In the Morning, he arrived at the appointed Hour at *Alt Ranstadt*, where he was received by Mr. *Duben* Comptroller of the Court, and other Officers. Count *Piper* received him in an Antichamber, and conducted him to the King's Apartment, where he found his Majesty in the midst of divers Princes, Senators, Generals, Gentlemen and Officers.

The Duke made a short Compliment to his Majesty in *English*, which was interpreted in the *Swedish* Language by Mr. *Robinson*, who spoke that Tongue in great Perfection. The Substance of it follows:

I have the Honour to present your Majesty a Letter from her Majesty the Queen of Great-Britain, my most gracious Mistress; not from her Secretaries, but written with her own Hand and Heart. She would have a most singular Pleasure in seeing your Majesty, as a Prince who is the Admiration of all Europe, if so long a Voyage had been proper for her Sex. However, I esteem myself happy, to have the Honour of assuring your Majesty of my Respects, and should account it my great good Fortune, that my Affairs would permit me to learn, under the command of so great a General as your Majesty, such Particulars of the Art of War as I am at present ignorant of.

Count *Piper* answered in the Name of the King of *Sweden* in the following manner, which Mr. *Robinson* interpreted in *English*.

The Letters of the Queen of Great-Britain and your Person are very agreeable to me, and I shall always shew the greatest Regard to the Mediation of her Britannick Majesty, and the Interest of the Grand Alliance. It is against my Will that I have been constrained to give the least Umbrage to any of its Members, but your Excellence must perceive that I had just Reasons for my March hither, with my Troops. On the other Side, you may assure the Queen my Sister, that my Design is to leave this Country as soon as I have received the Satisfaction I have demanded, but not before. Nevertheless, I shall do nothing against the common Cause in general, or the Protestant Religion in particular.

The Duke afterwards spoke in *French*, which his Majesty understood though he did not speak it, answering always in *Swedish*, which Mr. *Robinson* interpreted to the Duke. The Conversation was afterwards general during an Hour. After which his Majesty went into the Hall to Dinner, whether the Duke followed him with the other Generals and Ministers. The Duke was placed on the right of the King, Count *Piper* being on his left. There was no Conversation at the Table; only the Duke discoursed with Count *Welling*, who sat by him, to whom he spoke *French*, but in a very low Voice.

After Dinner, which lasted a little longer than ordinary, and during which Advice came that King *Augustus* was on his Return from *Dresden* to *Leipsic*, the Duke returned with the King to the Chamber of Audience, where most of the rest of the Company soon retired.

The

The Duke then spoke amply on the Subject of his Commission, the Tendency of which was, to assure himself of the true Intentions of the King of *Sweden* with Regard to the Affairs of *Europe*. His Majesty listened with much Satisfaction and Attention, so did Count *Piper* and Secretary *Hermelin*, who were present. Count *Piper* answered on the Part of the King. This Conversation turned on the War in *Brabant*, the Battles of *Hochstedt* and *Schellenberg*, and other Matters concerning the War.

The King enlarged much on all these Matters, and discovered so deep a Knowledge in the Art-Military as surprized the Duke.

This Conversation lasted near two Hours, till the twelve Trumpets sounded the third Time, being the Signal for Vespers. The Duke then left the King, who went to Church, while the Duke visited the Countess *Piper*, and had afterwards a long Conference with the Count. He went afterwards to *Wittersdorff*, to wait on the Countess of *Rheinschild*, Wife of the Velt-Marshal, from whence he returned to his Quarters.

The next Day the King of *Sweden* came early to *Leipsic*, to visit King *Augustus* in the Garden of *Apel*. These two Monarchs talked together near two Hours in a very friendly Manner, which finally removed all Suspicions of a Misunderstanding, which had reigned ever since the hunting Party above mentioned. After this Interview the King of *Sweden* returned to *Alt-Ranstadt*.

In this Interval, my Lord Duke went to the Garden of *Jocher*, whence he paid his Respects to King *Augustus*,

immediately on the Departure of the King of *Sweden*, and had a Conversation of half an Hour with that Prince. He returned from thence to *Guntersdorff*, where he dined at Count *Piper's* with Count *Zintzendorff*, Mr. *Robinson*, Count *Pflug*, and the Baron *Goertz*. After Dinner, the Duke, Count *Piper*, Mess. *Robinson* and *Goertz*, had a long Conference on the Affairs of *Holstein*. In the Evening, the Duke supped with Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild*.

The next Day King *Augustus*, accompanied by Count *Pflug*, Velt-Marshal *Ogilvi*, General *Robel*, General *Wakerbarth*, the great Falconer Count *Vitzibum* and Count *Lognasco*, repaired to *Alt-Ranstadt*. The two Kings remained alone together in the Closet till Dinner, at which King *Augustus* took the Right, as usual, having next him the Prince of *Mecklenbourg*; none of the *Swedish* Generals, save Count *Rheinschild*, were present.

Their Repast being over, which lasted but one Hour, King *Augustus* returned to the King of *Sweden's* Closet, where the two Princes discoursed for some Time, and then the former returned to *Leipsic*, the King of *Sweden*, with Count *Rheinschild* and other Persons belonging to the Court, accompanying him half way.

At the King of *Sweden's* Return, the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had in the Morning received the Visits of the Counts *Piper*, *Rheinschild*, and others, and had afterwards dined with the Baron *de Goertz*, came to take his Audience of Leave of his Majesty. During which, it was told the King that King *Stanislaus*, with Count *Sapieha*, Marshal of *Lithuania*, were in the antichamber. The Duke said, that he had nothing

nothing to communicate to that Prince, since the Queen his Mistress had already complimented him by Mr. *Robinson*. His Majesty then went to receive King *Stanislaus*, and conducted him into his Chamber, between whom and the Duke many Civilities past.

The Duke having taken Leave of his *Swedish* Majesty, departed for *Leipsic*, and thence, without stopping, continued his Journey towards *Berlin*, which the King of *Prussia* invited him to take in his Way by a Letter under his own hand. He returned to the *Hague* the first of *May*, where he declared openly how much he was satisfied with his Journey to *Alt-Ranstadt*, and with the Person of the King of *Sweden*, of whom he always spoke with great Commendation.

April 21. King *Augustus* with his Train set out from *Leipsic* for *Dresden*, thereby putting an End to all the Conferences which he had had with his *Swedish* Majesty, touching the Peace.

Some Days afterwards a Report caused great Amazement at the Head-quarters at *Alt-Ranstadt*. This was the arresting the Plenipotentiaries *Imhoff* and *Pfingsten* in their Houses at *Dresden*, and very shortly conducting them to the Fortress of *Königsstein*. The Ministers of King *Augustus* pretended, that they were very justly seized for not having faithfully followed their Instructions; that they had exceeded their full Powers, and concealed some Articles from King *Augustus*, on a vain Expectation that they might prevail with the King of *Sweden* to soften the Rigour of them.

Be that as it will, this Step plainly demonstrated the Intention of King *Augustus*, who, by this Publick Disap-

probation of the Peace he had just concluded, shewed that he intended to break it on the first Reverse of Fortune that should befall the King of *Sweden*, and the first Opportunity which should present itself of breaking it with Safety.

This, however, gave little Pain at *Alt-Ranstadt*; and as soon as the Queen of *Poland*, Wife of King *Stanislaus*, and Madam-Royal the King's Mother had left *Leisnitz*, his *Swedish* Majesty began to visit his Troops in their different Quarters. The *Drabans* were first reviewed, and all those who saw them, averred, that they had never seen Troops so fine and so warlike at the same Time.

The King went next to *Voightland*, to see the Regiment of *Ostrogoths*, who were quartered in and about *Plauen*. King *Augustus* was present at this Review, as he was at that of many other Regiments, together with Monseigneur the Duke Governor of *Holstein*, and Prince *Wurtemberg*, who always attended on the King.

The Regiments were all found in excellent Condition, it being impossible to add to the Beauty of the Men and of the Horses, any more than to the Uniformity as well as Adroitness of the military Exercises and Evolutions. The King fatigued himself so much on these Occasions, that one Day, during the Review of a Regiment of Cavalry, he killed two Horses, who both fell stiff under him. The same happened also to Prince *Wurtemberg*, who always kept up close to the King.

But it is now Time to return into *Poland*, and take a View of the Motions of the Czar, and a new Party which had formed itself during the

Stay of the King of Sweden, and King Stanislaus in Saxony.

The Czar was violently irritated at the first Report of King Augustus's being retired into Saxony, and his solemn Abdication of the Crown of Poland by a Peace with the King of Sweden. The Articles of the Delivery up of *Patkul* enraged him above all the rest, and he sent forth his Complaints into all the Courts where he had any Commerce. *Matucos*, his Ambassador at the Hague, sent the Duke of Marlborough a Letter from his Master to the Queen of England, filled with Invectives against King Augustus. The Ambassadors sent at the same Time to the Duke, and some Days afterwards to the States, a Memorial of the 4th of January, O. S. containing great Bitterness, and insisting that the State should not recognize King Stanislaus. But whilst the Czar was busied in fruitless Endeavours in foreign Courts, to hinder their recognizing the new King of Poland, which only tended to illustrate the Power of the King of Sweden, whom they durst not offend; he was not remiss, at the same Time, in providing by all the Measures which Prudence could dictate, for the warm Reception of the Swedes, against whom he was shortly to stand alone.

His Army, in the Beginning of the Year 1707, consisted in Poland of thirty thousand Foot, and as many Dragoons, exclusive of the Troops in *Livonia* and *Courland*, and thirty Regiments which were expected from *Ingria* and the neighbourhood of *Moscow*. This Prince entering Poland at the Head of so considerable an Army, saw himself in the same Condition of giving Law there, as the King of Swe-

den had been before him.

We have said before that there were two Primates in Poland; one named *Szembeck*, formerly Bishop of *Cujavia*, of the Nomination of King Augustus, whom he had crowned; the other nominated by King Stanislaus, whose Name was *Dzielinski*, who had before been Archbishop of *Leopold*.

The first, fearing that if Stanislaus remained on the Throne, he should be compelled to give up his Dignity to his Competitor, implored the Protection of the Czar. At the same Time he put himself at the Head of those who had stood firm to King Augustus's Party, and would not acknowledge Stanislaus, thinking to proceed to a new Election. They obtained a Promise of Prince *Menzikoff*, that the Czar would not abandon them, but would assist them with the same Subsidies, and the same auxiliary Troops which he had before furnished.

This Primate wrote to *Ratisbon*, to intreat the States of the Empire, to recognize no other for King of Poland but him, whom the unanimous Consent of all the Republick should elect. He then published circular Letters to convoke a general Diet of the Senators and Deputies of the Nobility at *Leopold*, Jan. 27. to deliberate on the present Situation of Affairs, and the most conducive Methods to proceed to the Election of a new King.

Whilst the Czar was drawing toward *Leopold*, to give more Weight to the Diet which was to be there held, he lost *Smigelski*, formerly a strenuous Partizan of King Augustus. This Officer, who had in his Custody the *Palatine* of *Kiovia*, and the Count *de Tarlo*, taken Prisoners at *Kalis*, being piqued

at

at some Haughtiness in the Behaviour of Prince *Menzikof* towards him, abandoned the *Russians*, and setting his Prisoners at Liberty, went into *Saxony* and acknowledged King *Stanislaus*, carrying with him a hundred and fifty *Russians* whom he took from *Przemisse*.

The Czar arrived at *Zolkiew* at the Quarters of Prince *Menzikof*, where many *Polish* Grandees, especially those Dignitaries who held their Employments of King *Augustus*, and could not hope to keep them if they submitted to King *Stanislaus*, came to make their Court to the new Protector, before they went to *Leopold*. They agreed instantly to furnish this Prince with one hundred and forty thousand Pounds of Bread a Day for his Men, who amounted to seventy thousand.

The better to intimidate the Friends of *Stanislaus*, the Czar detached the Generals *Ronn* and *Heinsk* with a flying Party of Dragoons, the first on the Side of *Prussia*, and the second of *Grand Poland*; these proceeded with Fire and Sword, not sparing one of those who sided with the new King.

The great Council of *Leopold* opened, *Jan. 28.* and was adjourned to the first of *February*. It was composed of the Primare *Szembeck*, and of many Senators, Bishops, Palatines, Castellans, and Dignitaries of the Kingdom, of King *Augustus's* Appointment, of which Number were General *Siniawski*, and Prince *Wisniowski*.

To this Assembly the Czar sent the *Knez Dolgorucki* in Quality of his Ambassador. It was debated under what Form they should proceed, and they at length agreed to entitle their Council, *the Sequel of the Confederacy of Sen-*

domir, to which Council they would make the necessary Additions on the present State of Affairs. They then put this Question, *If they had a King or no?* which was carried in the Negative, after they had examined into the Flight of King *Augustus*, his Treaty with the King of *Sweden*, and his Abdication of the Throne. A Motion was then made to declare the Throne vacant, and they resolved to assemble a Diet at *Lublin* for the Month of *May*, after they had assembled the Members in the *Palatinates*. In the mean time it was resolved to exhort those who had taken the contrary Party, to be present, that they might concur in the common Defence. Lastly, it was agreed that the Primate should dispatch Letters to inform foreign Powers of the Rights and Liberties of *Poland*, and to desire them to recognize no Person as King of that Kingdom, unless he be elected and recognized by the free Suffrages of all the Orders of the Republick.

The Czar promised the Members of this Assembly, by his Letters to *Siniawski*, that he would never abandon them, by making a separate Treaty with the *Swedes*. He repaired some Days afterwards to *Leopold*, where he arrived the 9th of *February*, followed by the Czarowitz his Son, *Menzikof*, and other Ministers. In the End he assisted himself at the Debates, using all his Efforts to quicken them to the Election of a new King.

Whilst these Things were in Agitation, a *Muscovite* Party commanded by General *Ronn* surprized *Dzieliniski*, Primate by the Nomination of King *Stanislaus*, and Archbishop of *Gnesne*, who had wandered for some time in

the Habit of a Peasant, with a Design to escape in that manner into *Saxony*. He was very severely dealt with, and the opposite Primate took great Pains with the Bishops assembled at *Leopold*, to get him delivered as an Ecclesiastick. The Czar, without any Regard to their Sollicitations, caused him to be carried Prisoner to *Kiow*, where he was kept in a very vile Prison.

The Debates at *Leopold* being ended, after many Conferences between the Senators themselves, and between the Czar and his Ministers, it was resolved that as soon as they should have settled the Foundations of a strict Alliance with his Czarish Majesty, and have taken the necessary Measures to maintain the general Confederacy of *Sandomir*, they should endeavour to obtain of that Prince a Remission of the *Ukrain* to the Republick. They confirmed at the same Time, the Commissaries who had been named by the great Council, to receive this Restitution; as likewise those who had been chosen for the Observators of military Discipline in Conjunction with the Deputies of his Czarish Majesty.

This Resolution was accompanied with two Declarations or authentick Promises, that the Czar and the Confederates would mutually confide in each other, that neither Party would separate their common Interests. These Declarations were signed on each Part, *March* 20. by the Czar on the one Side only, and by eighteen Senators on the other, at the Head of which was the Primate *Stanislaus Szembek*, and the great General *Siniawski*.

The Czar then returned to *Zolkiew*; and as the *Poles* feared that this Prince would propose his Son to the Diet of

Lublin, to be elected to the Crown of *Poland*, as it was then generally credited, he sent him back to *Moscow*. After which he paid eight hundred thousand Florins to the *Polish* and *Lithuanian* Troops, according to his Agreement at *Leopol*.

King *Stanislaus*, attentive to all the Motions of the Primate, saw with Grief, that the Troubles, far from being brought to an End in *Poland*, were now renewing with the utmost Violence, by that headlong and giddy Spirit which so apparently ruled in this factious Assembly at *Leopol*.

This Prince having already issued his Proclamations through *Poland* in the Beginning of the Year, published a new Memorial at this Time, by which he represented to all the Orders of the Republick, the Concern which he felt at the insolent and vile Behaviour of this Assembly, who would precipitate themselves into the last of Misfortunes, by their obstinate Adherence to the Czar of *Muscovy*, who was laying waste the Kingdom, and endeavouring to disunite the Members, in order to gain an Advantage in the War which he intended against the King of *Sweden*, with whom the Treaty of Peace had been happily concluded in *Saxony*, and signed at *Alt-Ranstadt*; in Consequence of which, Tranquillity had been re-established by King *Augustus's* Renunciation of the Crown, and that absolute Cession which had been made in Favour of King *Stanislaus*. That his Majesty would repair to *Warsovia*, and would endeavour to restore quiet in the Kingdom. In the mean Time, he exhorted them all, as well Nobility as the Soldiery and others, to concur with him in this good Design.

Design, and to unite themselves in Defence of his Person against the Enemy: that he declared all such who adhered to the Council of *Leopol* to be Traitors to their Country, and as such would pursue them with Fire and Sword on his victorious return into *Poland*, when he should be supported with the glorious Arms of the King of *Sweden*, that he would confiscate all their Goods to the Crown, and inflict the most dreadful Punishments on their Persons.

Poland was at this Time every Day the Theatre of the most tragick Scenes. Provinces depopulated, Towns reduced into Ashes, the Inhabitants oppressed, trampled on, and driven from their Houses, sometimes by one Party, sometimes by the other, presented every where the most horrible and most hideous Spectacles.

The Czar caused his Troops to make several Motions, not only for the more easy procuring their Subsistence, but to form imperceptibly a Body of the Army round *Lublin*, to cover the Diet which was assembling. On the other Part, the Body of *Swedes* which were in *Lower Poland*, composed of those Regiments under *Mardefeld*, who had obtained their Liberty by the Treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, and were now compleatly recruited and re-established, fortified themselves in *Posnania*, and gathered together a Magazine for his Majesty's Army, when it should re-enter *Poland*.

During this Situation of Affairs, General *Ronn*, who was encamped about *Thorn* with a Body of twenty thousand Men, most of them Dragoons, received Orders from the Czar to enter into the Lines of *Dantzic*, which after

long Warning had at last declared for the *Swedes* and King *Stanislaus*.

The *Muscovite* General proposed to the Regency of this Town, the following very hard Conditions:

1. To renounce the Interest of King *Stanislaus*.
2. That they should withdraw the Cannon from the Ramparts, when it was of no Use against the Defenders of *Polish* Liberty.
3. That they should deliver up all the Adherents to King *Stanislaus*, especially a *Swedish* Commissary, named *Kniper Crona*, who should be found in the Town.
4. That they should no longer delay the Payment of certain Contributions which had been already demanded.
5. That the Town should furnish them with a great Quantity of Powder and Ball.
6. That as they could not help acknowledging the *Russians* to be the Defenders of the publick Liberty, so the Town could not refuse to admit for some time a Garrison of *Russian* Troops.
7. That they should provide Horses to mount fifteen hundred Dragoons, and Tents for ten thousand Men.
8. That they should furnish Bread for the Troops.
9. That they should make a Present at their Discretion to General *Ronn*.

The Town of *Dantzic*, which was too firm and too full of Zeal to accept such hard and dishonourable Conditions, resolved, after a short Debate, to defend herself against Force, and having sent a Colonel with twelve hundred Men and some Cannon into the Lines,

Lines, they made Holes in their Banks, by which General *Ronn* was obliged to retire with Precipitation, and with so much the more Confusion, as he had menaced what he was not able to execute.

In the mean time, the Czar, fearing least the Pope, since *Augustus* had renounced the Crown of *Poland*, should recognize King *Stanislaus*, whose Election he had disapproved, determined to send the Knez *Boris Kurakin*, as his Minister, to *Rome*. This Minister, under a Shew of re-uniting the *Greek Church* to the Holy See, a Project with which *Rome* had always flattered herself, was ordered to use all imaginable Efforts to dissuade his Holiness from recognizing King *Stanislaus*: In which he was the more likely to succeed, as Pope *Clement XI.* was the more averse to this Proceeding, on account of the Protection which the King of *Sweden* gave to King *Stanislaus*, the former of these Kings being regarded by the Pope as a terrible Heretick, against whom he was violently irritated, on his having sided with the *Lutherans* of *Silesia* against the Catholic Powers.

Whilst the Czar took these Measures at *Rome*, to prevent the Loss of his Adherents in *Poland*, and the Overthrow of all his Projects, which might be brought about by a single Letter from the Pope to the Clergy of the Kingdom in Favour of King *Stanislaus*, he caused his Troops to make terrible Waste in the Lands and Goods of those who were in the Service of that Prince, to give the rest to understand what they were to expect if they deserted his Party. But as the Soldiers, from whom all restraint was taken off,

in executing those dreadful Commands, were not obliged to know the exact Bounds of those Lands which were prescribed by the Assembly of *Leopol*, it often happened that his Friends suffered by bordering on his Enemies; this excited bitter and continual Complaints, which were brought to the Czar's Court, whilst universal Exclamations ran through the Kingdom, against so severe an Ally and Protector.

The new Diet was fixed to be held at *Lublin*, May 13. Few of the Grantees appeared at the Opening, though this was conducted with great Magnificence, and many fine Harangues. The Czar saw that the *Poles* made a Difficulty of entering into his Views, and only sought to gain Time. In effect, they only dispatched a few Passports with the Czarish Ministers, and regulated some other Affairs of little Consequence.

This Conduct in the *Poles* extremely incensed the Czar, especially when he saw that *Wisniowski* had abandoned his Party; which Prince, tired with a War of which he could promise himself no good Issue, and being moreover dissatisfied with the violent Barbarities exercised indifferently by the *Russian Troops*, under Pretence of spoiling the Lands of the Adherents to *Sweden*, judged it his Interest to change Sides; and as he saw himself at the Head of the Party in *Lithuania*, he led it entire into the Camp of General Count *Adam Lowenhaupt*, whence he went forward to *Saxony* to submit to King *Stanislaus*, who found Means to reunite this powerful Lord with *Sapieha*.

The other *Lithuanian* Generals soon followed

followed their Chief; there remained only General *Sieniki*, Great-Master of the Artillery of *Lithuania*, whose March was cut off by the *Russians*, by whom he was obliged to throw himself into *Bichow*, a strong Place, where he was soon besieged, and forced to surrender himself at Discretion, together with his Brother, and several other Grandees of the Kingdom.

Sieniki endeavoured to excuse his Conduct by representing to the Czar, that he had no Intention to quit his Party; that he had only obeyed the Orders of *Wisniowski*, without knowing the Correspondence he maintained with the Enemy; but the Czar being piqued to the last Degree, and likewise much displeased at the slow Proceedings of the Assembly of *Lublin*, sent *Sieniki* to Prison at *Moscow*. The Czar published at the same time Proclamations against *Wisniowski* and his Adherents. *Wisniowski* answered by circular Letters, in which he deplored the miserable State of his Country, which was become a Prey to its Friends as well as Foes; declaring, that he would not have forsaken the Part of the Confederates, had he not seen the Ruin of his Country inevitable, if it remained thus divided, and under the Protection of two such powerful Monarchs, who were Enemies to each other.

The Impatience of the Czar at the Irresolution which reigned in the Assembly of *Lublin* is hardly to be believed. He was yet at *Solkiew*, where there is a fine Castle and three beautiful Walks. These could in no manner ease his Disquietude. The Assembly took Notice of the taking of *Bichow*, and concerted with the Knez

Dolgorucki the Means to regain the *Lithuanian* Army. As to the Demands of the *Polonese* of having *Bichow* restored, with the Artillery which had been taken, a Reparation of all the Wrongs and Damage done by the *Tartarian Calmucks*, and the Delivery of *Sianislaus* his Primate to the Assembly; the Czar consented, on Condition that *Bichow* should be razed, or at least have no more Garrisons thrown into it; that the Artillery should be restored at the End of the War; that the Damages done by the *Calmucks* should be repaired and paid; and lastly, that the Primate should be indulged in his Prison with all sorts of Conveniencies, till the Decision of the Holy See arrived.

On June 10. the Czar went to *Lublin* with an Escorte of three thousand Men, hoping to bring the Assembly to some vigorous Resolution. This Prince had in his Train the Ministers of *Denmark* and *Prussia*, and Count *Berezini* Envoy from Prince *Ragowski*, who came on behalf of the Malecontents of *Hungary*, to demand a Supply in Money from his Czarish Majesty, and to offer the Crown of *Hungary* to the Czarowitz. But he obtained neither the one nor the other.

At his first Arrival at *Lublin*, the Czar saw, that he could have no Dependence on the Resolutions of this tumultuous and wavering Assembly. To found them therefore, he made them these three Propositions.

1. That they would publish the Interregnum and elect a King.
2. That they would draw up the Formulary of a new Oath, by which the Grandees should oblige themselves

to continue inviolably and faithfully attached to the Czar.

3. That in pursuance of their Engagements they would give Sureties of their Alliance.

The Members of the Assembly answered to these Demands, that they had no Certainty of the absolute Renunciation by King *Augustus*; they must be allowed Time therefore to send into *Saxony*, to know the true Intentions of that Prince, the rather for that *Pfingsten* and *Imhoff* had been put under Arrest, which gave them Room to judge that he disapproved the Treaty which these Commissaries had made. They added, that, in the mean time, the Czar might, if he pleased, take Measures to drive the *Swedes* out of *Great Poland*, to the End, that if they came to an Election, it might be transacted with the greater Freedom. They demanded, lastly, of the Czar, Sureties of the Performance of his Promises, in favour of him whom they should elect.

The Czar replied, that their pretended Ignorance of King *Augustus's* Dispositions was a palpable Evasion, and without prejudice to the Freedom of their Election, he proposed to them as Candidates to the Crown, the Great-General *Siniawski*, who had been long in their Favour, the Palatine of *Mazovia* *Cbementowski*, Vice-Chancellor *Srzembeck*, and the Count *de Dabnbof*, under Sword-Carrier, and Marshal of the Confederacy. Adding, that whoever of these four should be elected, might be assured of his Protection and Assistance.

The old Primate, charmed with the Thoughts of putting the Crown on the

Head of a Person who should owe his Advancement solely to him, without reflecting on the mischievous Consequences of this Election, seconded the Propositions of the Czar, and succeeded so well by his Menaces, that, in Spite of the Opposition of many Members, the Crown was declared vacant, and the Interregnum published; and whereas some Grandees of *Lithuania* had held an Assembly where they had taken particular Resolutions, it was agreed to hold a Council at *Novogrodeck*, to reunite the Interests of the two Nations, under the Protection of the Czar.

We should certainly have seen very shortly three Kings on foot at once in *Poland*, had not the Czar, who was full of Penetration, discovering that he could by no means rely on those Persons, taken a Resolution entirely different: for having no way but open force to make Head against the King of *Sweden*, who was now preparing to re-enter *Poland* with a flushed and victorious Army, he abandoned for this time all Thoughts of a new Election, and Meditating only how to draw the War into a foreign Country like this of *Poland*, he divided his Troops into several Bodies, one of which he sent into *Polish Prussia*, a second into *Lithuania*, another into the Neighbourhood of *Warsaw*, giving Orders at the same Time to his Generals to watch the Motions of the *Swedes*, and in case they attempted to pass the *Vistula*, to break down all the Bridges; that if after this they were not able to dispute their Passage of the River, they should lay waste by Fire and Sword, all the Country on this side, in their Retreat, by which means all Subsistence might be

be taken from the Enemy, and at the same Time to fatigue them continually with Marches and Counter-Marches.

This terrible Order was so punctually executed, that the Soldiers, greedy of Booty, acknowledging no Law, as soon as the Bridle was taken off, committed the most shocking Barbarities in *Poland*; to which, of all others, the poor Town of *Lissa*, belonging to King *Stanislaus*, was the most exposed. To give one Example.

A *Russian* Colonel, whose Name was *Schultz*, entered into *Lissa*, *July* 5, and after having exacted the most excessive Contributions, he plundered the Town, with the *Calmucks* and *Tartars*, from the 6th to the 19th of that Month; during which Time they committed Violences unheard of, and almost incredible, had not a printed Account in form of a Journal set down in particular all the dreadful Circumstances.

After this cruel Execution, he set fire to that beautiful Town, and not contented with reducing it to Ashes, after having committed more than Barbarian Cruelties, he took away with him a Company of the Citizens who were Clothiers, to be employed in the new Manufactory erected at *Moscow*, where they were obliged to work during their Lives. Some of the Inhabitants, not amounting to the twelfth Part, had the Happinels to save themselves naked and stript of every thing in *Silesia*, the rest having been all massacred.

The Town of *Ravitz*, the fine Castle of *Reissen* or *Ridzin*, and many other Places, shared the same Fate. These

Actions so alienated the Minds of the People from the *Muscovites*, that thro' all *Poland* no Wish was heard but to see the *Swedes* and King *Stanislaus* enter into the Kingdom, to deliver the Inhabitants from their cruel Protectors.

Most of the Members of the Assembly at *Lublin* retired at the same Time. The Count of *Dabnbof* made lively Complaints to the Czar, shewing him the ill Effect of the Conduct of his Officers. At first, he recommended more Moderation to them, but in Effect, they only changed their Manner of ruining the *Polonese*, whom they stript of whatever they had that was valuable, in order to adorn and enrich *Russia*.

The Czar himself caused the rich Moveables to be taken out of the Castle of *Warsaw*, even to the fine Orange-Trees which were there, and every Thing that he liked best to be removed from the finest Palaces of the Town. These he afterwards transported in Quantities to *Moscow*, or *St. Petersbourg*.

We shall see hereafter the Conclusion of the turbulent Diet of *Lublin*. Let us at present return to *Saxony*, and take a View of the Determination of the Differences between the King of *Sweden* and the Emperor.

As divers Powers apprehended the Consequences of his *Swedish* Majesty's Resentment, they offered their Mediation to reconcile him with the Emperor. The Queen of *England* was particularly zealous by her Envoy Mr. *Robinson*, as was *Holland* by Mr. *Harselt*, to calm the King's irritated Temper, who threatned nothing less than an Invasion of the Emperor's

Dominions, unless he received Satisfaction.—The following is the Answer from his Swedish Majesty to the Queen of Great-Britain's Letter.

MADAM,

SINCE the Letter which your Majesty writ me on the 30th of May, hath discovered some Concern for those Subjects of Dissatisfaction which the Emperor hath given me, offering to employ your good Offices, to bring about an Accommodation; I cannot forbear thanking your Majesty for the Marks you have thereby given me of your Zeal and Attention to my Interest. It is much against my Inclination that these Differences had Birth, and when any one reflects on the Manner in which the Imperial Court hath behaved to me, they will easily judge that hitherto she hath been little disposed to render me any real Satisfaction; on the contrary, it appears that she was desirous of heaping new Offences on her first Stroke.

Your Majesty is not ignorant that after the Wrongs which have been done me at divers Places and Times, some Months are past without my being able to obtain the Satisfaction I have a Right to. What gives me Room to doubt that they will make the greater Difficulty to give it me, is, that it was determined, while they were debating thereon, to suffer the Muscovites to escape, and leave them an open and free Passage through the Estates of the Empire, notwithstanding the Right which I had to claim them, and contrary to the Hopes which they had given me of delivering them into my Hands. This will suffice to justify my Anger and my Resentment, and if I have not just Satisfaction made me, I think myself obliged to seek it in

the hereditary Provinces of the Emperor, a Step which no one can blame in a like Conjunction.

Alt-Ranstadt, July 25. 1707.

I am, &c.

Baron Groth arrived at Hanover, in order to forward the Business in Conjunction with the other Ministers. The allied Courts were much alarmed at the Part which his Majesty was going to act. The Emperor having all things to fear in the present Situation of his Affairs, resolved at last to accommodate himself entirely to the King's Will, and this the more eagerly, as they had received News at Vienna of the Approach of several Swedish Regiments to the Frontiers of Silesia.

As soon as the Conditions were regulated, on which Count Wratislau was to be received in the Character of Ambassador, this Minister appeared in Saxony, furnished with very ample Powers, but the King could not admit him to an Audience, till all the Articles in Question were agreed on. The Ministers of the maritime Powers, and above all Baron Groth, who was extremely well at the Court, contributed much to the Success of this Affair.

Count Zobor, in conformity to the Preliminaries settled for the Reception of Count Wratislau, was already delivered to the Swedes, and conducted to Prison at Stetin, where he was treated with much Civility by the King's express Order. He was soon after sent back to Vienna, as we shall see presently, together with Adjutant Breslau, who had caused the Disturbance which happened on Account of the Swedish Levies, and who had likewise been delivered

livered up. The Town of *Breslau* was condemned to pay four thousand Crowns to the Widow of the Corporal, who had been killed in that Scuffle.

The Count *de Wratislau* had offered to the King of *Sweden* at the Conferences, by virtue of the full Powers with which he was intrusted, the little Territory named *Haderland* on the *Elbe*, near the Dutchy of *Bremen*, in lieu of the Article of the fifteen Hundred *Russians*; but the King, out of his Generosity, instantly refused it, being contented to obtain in its stead, as Guarantee of the Treaty of *Westphalia*, the Restitution of the *Lutheran* Churches in *Silesia*, a Matter on which he had so long set his Heart.

The Preliminaries were no sooner thus regulated, but without delay, they proceeded to draw up the Articles of the Convention, the first of which regarded the Matters of Religion in *Silesia*; the second contained the Confirmation of the Convention in 1647, in which the Chapter of *Lubeck* had promised to chuse her Bishops and Coadjutors till the sixth Generation from the most serene House of *Holstein-Gottorp*; there was a Paragraph inserted likewise, respecting the Right of Primogeniture or Eldership in the same most serene House. By the third Article, the Emperor remitted *Sweden* all military or pecuniary Subsidies, and all other Contingents. The 4th submitted it to his *Swedish* Majesty, to chuse such Guarantees of the Convention as he pleased.

The Minister promised at the same Time that this Convention should be ratified by the Emperor his Master in a Fortnight. This appears more plain-

ly in the Treaty itself, with the Emperor's Ratification, which here follows, with the Promises of the King of *Sweden*, translated from the *Latin*.

I. It is promised on the Part of his Imperial Majesty, that the free exercise of Religion, accorded by the Peace of *Osnabrug*, to the Princes, Courts, Barons and Nobles of *Silesia*, who are of the Confession of *Ausbourg*, to their Subjects, and to all Suburbs, Villages and Places thereon depending, shall not be only conserved to them without any Molestation or Hindrance, but every Innovation which can be found contrary to the natural Sense of that Treaty, shall be redressed.

II. The Temples and Schools of the Principalities of *Lignits*, *Briga*, *Monsterberg*, and *Oelsna*, as also of the Town of *Wratislau*, and the other Places thereon depending, which have been taken away since the Peace of *Westphalia*, whether these have been employed to the Use of the Catholic Church, or whether they have been simply shut up, shall be restored to those of the Confession of *Ausbourg*, with all the Rights, Privileges, Rents, Funds, and Goods, which are attached or belonging to them, and this within six Months at farthest, or sooner if it may be.

III. It shall be lawful for these Churches which are built near the Walls of the Town of *Swinitz*, *Jawerin*, and *Glogau*, not only to entertain what Number of Clergy shall be necessary for divine Service, but also to build and have near to these Churches, Schools for the Education of Youth.

‘ IV. In Places where the Publick Exercise of Religion is forbidden to those of the Confession of *Ausbourg*, no Person shall be prohibited from attending divine Worship peaceably and quietly in his House, for himself, his Children, his Servants, and the Strangers there lodged, nor to send his Children to foreign Schools of the same Religion, or to keep private Preceptors to teach them at Home.

‘ Nor shall any of the Confession of *Ausbourg* in *Silesia* be forbidden to be present at the divine Service of the Catholicks, nor to frequent their Schools, or embrace their Religion, or to serve Catholick Cures for the ecclesiastical Functions of Marriages, Baptism, Funerals, and such like. But every one shall be at liberty to convey himself to those neighbouring Places where there is any publick Exercise of Religion according to the Confession of *Ausbourg*, whether within or without *Silesia*, and to employ the Ministers of the Place conformable to antient Usage. In the same Manner, the Ministers of the Confession of *Ausbourg* shall not be hindered, when called, from visiting the Sick of their Religion, who live under the Jurisdiction of Catholicks, nor from assisting condemned Prisoners, by communicating with them, advising them and comforting them.

‘ V. The Nobility and others of the Catholick Religion who shall live in the Parishes where the Confession of *Ausbourg* flourishes, or have Goods there, shall be obliged to pay to the Minister the Tithes and other Rents appropriated to the Cure.

‘ VI. Tutors or Guardians of a dif-

ferent Religion shall not be assigned to Pupils or Orphans who are born of Protestant Parents, of whatever Sex or Degree they may be, much less shall they be obliged to enter into Convents, to be instructed in the Principles of the Catholick Religion; and as the Tutelage and Education of Infants belongs of natural Right to their Mothers, they shall be permitted, when they have no lawful or testamentary Tutors or Guardians, to procure others who are of the Confession of *Ausbourg*, and to join these to them.

‘ VII. If any Dispute shall arise on Account of Religion, no Warrant of Execution shall be granted by any President, or inferior Judge, before the Person against whom the Process is directed, may have Opportunity of addressing the supreme Regency of *Silesia* for Justice. For which Purpose the Estates of the Confession of *Ausbourg* shall be permitted to maintain Procurators and Mandatories at their own Charges at the Imperial Court.

‘ VIII. Matrimonial Causes and others concerning Religion, either shall not be carried at all to the Catholick Consistory, or shall be decided by the Canons received in the Religion of the Confession of *Ausbourg*; and with regard to the Principalities, where they have had Consistories of that Confession from the Peace of *Westphalia*, the antient Usage shall be re-established, and they shall decide the said Causes, saving always the Appeal to the Sovereign.

‘ IX. Moreover, none of the Churches or Schools where the Exercise of Religion of the Confession of

of *Ausbourg* hath been maintained, till the present Time, shall be suppressed; whether such depend on the Collation of the Emperor, or other Catholick Patrons, but shall be conserved and protected, together with their Pastors and Masters. As to the Right of naming Preachers and Ministers of the Confession of *Ausbourg*, for the Service of Churches and Schools, it shall belong entirely to the Patrons of those Churches, without being impeached by the Contradiction of the Catholicks, who may have a common Right; and in case they should shuffle, and not declare the Preachers, &c. in the usual Time, the University may depute such Preachers or School-masters, as it shall think convenient, without Prejudice always, to the Right of the Patron.

X. The Nobles, nor their Vassals and Subjects of the Confession of *Ausbourg*, shall not be excluded from such publick Charges, as shall be necessary; nor shall they be molested or hindered in the Sale of their Goods, or in their Retreat into any other Country, when this shall be lawful by the Stipulations in the Treaty of *Westphalia*.

XI. His sacred Imperial Majesty will not refuse to give Place, in Pursuance of the Request of the Treary of *Westphalia*, to the Interventions and friendly Intercessions of his sacred royal Majesty of *Sweden*, and the Princes and States of her Religion, to obtain a greater Liberty of the Exercise thereof in these States.

XII. His Imperial Majesty shall likewise ordain, in the usual Forms, not only that what hath been here a-

greed on, be executed at the appointed Time, but also that all and singular of the Articles here comprised be sincerely and exactly observed and accomplished, at all Times, seeing that the Force of a Law, not to be altered by any Commands or Edicts to the contrary, is attributed to them from this Time forth for ever. Finally, his Imperial Majesty promises, that the Minister of *Sweden* may attend the Execution thereof, to which Purpose, he may communicate with those who are entrusted in conducting it.

XIII. As his Royal Majesty of *Sweden* hath declared, that he hath extremely at Heart the Interests of the most serene House of *Holstein Gottorp*, his sacred Imperial Majesty promises, that after the previous Knowledge of the Fact, and after having been duly required on the Part of the said Ducal House, he will within four Months confirm the Convention of 1647, by which the Chapter of *Lubeck* promised to take all her Bishops and Coadjutors out of the said most serene House, till the sixteenth Generation inclusive.

XIV. His Imperial Majesty farther declares, that he is favourably disposed towards the Continuation of the Right of Primogeniture, according to the Order introduced in the House of *Holstein-Gottorp* by Duke *John Adolphus*, Jan. 9. 1608, inasmuch as it hath been successively confirmed by all the Emperors. So that his Imperial Majesty will not only confirm, in the best Form used at the Imperial Court, the Convention already mentioned, and that Order so often affirmed; but will also con-

serve

‘ serve in all its Force to the most serene House of *Holstein Gottorp*, the Right which it hath by that Order acquired, without ever permitting any Determination to the contrary.

‘ XV. His sacred Imperial Majesty remits to his sacred royal Majesty of *Sweden*, all military or pecuniary Subsidies, and all other Contingents with which he may be bound to supply his Imperial Majesty and the Empire, on Account of his *German* Provinces, by virtue of a Decree of War against *France*, as well the past as the present, and during the whole Course of that War, in such sort, that his Royal Majesty of *Sweden*, his Successors, or the Kingdom of *Sweden* and her said *German* Provinces, shall not be troubled nor molested at any Time, nor under any Pretence on this Subject. Provided nevertheless, that every other Engagement or Obligation wherein these Provinces are, or hereafter may be bound to his Imperial Majesty and the Empire, remain entire and untouched.

‘ XVI. And lastly, The more to confirm what hath been here agreed on, and to give the strongest Assurance that all and every the Points herein contained shall be most holily and inviolably observed, it shall remain in the Power of his royal Majesty of *Sweden* to name and appoint such Guarantees as he shall approve of.

‘ In witness of all which Articles, the Minister of his sacred Imperial Majesty, instructed and furnished with full Powers for that Purpose, hath signed with his Hand, and sealed with his Seal this present Conven-

‘ tion, with a Promise that within the Term of a Fortnight to be counted from this Day, that his Imperial Majesty shall ratify the same, and that he will deliver an Instrument thereof in a proper Form.’

Done at the Camp-Royal at Alt-Randstadt,

Aug. 22. 1707.

(L. S.)

WENCELAUS Count de Wratislau.

‘ We Charles, by the Grace of God, King of *Sweden*, of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, do make known, that, whereas the most serene and most puissant Prince and Lord, *Joseph*, Emperor of the *Romans*, ever August, &c. our dear Brother, Cousin and Friend, having sent to our Camp, the illustrious *John Wenceslaus* Count of *Wratislau*, his Privy-Counsellor and Chancellor of *Bohemia*, hath by that Minister composed the Differences which had arisen between us, on Conditions amply express’d and comprized in the above Instrument, passed the 22d of *August* last, which hath been remitted to us by the said Minister, signed with his Hand; and whereas we are not less disposed to maintain and affirm the antient Alliance which we have with his Imperial Majesty, and the August House of *Austria*, and to prevent all Occasions of Enmity which might happen hereafter, we have been pleased to certify and declare, and we do certify and declare, sincerely and faithfully, by the following Articles.

‘ I. That we will faithfully and inviolably maintain the Peace of *Osna-brug*, as a common and perpetual

†

‘ Law

' Law between us, his sacred Imperial Majesty, and the *Roman Empire*.
' That we will sincerely preserve a Friendship with his sacred Imperial Majesty, and as we have received Satisfaction on Account of the Differences which lately fell out between us, so we abolish all Pretensions which we might have on this Subject, being desirous that they may remain buried under perpetual Oblivion.

' II. In like Manner, we promise to withdraw, without Delay, all our Troops, as well Foot as Horse, out of his Imperial Majesty's hereditary Countries in *Silesia*, as soon as the Ratification of what hath been promised shall be delivered to us, and the Orders for putting these Promises in Execution shall be issued in the proper Form; but if we should be obliged, in the mean Time, to cause our Troops to remain in *Silesia*, they must be there provided with Subsistence, and we promise, on our Part, that they shall observe good Discipline, and that we will not suffer them to commit any Acts of Violence.'

' III. But, if contrary to our Apprehension, the Promises on the Part of his Imperial Majesty, shall not be accomplished within the appointed Time; in this case, we reserve a Power of keeping our Troops in *Silesia*, till they shall be accomplished. In witness whereof, we have signed this present Instrument with our

' Hand, and have ordered our Royal Seal to be affixed to the same.'
Done at our Camp at Wolckovia, Aug. 22. 1707.

CHARLES.

(L. S.)

C. PIPER.

At *Stockholm* a fine Medal was struck on the Redress of the Grievances of Religion in *Silesia*, regulated by this Treaty or Convention.

This gave very great Pleasure to the Queen, his Majesty's Grandmother, who caused publick Rejoicings to be made thereon.

After his *Swedish* Majesty had thus gloriously put an End to all these Difficulties which had retarded his Departure from *Saxony*, the Regiments which had long since received Orders to hold themselves ready to march at a Minute's Warning, were now put in Motion. This Prince having reviewed them, as we have before said, found them in excellent Order.

The March of some *Swedish* Regiments towards *Silesia* had much accelerated the Convention which his Majesty had concluded with the Emperor * touching the Restitution of the *Lutheran* Churches and Service in *Silesia*. As nothing now remained to keep them any longer in *Saxony*, the King gave positive Orders of decamping, these Orders were issued, *Aug. 21.* at six in the Evening.

The foreign Ministers, after having had their Audience of Leave, were

* The Report of the Emperor *Joseph's* Answer to the Pope's Nuntio, who reproached him in a very strong Manner, on the Part of the holy Father, on his having granted all that the King of *Sweden* demanded, touching the religious Grievances in *Silesia*, is most undoubtedly true. *It is well for you,* answered the Emperor smiling, *that the King of Sweden did not propose to make me a Lutheran: for if he would have exacted it of me, I know not what I could have done.*

already departed, saving that of *France*, and the *Swedish* Ladies, who had, by his Majesty's Permission, come to see their Husbands, now returned home.

Our Regiments were compleat by the Recruits raised at *Francfort*, *Ratisbon*, *Ingolstadt*, *Brunau*, and other Places in *Bavaria*, but above all by the Levies in *Silesia*, where the Forwardness to serve was very remarkable. At last, after having celebrated a Day of Fast and Prayer, the next Day, which was *Aug. 22.* the King ordered the Signal of Decampment to be given by the Trumpets and Kettle-drums.

This Prince marched from *Alt-Ranstadt* by four in the Morning at the Head of his *Drabans*, followed by the Regiments of Dragoon-guards. All the other Regiments were ordered to march, each separately, towards *Steinaw* on the *Oder*, where they were to assemble and enter *Poland* in six Columns.

The King pass'd by *Leipsic* about Noon, accompanied only by the Prince of *Wurtemberg* and three other Persons. He stopt a few Moments in the Castle of *Pleissenburg*, where he gave Orders to repair all the Damage it had suffered. He dined afterwards at *Liber-volckowitz*, which is three Leagues from *Alt-Ranstadt*, and here he passed the Night. In the Morning he went to *Grimm*, the Day following to *Mygeln*, whence he marched to *Grantzick*, thence to *Meissen*, having passed the *Elbe* at *Oberau* and *Nidera*.

The same Day, the King, accompanied only by the Duke of *Holstein*, and by some Officers and *Drabans*, to the Number only of six, to whom he had not mentioned his Design, turned

about all at once towards *Dresden*, where he entered on a Gallop at four in the Afternoon, and went directly to the Castle. He there surprized King *Augustus*, who was in *Disbabilite*, being very far from expecting this Visit; and without giving him Time to recover himself, or letting him quit his Sight, he took his Leave of him in less than half an Hour, as he did likewise of the Electress, Mother to King *Augustus*, and his own Aunt, and of the Electoral Prince. After this Visit he remounted his Horse, and having rode round the Rampart together with King *Augustus*, he left *Dresden* under a Discharge of the Cannon, and proceeded to his Quarters at *Nussdorff*.

On the 28th, the King marched to *Bischofswerden*, and on the next Day to *Katowitz*, near the Town of *Bautzen* in *Lusace*, whence he went to encamp at *Lautzig*, and the Day following at *Reichenbach*, near to *Gorlitz*. His Majesty having learnt that the *Muscovites* made a Shew of intending to oppose King *Stanislaus*, who had led the Van on the 16th of *August* with his *Polish* and several *Swedish* Regiments, ordered some Regiments to advance to reinforce him. During all this March the most severe Discipline was observed in the Army. The Officers and Soldiers were obliged before they quitted their Quarters, to pay to the last Penny of their Debts; and the Colonels had Orders, during the March, to do Justice on the Spot to all those who should have the least Reason of Complaint. The 2d of *September*, the King pass'd by *Gorlitz*, and encamped at *Lauban*. On the 4th he entered *Silesia*, and lay at *Bunzlau*.

The

The Day of the King's Arrival in *Silesia*, the Count *de Zinzendorff* came from *Vienna* to his Majesty's Quarters, with the Ratification of the Treaty concluded for the Reparation of the Grievances in Religion. He followed the Army even to the Frontiers of *Poland*, being very earnest on every Occasion to give Instances of the most extraordinary Respect to his Majesty, during his Passage through the Frontiers.

It was at this Time that Count *Zabor* was sent back to *Vienna*, the King having besought the Emperor to restore him to his Post, which was done accordingly.

On his Majesty's Entry into *Silesia*, the Prince Palatine, who was Governor-General, published the Treaty concluded with the Emperor, touching the Restitution of the Churches of the Confession of *Ausbourg*; this threw all the Monks into a great Consternation, and especially alarmed the Jesuits, who were obliged, among other Restitutions which they made, to quit their fine College of *Lignitz*, and the Church of *St. John*, notwithstanding the Endeavours which they used with the King by their Requests and Supplications, which were not listened to.

The King continued his March on the 5th, from *Bunzlau* to *Luben*, where he halted the next Day, and on the 7th marched to *Ramsen*, which is a Village half a League from *Steinau* on the *Oder*.

Now the whole Army being drawn together, was ordered to pass the *Oder*, and then to march in six Columns. The King with his Column encamped at *Leubus*, a Clóyster three Leagues beyond the River, whence he went on

the next Day to *Great and Little Streus*, where they stopt one Day, and afterwards proceeded to *Sworowa*, where the Kingdom of *Poland* begins.

During the King of *Sweden*'s March an infinite Crowd of People, both young and old, ran together from all Parts to see this Monarch, their Protector, and the Restorer of their most precious Liberty, who observed, that this great Prince caused Prayers to be solemnized twice a Day, as of Custom, in the open Field, where incamped the Soldiers, forming a Circle round the Minister, being all on their Knees together with the King. This admirable Example of Piety made such an Impression on the Children, that they afterwards imitated it in many Places with such extraordinary Circumstances, that Numbers of Persons came from far to see these Assemblies, which occasioned them to be so often repeated, that for fear of some evil Consequences, they were a while after forbidden; as the publick Acts printed at *Breslau* testify.

The King marched from *Sworowa* to *Jatrochin*, whence he proceeded to *Krotchin*, and encamped the Day after at *Buden*, marching afterwards two Leagues more to *Chocz*, whence he marched to *Sawerowa*. On the 19th, he came to *Varta*, and fixed his Headquarters in a little Bourg, called *Slupza*, one League from *Laudeck*. His Majesty remained some Time till the Recruits were arrived at the Army from *Sweden*, which were to be distributed in the national Regiments.

Our Troops met on no side with any Resistance, as they had at first expected; but, on the other Hand, they suffered extremely with the Want of

Forage

Forage and Water, the *Russians* having infected with Carcasses most of the Springs and Wells which were on the Road, and burnt, sacked and carried away, as we have before said, every Thing on which the Army might subsist, retreating still backwards, though they were upwards of a hundred thousand strong.

What was still worse was this, that the *Russians* had destroyed all the Mills; nor could our *Polacks* hinder the Enemy from committing these Desolations, nor could they, though they fled about the Country, do any more Mischief to the *Russians*, than by carrying off here and there a few Men and Horses.

The Council of *Lublin* dispersed, Sep. 22. in a very tumultuous Manner, without appointing either Place or Time for their meeting again, in spite of all the Pains which the Czar took to transfer it to *Warsaw*.

It was only agreed, 1. That as the Council had not named any Place for the Continuance of their Session, the Marshal of the Confederacy, the Principal Ministers, and some Nuntios of the *Palatinates* should be obliged to remain with the Primate, to concert with him whatever may be judged expedient for the common Cause. 2. That the Primate should publish a Proclamation, ordering the inferior Nobility to mount their Horses on the second Order. 3. That the Crown-army should be promised those Arrears which are due to them, exhorting them to continue faithful to the Republick, and to assist her in proceeding to the Election of a new King. 4. Lastly, It was agreed to give the Command of the Army in *Lithuania* to the Un-

der-Marshal, in case he would return to his Obedience to the Confederated Republick, giving him six Weeks Time to consider thereon.

After this Assembly had settled these Articles, all the Deputies departed from *Lublin* the 24th of the same Month, Confusion and Consternation on all sides pressing hard on the Primate and his Adherents.

On the other Side, the Czar having been informed of the advantageous Treaty which his *Swedish* Majesty had concluded with the Emperor, and that he had entered *Poland* at the Head of a brave and numerous Army, to support the Crown on the Head of *Stanislaus*, and seeing the Irresolution, the Timidity and the Confusion which had reigned at *Lublin*, whence the Confederates were at last dispersed, he, who was advanced as far as *Grodno* and *Tykozin*, returned hastily to *Warsaw*, where he held a grand Council of War, in which it was resolved that he should trust the Conduct of his Armies to his General *Menzikof* and *Scheremetof*, and go himself to *Petersbourg*, as well to give his Orders for the Dispatch of every Thing necessary for his Troops, as to put forth his Fleet, in order to make a Diversion for the *Swedes* in some other Place.

It was resolved in this Council of War, that the Generals, each at his Post, should defend the Passage of the *Vistula*, and that in their Retreat towards *Lithuania*, they should ruin the whole Country; which they had already begun, as we have said, sacking and burning the Lands, &c. of Friends and Enemies, without any Distinction.

Menzikof took his Post at *Padwak*,
General

General *Ronn* at *Prague*, the Suburbs of *Warsovia*, and General *Hayn* at *Blonia*. After this the Czar set out for his own Dominions, passing thro' *Tykozin*, *Grodno*, and *Wilna*, where he staid some Time.

The Court of King *Stanislaus* encreased daily at the Head-quarters of the two Kings at *Slupza*. Prince *Radziwil*, Great-Chancellor of *Lithuania*, one *Lubomirski*, the Prince *Wisniowski*, and *Potoki*, Palatine of *Kiowia*, and Great-General of the Crown, were assembled here with a great Number of Lords, and many of the Nobility. The Army of the Crown was at the same Time reinforced every Day, after

King *Stanislaus* had published a Proclamation. There was an universal Appearance of Satisfaction in all Faces on their Delivery from the *Russians*, their pretended Protector, who did them more Mischief in a very little Time, than they had suffered in many Years from the War.

It was at this time that the famous *Patkul* was executed, near the Convent and little Town of *Casimir*, which is but eight Leagues from the Town of *Poznan*, being situated between this last named Town and *Slupza*. He was broke alive, his Quarters were set upon the Road, and his Head on a Post.* The

* This unfortunate Gentleman was a Native of *Livonia*, a Province which formerly belonged to the Knights of the Teutonic Order, and had been since contested for by the *Muscovites*, the *Poles*, and the *Swedes*; which last enjoyed it since the reign of *Gustavus Adolphus*, and now claimed it by a solemn Cession at the Treaty of *Oliva*. The *Livonians* had their share in the Severities by *Charles XI.* on his Subjects, and had been by him robbed of their Privileges, and of Part of their Estates. *Patkul* was on this Occasion deputed by the *Livonian* Chiefs to carry their Complaints to the Throne of *Sweden*, where he represented them in a very respectful Speech, but which was at the same Time delivered in a nervous Style, and adorned with that ungrateful Eloquence which is generally the Language of Bravery in Distress. *Charles XI.* concealing his Resentments, struck *Patkul* gently on his Shoulder, and said to him, *You have spoke like a brave Man, and I esteem you, proceed as you have begun.* Notwithstanding which he, a few Days afterwards, declared him a Traitor, and as such condemned him to die. *Patkul*, who perhaps was not without Suspicion, got timely Information, and conveyed himself safe into *Poland*, where he was favourably received by *Augustus*, to whom, after the Death of *Charles XI.* he represented *Livonia* as an easy Conquest, from the Male-contentment of the People, who vehemently desired to shake off the *Swedish* Yoke, and the Incapacity of the young King's tender Years, to defend himself there. The Measures taken to this Purpose and their Success, our Author hath well disclosed in the foregoing Part of his History. *Augustus* made him a General in his Armies, but as he could not accommodate himself to the fiery Temper of *Flemming*, who was the Favourite of that King, and had the Ascendant in his Councils; he past afterwards into the Service of the Czar, who presently made him a General, and afterwards employed him in an Embassy to King *Augustus*. Whilst he was in this Character, he discovered that the Views of *Flemming* and of the Chancellor of *Saxony*, were to strike up a Peace with *Sweden* at any Rate whatever, he therefore formed a Design to be before-hand with them, by procuring an Accommodation between the King of *Sweden* and the Czar. This Project was detected by the Chancellor, who presently procured an Order from King *Augustus* to arrest his Person at *Dresden*; a Step, which as it was against the Law of Nations, surprized all *Europe*, and violently incensed the Czar, whose Commissary Prince *Galiozin* very loudly exclaimed against it at the Court of *Saxony*: however, *Augustus* found Means to satisfy the Czar, (at least in Appearance) and to persuade him that *Patkul* had traitterously sacrificed both their Interests. *Patkul* was conveyed a Prisoner to the Castle of *Konisting* in *Saxony*, where he remained till the Peace was signed between *Charles* and *Augustus*, in which his Delivery to the King of *Sweden* was expressly stipulated: but *Augustus*, when he found the King of *Sweden* obstinate on this Point, thought to satisfy *Charles XII.* and his Honour at the

The same Month died also Colonel *Gartz*. He had been in the Service of *Saxony*, from whence he had passed to that of *Sweden*, as we have mentioned before, having raised in *Saxony* a Regiment of Dragoons consisting of three thousand Men. As soon as the Army entered *Poland*, the Dragoons of this

Regiment deserting in great Parties, this Colonel, of his own Authority, thought proper to hang some Deserters whom he caught. This, joined to many violent Exactions committed by him in *Saxony*, and which were reported to his Majesty, was the Cause of his been laid under Arrest, but he

same Time. He sent Guards therefore to deliver him up, after he had dispatched private Orders to the Governor to suffer him to escape. Poor *Patkul's* ill Fortune converted the Measures which were taken for his Preservation into his Ruin: for as the Governor knew him to be very rich, he was desirous of making him pay for his Liberty; but as the Prisoner yet relied on the Rights of Nations, and was likewise informed of King *Augustus's* Intentions, he refused to buy what he expected to obtain gratis. In the mean time, the Guards arrived, and delivered him to four *Swedish* Captains, who carried him directly to *Alt Ransstadt*, where after a Stay of three Months, during which he was fastened to a Stake with an heavy Iron Chain, he was conducted to *Casimir*. *Charles XII.* having ordered the Council of War to judge him with the last Rigour, he was by them condemned to be broke alive on the Wheel, and his Body to be quartered. A Chaplain came to inform him of his Death, without acquainting him with the Manner*, when this unhappy Man, who had brav'd Death in so many Battles, having his Courage no longer supported by Glory or Anger, the only Sources of Intrepidity, shed Abundance of Tears in the Chaplain's Bosom. He was contracted to a *Saxon* Lady of Birth, Merit and Beauty, and to whom he expected shortly to be married, when he was delivered up. He desired the Chaplain to go and comfort her with Assurances of the Tenderness for her in which he died. When he came to the Place of Execution, and saw the Wheels and Instruments prepared, he fell into Convulsions of Fear, and threw himself into the Arms of the Minister, who embraced him, covering him with his Cloke and weeping. A *Swedish* Officer then read the following Sentence with a loud Voice: 'Be it known, that it is the express Command of his Majesty our most merciful Prince, that this Man who is a Traitor to his Country, be broke on the Wheel and quartered, for the Reparation of his Crimes, and for an Example to others; that every one may cautiously shun the Commission of Treason, and serve his King faithfully.' At the words most merciful Prince; where is his Mercy? said *Patkul*; and at those of Traitor to his Country, alas, said he, I have served it too well. He received sixteen Strokes, and suffered the longest and most dreadful Torments that can be imagined. I have thought a short Account of this harsh and cruel Act, which was committed in open Defiance of all Virtue, Humanity, and the Law of Nations, would not be disagreeable to the Reader, as our Author draws the Curtain as much as possible over it; and this consistently enough with his Respect to the Memory of his Hero, which will contract a Stain from hence not to be washed away by all the Blood spilt in his Victories. And I shall be excused (at least by the Superstitious) for observing, that all his Successes ended with it; and whoever considers the Remainder of his Life, may perhaps doubt whether the Fate of poor *Patkul* on the Scaffold was not more eligible to a wise Man, than that of *Charles* at the Head of his then victorious Army. *Patkul's* Quarters remained exposed on Stakes, till the Year 1700, when *Augustus* reascended his Throne. He then ordered these Evidences of the Necessity to which he had been reduced at *Alt Ransstadt* to be brought to *Warsaw*, where he said to the *French* Envoy, pointing to the Box which contained them, there are the Members of *Patkul*, without adding any thing either to reflect on, or lament his Memory. Nor did any one there present dare offer his Sentiments on so delicate and melancholy a Subject.

* It may be proper to inform the English Reader, that it is the Custom of those Countries where Torments are used, not to discover to the Prisoner the Manner of his Death till the Day of his Execution, in the Morning of which he is conducted before his Judge, where his Sentence is read to him, and he is from thence directly led to Execution.

died

died some Days after of a violent Bleeding. His Majesty sent his Physician to see him, but he found him dead. His Corps was sent to his own Home, which was four Leagues from *Berlin*, and the King at the same Time assured the Widow of his Protection. The Differences which he had had with the Officers of his Regiment were likewise determined by a Sum of Money afterwards paid them. His Regiment was divided into two, Colonel *Albedybl* had one, and Colonel *Gyllenstierna* the other.

As soon as the Recruits, who were all chosen Men, were arrived by the Way of *Pomerania* from *Sweden*, the Army was entirely compleated by the End of *October*.

The continual Rains which had fallen, and which had render'd the Roads impassable, being ended, and succeeded by a great Frost, the King gave the Orders of decamping. In conformity to which, they marched the 30th of *October*, five Leagues to *Lubstowa*. The next Day they encamped at *Birtzwinno*, where they halted a Day, and on the 2d of *November* marched two Leagues and a half to *Dhodecz* and *Lubinetz*.

During this March, the Count *de Dobna*, Envoy of *Prussia*, had a publick Audience of his Majesty in the open Field before his Tent. The Officers and *Drabans* formed a large Circle round the King, who entertained the Minister for an Hour with his Hat under his Arm, nor did the Snow which fell in great Flakes, and covered his Head, seem to incommode him in the least.

The Army having decamped, *November* 3. marched to *Glogova*, where it

halted one Day, and then encamped about *Wilkowice*, *Puruf*, and *Grabowa*. The King took up his Headquarters at *Wienniez*, which is half a League from *Brzest Cujarski*, and two Leagues from *Grabowa*.

As soon as his Majesty arrived at *Wienniez*, he went the same Day, attended by Prince *Wurtemberg*, and his usual Train, together with some *Valanches* to *Wladistaw* on the *Vistula*, and ordered ten Men in the Night to pass the River to reconnoitre the Enemy. These reported that they were already retreated, on which his Majesty ordered his Regiment of Guards to advance, which was quartered in this Town.

At this Time a *Turkish* Minister arrived at *Wienniez*. He was instructed to congratulate King *Stanislaus* on his Accession, and to renew the ancient League with *Poland*. As his Instructions extended likewise to compliment his *Swedish* Majesty, he had an Audience in Count *Piper's* Quarters. He presented his Letters of Credence covered with Cloth of Gold, and made a Discourse, which when interpreted, was in Substance: That the Fame of the great Actions of his Majesty being come to the great Sultan his Master, he had sent this Minister to offer him his Friendship, and to assure him that he received great Pleasure from the Success of his Arms; and moreover, to thank his Majesty for the Goodness he had shewn two Years since, in setting at Liberty some *Turks* who were Prisoners at *Leopold*: He added, that the Sultan his Master, to testify his Acknowledgment of that Action, had caused more than a hundred *Swedes* to be set at Liberty, who had been taken

by

by the *Calmucks* and sold into *Turkey*.

Hermelin, Secretary of State, answered in Latin in the King's Name, That his Majesty was entirely disposed to maintain, on his Part, a good Correspondence with the *Ottoman* Porte, and that he would explain himself more amply on the Subject of his Commission. A *Polander*, who was in the Service of the *Turkish* Minister, interpreted this Answer to him. This Minister was lodged in the Town, and had his Expences defrayed all the Time that the King was at *Wienniez*.

This Envoy received at his Audience of Leave, the Present which is usually given at the Court of *Sweden* to *Turkish* Ministers, namely, six hundred Ducats. He was also magnificently entertained by King *Stanislaus*, who permitted him to chuse his Present. He returned Home highly satisfied, and principally with having obtained a Promise from the King of *Sweden*, that he would never abandon King *Stanislaus*.

The Marquess *de Rochegude*, a *French* Refugee, dispatched by the Protestant Cantons, had likewise Audience of his Majesty at *Slupzia*, where he entreated him to use his good Offices with the King of *France* to obtain the Liberty of the Reformed condemned to the Gallies, and detained in Dungeons on Account of their Religion. He had his Audience of Leave at *Wienniez*, some Days before the Departure of the Army, much charmed with the Compassion which his Majesty had testified for those unhappy poor Wretches, and with the Instructions he had ordered to be sent to his Minister at *Paris*, to intercede

strongly in their Favour.

At last, Orders being given to de-camp, the Army was put in Motion, Decemb. 18. on which Day and the 19th, they approached the *Vistula* by *Duninowa* and *Brzillno*, in Order to pass it at several Places. As great Quantities of Ice were then floating on the River, they could not pass it till the 28th, when it began to bear. His Majesty, who remained at *Wienniez*, had passed some Days before with a small Train, to make a Visit to the Bishop of *Cracow*, whose Estates lay on the other Side of the River. December 30. the King with the Court, having left *Wienniez*, the Army passed the *Vistula* with great Ease, very few Men and Horses being drowned. The Army, on the first Day, proceeded two Leagues and a half to *Grokowalk*. The next Day they marched to *Borze-wo*, and the first Day of the Year 1708. O. S. came to the Town of *Drobin*. The following Letter written by the Author himself to a sovereign Duke of the Empire, will explain this better.

My LORD,

I Have the Honour to acquaint your Serene Highness with the Departure of the Court the 30th of December, O. S. whence the Army took its Rout by the Town of *Wladislaw*, where the Regiment of Guards was quartered, and whence it had marched the Day before, to give Room to other Regiments who were to follow the same Way.

The Passage, my Lord, was chearful enough, and every one was pleased to find himself on the other Side of the Water. It was a fine Day, and we continued passing all the Morning without any

any Danger; but towards Noon, what with the wearing of the Ice with Horses and Carriages, and with the Sun's thawing it, notwithstanding all the Precaution which could be taken by passing in different Places, some Waggon's sunk under the Ice, which was not three Fingers thick; and as it was worse near the Shores than in the Middle, they were compelled to use Planks, which had served them to pass the other River.

The King spent most part of the Day in marshalling and facilitating the Passage. He then proceeded towards Grokwalk, and marched that Day two Leagues and a half. The Baggage did not arrive till near the Morning, that of the Drabans is not arrived yet. Major General Wrangel's Coach unfortunately sunk, nor could it be drawn out of the Water till the next Day. The General lost a great many fine Cloaths by this Accident.

On the 31st his Majesty continued his March to a Village named Borgewo, where we expected to rest the next Day, being the first of the new Year, but the King willing to make Room for those Regiments which were to follow, de-camped at four in the Morning, when the Body of Drabans being assembled, congratulated the King on the new Year with the Sound of Kettle-drums and Trumpets, which gave great Life to the March. We went three Leagues that Day to the Town of Drobin, where being arrived, his Majesty celebrated the new Year with a Sermon and divine Service. We are at a great Distance from Prussia, three Leagues from Plosko, twelve from Pultowfk, and fourteen from Thorn.

All the Army is at present past, tho'

with Difficulty. His Majesty hath learnt that the Regiment of Meyerfeld, which passed near Ploeko, being on the River, the Ice separated itself from the Land in a very singular Manner, and floated along with all the Soldiers, &c. on it; this caused a great Consternation both among the Men and Horses, who divided themselves for their Safety into small Parties. It is, however, at length stopt, and they continue to pass again, in spite of all the Danger which hath threatened them.

The Artillery crossed the River before Wladislaw, and very successfully, by the Care which the Colonel took in covering the Passage with Planks in Form of a Bridge; for the Ice had almost sunk to the Bottom, and rendered the Passage otherwise impracticable in that Place.

This is, my Lord, an Abridgment of our Passage of the Vistula, nothing remains for me to tell your Serene Highness on this Head, but what the King remarked in this Passage, that four of his Major-Generals had had the ill-Luck to fall into the Water, namely, Lagercrona, Roos, Meyerfeld and Creutz, the Ice having broke under them, but none of them were drowned.

Yesterday, being the 1st of January, a Party of our Valoches having penetrated five Leagues on the other Side of Minsko towards Lublin, surprized three Companies of the Crown Army, whom they entirely defeated, taking their Colours, which were this Day presented to the King with their Commanding Officer, to whom they gave Quarter. We have News also, that another Polish Party hath been defeated by our Valoches on the other Side of Pultowfk, and we expect the Prisoners to arrive incessantly.

The

The Great General Sapielha is arrived from Lithuania. I have the Honour to be, with profound Respect.

My LORD,

Your Serene Highness's

most obedient Servant,

Drobin, Jan.

1. 1708,

GUSTAVUS ALDERFELD.

The King having decamped from *Drobin* on the 4th, marched to *Czekanow*, where he stayed till the 7th, for the coming up of his Army. He had left some Regiments in the *Dantzgr Warder*, and the Neighbourhood thereof, to secure them from the Insults of the Enemy, and to cover the Town of *Poznan*.

On the 7th, the Army advanced three Leagues, to *Pranitz*, coasting along the Borders of *Prussia*, where they halted on the 8th and 9th. Hitherto the March had been supportable enough, save for the violent Cold; but for the future it became very painful, by the Bogs which they met with every where, by the deep and almost impassable Roads, by the Flight of all the Inhabitants, who, notwithstanding the Rigour of the Season, saved themselves in Woods, and had abandoned their Houses, where no kind of Victuals were found; and lastly by the Mischievousness of the Peasants, of this Province of *Masovia*, being most of them Vagabonds and Robbers, who concealed themselves behind Trees and Coverts, whence they discharged their Fire on our People.

The Army having decamped on the 10th from *Pranitz*, entered the Wood

in three Columns. It was this Day that the Bogs began, on which the Peasants kept themselves quiet. But on the next Morning, they began to molest us, killing some of our Horses, and wounding several of our Men; they had even the Boldness to throw themselves in the Night, into the Village of *Brodowalenski*, and getting in at the Windows, to kill a Horse in the Quarters of the *Drabans*.

The 19th, the King continued his March towards a Convent of the Jesuits, three Leagues distant from *Brodowalenski*, where he could not arrive, by reason of the continual Annoyances from the Peasants, and he was obliged to lie that Night in the open Field, near some Fires which they had kindled; on the 14th he marched by the Convent to the Village of *Liepniki* where his Majesty remained the 15th.

The next Day, we made a very long March, to the Town of *Colno*, where we remained till the 18th, when his Majesty removed two Leagues to a Village called *Grabow*, and on the 20th, to the Town of *Wagasz*, where we halted a Day, to recover the Fatigue of the March, in which the Artillery had more particularly suffered with great Extremity, by losing a great Number of Horses, which occasioned us to burn several Pontons, for want of Horses to draw them.

On the 22d, the King past the River *Naref*, on a Bridge which was thrown across it, the *Russians* having destroyed that which was there. Hence he repaired in the Evening to *Kramkova*, where he spent the next Day, the Army encamping along both Banks of the River. The 24th, his Majesty went to *Karonino*, a little Town at

some

some Leagues distance from *Tykozin*, and ten Leagues from *Grodno*, where King *Stanislaus* joined him with his Column. Here, our Troops first had Sight of the Enemy, who to the Number of some thousand Horse, were drawn up in Order of Battle; but retreated as soon as his Majesty, at the Head of his *Einspanner* only advanced to attack them.

The Army suffered much during this March, especially at one particular Pass, where a Bridge of a Quarter of a Mile long over a Morass being broken down, very much retarded us.

The King, on the first Notice that General *Ronn* was detached by the Czar with eight thousand Horse towards *Augustowa*, to attend our Motion, advanced with some Troops, hoping to cut off that Party; but the several Morasses, over which the Bridges were broken down, gave the Enemy so much time to Retreat, that at his Majesty's Arrival he found the Town of *Augustowa* entirely abandoned.

On the 25th of *January* the Army advanced to *Chorsel* and *Stras*, thro' vast Woods; the next Day they proceeded four Leagues to *Zukolke*, and on the 27th advancing four Leagues farther, they encamped at *Nowidiow*, and in the Neighbourhood of *Dubnitza*, being two Leagues distant from *Grodno*.

The Czar, on repeated Advices of the King's March, was returned the tenth of *January* from *Moscow* to *Minsk*, whence he had conveyed himself to *Grodno*, to consult on the Means of disputing at least the Pass of *Niemen*; tho' he had not been able to pre-

vent us, in Defence of so many Obstacles, from penetrating so far into a Country, which was so difficult to pass through.

The King of *Sweden* knew not that the Czar was so near him. We had Advice only that his Infantry, which was forty thousand strong, was extended from the other side of *Niemen*, from *Kaven* to *Urfa*; and that his Cavalry, consisting of thirty thousand Men, was distributed from *Tykozin* and *Grodna* to *Novogradeck*. Prince *Menzikof*, who commanded all these Troops, was quartered in a Castle near the first of these Towns.

As to the Army of the Confederates of *Lublin*, commanded by *Siniawski*, we knew it was at *Wlodowa* in the black *Russia* on the *Bug*; so that it could by no means assist the *Muscovites*.

The King having taken six hundred of his Horse-Guards, with a small Detachment of *Hielm's* Dragoons, and being attended by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, Count *Rheinschild*, and some other Generals, advanced in the Evening to the Bridge of *Grodno*, which is on the *Niemen*, to reconnoitre it; and found that it was defended by some Works, secured by Cannon and a Detachment of *Russian* Dragoons. He attacked them with such Vigour, that they turned their Backs on the first Shock, and were pursued under the Walls of *Grodno*.

The Night having put a Stop to his Majesty's Undertakings, he passed it in the open Field, thoroughly resolved to attack the Enemy in the Morning by break of Day.

The same Day our Valoches encountered with a Party of the Enemy, consisting of seventy Horse, and drove

them fighting to the Bridge of *Grodno*, which they expecting to pass, fell into the King's Hands, and forty of them were cut to Pieces; the remaining thirty, with the Lieutenant who commanded them, named *Venediger*, obtained Quarter by his Majesty's Orders.

In the Night a great Noise was heard in the Town, which made us imagine, those within were attempting a Flight. In reality, the Czar, who thrice in twenty-four Hours had had his Coach ready at the Door of the Cloyster where he lodged, to retire in case of an Attack, thinking that the whole *Swedish* Army was at Hand, departed hastily in the Morning at break of Day, with Prince *Menzikof* and his Court, and took the Road to *Wilna*. The King of *Sweden* having successfully passed the Ice very early, entered the Town, which the Enemy had abandoned two Hours before, and took Possession of it. After this Expedition, his Majesty sent Orders to the rest of the Army to hasten and join him.

The Czar being advertised by some of those who fled, what a small Number of *Swedes* had given such a Panick to the Town, and had driven him to depart with such Precipitation, and that the King of *Sweden* was there in Person, sent back presently Brigadier *Mublenfeld* with three thousand Horse, to retake the Town, and bring off that Prince. They arrived in the Night, and instantly attacked the Bridge with much Fury; but the Guard, which was awake, sustained the redoubled Efforts of the Enemy with such Valour, that it gave Time to the Picket to advance, and the rest of the Troops to draw together, to the Repulse of the

Enemy, who was at last dispersed, put to Flight, and pursued for some Time.

We had but one Man killed, and one wounded in this Encounter; whereas the Loss of the Enemy was considerable: besides which the Valoches who pursued them at break of Day, returned with many Prisoners.

The Prince of *Wurtemberg* and Count *Rheinschild* narrowly escaped being taken by the Enemy, in the Beginning of the Action; their Courage in the Darkness of the Night having carried them into the middle of the *Muscovites*, from whence however they very successfully disengaged themselves. As to Brigadier *Mublenfeld*, having been accused of ill Conduct in this attack, he was put under Arrest at his Return; but he had the Happiness to save himself, as we shall afterwards relate. This same day several Regiments arrived at *Grodno*. Tho' the Enemy had so wasted this Country, that the Army suffered extremely for want of Provision and Forage, the King, who was enflamed with the Desire of an Engagement, resolved to pursue them, till he could overtake and force them to fight.

The Army then continued their March in several Columns; that of the King, composed of a few Regiments only, led the Van, first turning towards *Wilna*, which they afterwards left eight Leagues wide of them to go to *Minsk*. They were again obliged to change this Rout for want of Provision, that whole Country having been ravaged and laid waste.

Our Valoches, who marched in the Front, kept always at the Heels of the Enemy, and gained in this Rout several

veral Advantages; hindering them at the same Time, as much as possible, from committing the most horrible Havock, in burning and sacking all the Houses, Lands and Villages, as they had done before.

A body of two hundred and fifty Valoches of our Troops surprized on the eleventh near *Olsiani*, a *Russian* Party of two hundred Horse, the greater Part of whom they cut in Pieces; they took two Captains with fifty Dragoons Prisoners, and one hundred and fifty Horses. On the twelfth, the Starost *Crispin* arrived at *Smorgonia* with thirty Companies of the *Lithuanian* Army under *Wisniowski*, after having given chase to the *Russians*, ever since their Departure from the Frontiers of *Samogitia*, and taken on the Road two Parties detached by General *Renn* to burn the Country, the one consisting of twenty, the other of thirty Horse.

The Czar, after his Retreat from *Grodno*, was retired to *Wilna*; in the Neighbourhood of which all his Court and Army were assembled. This Prince had sent Orders to the Knez *Repin* and to General *Baver*, who were in *Polesia* and *Volhinia*, on the southern Borders of *Lithuania*, to retire from *Minsk* towards *Polosk*, in order to be ready to join those Troops, which lying near *Riga* should likewise retire towards the same Place; pulling down all the Bridges behind them, which would certainly cut off all *Courland* and those Bodies under Count *Lowenhaupt* and *Wisniowski*, which had been in a manner inclosed; and cut off all Retreat from the *Muscovite* Camps about *Tykozin*, which being abandoned by them, were now posses-

sed by the Heyduques of King *Stanislaus*.

During the Retreat of the *Russians*, the Peasants and the lower Nobility of *Lithuania* made a considerable Booty, on all Sides, of the Effects which the Enemy left behind them; but this was a poor Reparation for the Damages they suffered, the Czar having given Orders to sack the whole Country. He now took the Road of the *Dnieper*, with an Intention to intrench himself on the Banks of that River, between *Mobilow* and *Oursa*, whence he might have an assured Retreat to *Meslaw*, and above all to *Smolensko*.

The Cossacks and Calmucks executed the Czar's Orders with all the Barbarity imaginable, in such Sort, that notwithstanding all the Care which his Majesty took to the contrary, between *Wilna*, *Minsk* and *Berezina*, nothing but Smoke and Flames were to be seen on all Sides.

The thirteenth, a Detachment of *Russian* Troops attempting to give Fire to the little Town of *Lebesciowa*, which is six Leagues from *Smorgonia*, were prevented by our Valoches, who surprized them and cut them in Pieces, to the Number of above three hundred Men. They had gained a much greater Advantage, if they had waited the Arrival of the rest of their Body and of the *Lithuanians*, who were but one League off at the Time of the Action. *Menzikof* and *Oginski* were so closely followed by the Starost *Crispin* who commanded that Party, to which two hundred *Swedish* Dragoons under the Command of Colonel *Trautsetter* were joined, that they were often on the very Point of being surprized in their Beds, which were not

cold when they fell into the Possession of their Pursuers.

All the *Swedish* Army with the Artillery being arrived, on the fourteenth, in the Neighbourhood of *Smorgonia*, the Regiments were cantoned at large in the Province, that they might refresh themselves after their fatiguing March, and with Hopes to provide the more commodiously for their Subsistence.

This Hope soon vanished at the News which the Commanders sent his Majesty. Their Complaints were not only of want of Forage, but of Bread and other Victuals; and above all, of Beer, which would administer the chief Refreshment to the Soldiers, who had almost perished with thirst as well as Fatigue.

True it is, that we received some Supplies from *Prussia*, particularly from the Town of *Königsberg*, whence several Merchants ran the Hazard to bring us Food and other Refreshments; for which they were largely paid; but this sufficed not for an whole Army; so that if we had not applied ourselves with as much Industry as we did some Years before in *Lithuania*, to discover those Magazines which the Peasants had hidden under Ground, and which we did with great Difficulty, we had all run the Risque of perishing with Hunger.

The Czar having quitted the *Wilna*, retreated towards the *Dnieper*, intending to post himself, at *Mehilow*. Lieutenant Colonel *Dalheim*, who with a Detachment of Cavalry had penetrated as far as *Minsk*, whence the *Russians* on his Appearance had fled full Speed, confirmed this Report; adding, that the Enemy gave out that they intended

to draw a Line along the other Side of the *Dnieper*, (otherwise called the *Boristhenes*) in order to dispute the Passage with us.

During this continual Retreat of the Enemy, some Gentlemen, with the Peasants whom they had drawn together and armed, carried off from Prince *Menzikof* three Waggon's full of Silver Coin, which was conducting to *Königsberg*, and was apparently the Remainder of the last Campaign, plundered from the poor *Polonese* thro' the whole Kingdom, to whom this *Russian* Prince was a true Blood-sucker.

While these Matters were in Agitation, Brigadier *Muhlenfeld*, who had escaped out of Prison, came to his Majesty at *Smorgonia*, and informed him exactly of the Czar's Designs, of the State of the *Russian* Army, and the Rout they held. This Information engaged his Majesty to extend his Army in the Beginning of *March*, as far as the Town of *Wilna*; which, on Account of its obstinate Attachment to the *Russian* Party, was obliged to deliver in one Week thirty thousand Pound of Bread, thirty thousand Pound of Meat, two hundred Tons of Beer, two hundred Pots of Brandy, with a large Quantity of other Victuals.

At this Time the Differences which had subsisted between the Houses of *Wisniowski* and *Sapieha*, were entirely extinguished by the Arrival of King *Stanislaus* at *Lida*, on the twenty-eighth of *February*. This Prince, with his Troops, took up his Quarters at *Geranow*, where he did not feel so much of the Misery of the Country as the King of *Sweden* at *Smorgonia*; all this Neighbourhood belonging to the

Muscovite

Moscovite Adherents, had come better off than their Neighbours, and were now able to afford us some Assistance, as well as the Territory of *Minsk*.

King *Stanislaus* on the eleventh of *March* made himself a Tour to *Wilna*, where the Magistrates of this Capital of *Lithuania* came forth to present him their Keys, and to recognize him for their Sovereign; humbly asking his Protection and Pardon for all their past Faults. At the same Time General *Smigelski*, who was posted at *Zakrozin* with his Troops, arrived at King *Stanislaus's* Quarters.

Whilst this Prince with his Column followed the King of *Sweden's* Army, the Affairs of *Poland* had put on different Faces, according as the different Parties in the Palatinate gained or lost the Ascendence. *Siniawski*, Palatine of *Belsk*, whom King *Augustus* had made Great General of the Crown, and who, since his Abdication was always attached to the Czar, and had much contributed to the Support of the last Confederacy of *Lublin*, had great Part of the Army of the Crown strongly attached to his Person: This Lord, I say, notwithstanding all the Pains taken by Mr. *de Bonac*, the French Ambassador, who was then at *Warsovia*, to reconcile him and engage him in the Interests of the new King of *Poland*, stood firm, and would not even hear of this Prince, nor make him any Submission, especially since he had left the Frontiers of *Poland* to advance into *Lithuania* with the King of *Sweden*.

Siniawski having at length assembled all his Troops at *Wlodowa*, marched with them towards *Leopol*, in the Palatinate of *Russia*, in Order to execute

the Decrees of that City, concerning the Payment of the Confederate Army. He wrote at the same Time to the Primate of that Party, that he was retired from *Poland* into *Silesia*, with Design to return and assemble a General Diet of the Confederate Estates, observing to him that he had already dispatched circular Letters requiring to know the Sentiments of the Senators and Nobility on that Matter; that he had exhorted them to quit King *Stanislaus*, and enter into the strongest Measures with the Czar to unite against the *Swedish* Forces, by which they might be in a State to come to a new Election.

This General published at the same Time a Manifesto, forbidding any Respect to the Orders of the Palatine of *Kiovia*, whom he declared a Rebel, together with all other the Adherents of King *Stanislaus*. By all these Declarations, supported by a round Sum of Money which the Czar sent him, and with the Cossacks of *Mazeppa*, who advanced from the *Ukraine* to join him, he extremely strengthened his Party, and weakened that of *Stanislaus*, whom he made to fear a general Revolution, if he did not instantly return to *Poland* to conjure down the Storm.

King *Stanislaus* after having amicably determined the Differences which had so long raged between the Houses of *Wisniowski* and *Sapieha*, sent the Palatine *Jablonski* and Mr. *Bronitz* Marshal of the Confederacy of *Warsovia*, to the King of *Sweden*, to represent to him the Necessity under which he found himself, of returning into *Poland*, to reduce the Malecontents, and re-establish Tranquility in the Kingdom, by holding a General Diet of Pacifi-

Pacification, which the Senators of his Party had requested leave to do. The King of *Sweden* having consented to this, as he did also to the raising the Contributions which the Palatinate of *Posnania* and *Kalis* were obliged to pay, King *Stanislaus* prepared to leave us, taking with him that Body of the *Swedish* Army under *Craffau*, which was appointed to attend him, to act against *Siniawski*.

We have already observed, that the *Russians* on the Side of *Riga* had withdrawn to *Polock* at his Majesty's Entry into *Lithuania*. It is impossible to express what Barbarities they committed in their Retreat, from *Riga* to the Frontiers, not having left one single House standing behind them; all was burnt, and lay in Heaps of Ruin and Confusion. All the Citizens of the unhappy Town of *Dorpt* were led into Slavery, they beheaded two of the Council, and pillaged all the Houses, which were afterwards demolished together with the Fortifications. They carried away likewise from *Narva* many of the richest Merchants with their Families, whom the Czar obliged to settle at *Moscow* to assist in promoting his Commerce.

The rest of these Wretches were banished into certain Places assigned them to cultivate the Land. They carried off from about *Mobilow*, upwards of one hundred Waggon loads with *Polish* Infants of both Sexes, to assist hereafter in peopling the vast Desarts of *Muscovy*. This spread an universal Terror over *Poland* and *Livonia*. At last General *Baver*, to give the finishing Stroke to the Miseries of this last Province, entered it at his leaving the *Polish Livonia*, which he

had in like manner sacked, and plundered of every Thing, to form a great Magazine at *Seiswegen*, posting himself along the *Duna*, of which he continued the Master, Count *Lowenhaupt* not having Forces sufficient to hinder or make Head against him.

The King of *Sweden* resolved to quit his Quarters of *Smorgonia*, in the Palatinate of *Wilna*, and go to *Minsk*, hoping to be the better able to support his Army, which wanted all manner of Necessaries. He decamped the fifteenth of *March*, and in two Days arrived at *Radowskiewice*, which is twelve Leagues from *Smorgonia*, five from *Minsk*, and seven from the little Town of *Plessenize*.

We were here again deceived in our Expectations, the Land being incultivated, produced nothing to refresh the Army, and the subterranean Magazines were very hard to discover; and even if we could have found them all, they would have been very insufficient for the supplying so many Troops. The Reader should know besides, that in *Lithuania*, there is generally speaking more Wood than manurable Lands. The Forests which present themselves on this Rout, are above one hundred Leagues in length without any Interruption, in which Parts there are but a few small miserable Villages all surrounded with Trees; whence it may be easy to conceive what the Troops suffered during that March, especially the Cavalry, who found not even Grass for their Horses.

In these Countries we met with an extraordinary Quantity of Honey, of which we made a Mead that was very delicious. Bees-wax is no where in such Abundance, nor so cheap as here.

To conserve the Trees which the Bees fasten on, and defend them against the Bears, who very diligently search after them, to devour the Honey, which they will climb to the very Top for, the Inhabitants place round the Trees, and under the Swarms, certain pointed Stakes, which they fix in Planks, and thus prevent these Animals from approaching the Trees. Here is Abundance of Game, and Fowls, the former of which gave agreeable Sport to the Huntsman.

The 31st of March Count *Lowenhaupt* arrived at *Radowskiewice*, to give his Majesty an Account of the Condition of his Troops, which were in *Courland* and *Livonia*, and to receive the necessary Instructions to join us. At the same Time the Swedish Resident *Knipercrona*, who had been a good while in that Character at the Court of *Russia*, came from *Stockholm* with Propositions on the Part of the Czar, to settle a Cartle with the King, and make an Exchange of those Prisoners already taken on both Sides: but these Propositions were not relished by the King of Sweden, who never would consent to them.

Our Army extended its Quarters towards *Borissow* on the one Side, and as far as *Bobuseviza* on the other. A Change his Majesty judged proper to make, in order to procure more commodious Subsistence for his Troops.

King *Stanislans* was quartered at *Stoli*: There was at *Borissow* a body of 8000 *Russians*, under the Command of General *Goltz*, to defend that Pass, which is situated on the River *Berezina*.

General *Bayer* continued to make great Waste in the Province of *Livo-*

nia. Having fixt his Camp fifteen Leagues from *Riga*, by which he obliged Count *Lowenhaupt* to return after he had received his last Orders from his Majesty, whilst several Swedish Regiments advanced to be ready to support his Troops in case of an Attack. The Czar made this Motion to give an Apprehension of having a Design on *Riga*, and to oblige the King of Sweden to take another Rout; but this Feint produced no Effect; his Swedish Majesty never changing the Plan which he had formed.

The Czar who been had some Time at *Polock*, ordered his Army, which was said to be seventy thousand strong, to pass the *Dnieper*, resolving to go himself to *Petersbourg*, to press the sending out his Fleet, which was to be very considerable, and whence he had great Expectations: but falling sick at the instant when he was preparing to set out, he caused himself to be conveyed to *Smolensko*, leaving the Direction of all the Operations to the General *Scheremetbof*, *Menzikof*, *Gallizin*, *Goltz*, *Allard*, *Repnin* and *Pflug*.

As these Generals were then at *Mobilow*, they held a Council of War, in which it was debated, whether they should make Peace or risque a Battle. *Menzikof* insisted much on the former, but the foreign Generals opposed him strongly, in spite of the panick Terror which reigned in their Army, and the great Desertion of their Soldiers, and even the national Troops who for the most part enlisted themselves in the *Lithuanian* Army; for this Reason the Czar had so passionately desired the Cartel, proposed by *Knipercrona*,

to which his *Swedish* Majesty would not consent.

In the beginning of *May* such a prodigious Quantity of Snow fell, and the Cold was so very piercing, that we were for the most part obliged to keep to our Houses; but all on a sudden, towards the middle of *May*, so sudden a Change happened, that we might be said to be transported to a quite different Climate. This occasioned many violent Diseases to both Men and Horses: many of the latter and a great Number of Dogs ran mad, and such Men as had the Misfortune to be bit by them died a few Days after, in most terrible Torments.

Count *Lowenhaupt* being returned on the fifteenth of *May* to *Riga*, made all necessary Preparations to join his Majesty with his Body of the Army, in Conformity to the Orders he had received, in order to act with more Vigour against the Czar, and to attack him in the very Heart of his Estates. We had the more Reason to hope for good Success in this Expedition, as this Prince was hated and made uneasy by his Subjects, on account of the Noveltries which he introduced into the Government.

This was then the Language every where, but the Sequel shewed they were mistaken who thought so.

The Czar had obliged his Subjects to dress themselves in a manner entirely different from that which they had before used, to shave their Beards; and besides the bloody War which they were to support, he likewise made them labour at the Building of Vessels and other publick Works, which they did much against their Will: this caused heavy Murmurs and a great

Discontent throughout his Kingdom; nothing was heard of but Revolts, and scarce was one quieted before a fresh Sedition arose from another Quarter.

Besides all these Considerations, which encouraged his *Swedish* Majesty to enter *Russia*, the Advices which they had some Time since received from *Mazeppa* General of the Cossack *Russians*, were a powerful Motive of that firm Resolution which this Prince took to execute the Project he had formed.

Mazeppa, who had for a long Time had great Reason to complain of the Czar, was then on the Frontiers of *Volhinia*, with a Body of twenty five thousand Cossacks, with which he pretended that he would join *Siniawski*, at the same Time that he carried on a Correspondence by Letters with King *Stanislaus*, the Purport of which was to prevail on the King to enter the *Ukrain*, and deliver it from the *Muscovite* Yoke under which it groaned. The Fertility and Abundance of this Country, where the War might be continued with Vigour, and pushed into the very Bowels of the Czar's Dominions, where so many Malecontents waited only our Arrival to declare themselves, caused the King of *Sweden* to take a Resolution of turning his victorious Arms that Way, as soon as he was joined by *Lowenhaupt's* Army. We left our Commissaries at *Wilna*, where they raised fifty one thousand Crowns of that City, twenty thousand of the Dutchy of *Slucz*, and a proportionable Sum of the other Palatinates, to be contributed towards defraying the War against the Czar. The principal Care was to get together all the Provision that was possible for the Subistence

Subsistence of the Army during the March we were going to make, and our Commissaries to that Effect made some Journeys to *Grodno*, *Somogitia* and *Podlacia*, to procure it from all Parts.

As soon then as the Regiments were provided for three Months with every thing necessary for their Subsistence, in a Country laid entirely waste, the Army was put in Motion the first of *June*, and marched towards *Lobosk*.

His Majesty had reviewed his Troops before he set out, and was entirely taken up during his Stay at *Radoskiowice*, in teaching them a new Sort of Exercise, going on this Account from one Regiment to another, to instruct and form them.

On *June* the sixth the King of *Sweden* decamped, marching towards *Berezina*, where our Van-guard arrived that same Day. The Regiments marched closer together by reason of the Neighbourhood of the Enemy. That Evening King *Stanislaus* took leave of his *Swedish* Majesty, being on his Return into *Poland*, to bring the Confederates to reason by the Assistance of the *Swedish* and *Lithuanian* Troops, to which the Crown Army was to be joined.

We marched three Leagues that Day to *Trosnitz*, where we passed the Night and the next Day. The Artillery followed in our Rear at the Distance only of two Leagues. On the eighth, the King continued his March through *Grodeck* to *Minsk*, being in Haste to arrive at *Berezina*, whither the greater Part of the Army had marched the Evening before. The ninth, we came to *Smigelowicz*, whence

we past the next Day by *Ibumain* to *Jurgewiza*. On the fifteenth we arrived at the River of *Berezina*, near the Town of *Bereza-Sapiecka*.

The King at his Arrival here, took with him his Foot and some of the Horse, and attended by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, advanced to reconnoitre the Dispositions of the Enemy. His Majesty perceived that the opposite Bank of the River was much covered with Hedges and Bushes, and defended by near two thousand *Muscovites*, besides a great Number of *Don Cossacks*, who kept themselves concealed.

The King presently ordered his Foot to advance and fire on them, in order to disperse them; but as the River is not wide in this Part, the *Cossacks* returned the Fire so well, that the Balls whistled round the King on all Sides.

The Prince of *Wurtemberg* fearing what might happen to his Majesty's sacred Person, who would not retire, and remained thoroughly exposed, took with him two Officers, and advanced with them on Horseback some Paces nearer the River, to divert at least their Aim from the King. The Enemy at that Instant fired three Shot at these three Persons, two of them passed by without doing any Mischief, but the third shot the Prince thro' the left Thigh. To prevent the Enemy's rejoicing, he concealed his Wound some time, telling it only to the two Officers who were with him; he still kept his Seat, and went slowly to find the King, who was much alarmed at this Accident, and caused the Prince to be carried to a little *Greek* Chappel which was hard by, where they stopt the

the Blood, till the Arrival of a Surgeon with the Baggage.

The Youth of the Prince, joined with his good Habit of Body, soon restored him to a Capacity of mounting his Horse; till which Time he was carried in his Bed by twenty four Musqueteers, who were relieved from Time to Time during the March, and to whom the King, who took an extraordinary Care of the Prince, ordered a Crown a Day to be paid per Man.

His Majesty, to give a Diversion to the Enemy, had detached General *Sparr* with four Regiments towards *Borissow*, on the *Berezina*, where Lieutenant-General *Goltz* was posted, as we have said, with eight thousand Men, to dispute the Passage, being persuaded that the King would attempt it there. But while *Sparr* was advancing on that Quarter, his Majesty, who was arrived, as we have just now mentioned, at *Bereza Saphieska*, ordered Colonel *Gyllenkrok* the next Day after his Arrival, to pass the River at the Head of two hundred Men. The Colonel had no sooner posted himself on the other Side, than the *Russians* and *Cossacks* fled full Speed towards *Mobilow*. The King then caused two Bridges to be thrown across for the Passage of the Army, which arrived a few Days afterwards on the other Side of the River.

The King in the meantime led the Van, and used the utmost Diligence to cut off General *Goltz*. This Prince was followed only by a Part of his *Drabans*, and likewise Part of his Regiment of Guards, of the two *Ostrogolb* Regiments of Horse and Foot, the Regiments of Horse of *Smoland*,

and the Horse and Dragoon-guards, with the Foot of *Dahl-Carlia*, &c.

General *Goltz* being timely informed by those who fled, of the King's March, retreated instantly from *Borissow* towards *Mobilow*. At the same Time, Prince *Menzikof* who had left Detachments of twelve, fifteen, and eighteen thousand Men, at certain Distances, to stop us if possible, not thinking we could so soon pass the *Bereza*, by reason of the continual Bogs which were on the Road, had no sooner heard this News, than he ordered General *Pflug*, who guarded the Passage of *Odrucsko*, to retreat hastily, after having demolished all the Bridges to hinder our Pursuit.

Notwithstanding all these Difficulties, the King advanced thro' a great Wood full of Morasses, and very difficult to pass, and where we could march but a few Leagues in a Day, the Bridges being all destroyed. We were obliged to pass ten Nights together in the open Field, where we were even glad to find some Place fit to encamp upon; at the End of which Time we arrived near *Bialiemsia*, where his Majesty hoped to surprize a Body of twelve thousand Men, who were there posted; but they very prudently retired on the first Advice of our Approach, having first cut down the Woods, broke up the Roads, and destroyed all the Bridges and Houses behind them.

The rest of the Army followed in the same Rout, passing thro' *Bialiemsia*, which stands eleven Leagues from *Bereza*, where they surprized two *Jews* whom the Knez *Repnin* had sent as Spies, and who were presently hanged. His Majesty advanced from *Bialiemsia*

liemssa towards *Holowszin*, where he gave the Enemy Battle, an exact Description of which is contained in the following Relation.

A perfect Relation of what happened at the Battle of Holowszin, the fourth of July, 1708, between the Troops of his Swedish Majesty, and those of the Czar of Muscovy, written by the Author of these Memoirs.

That we may omit nothing conducive to a perfect Understanding of the double Encounter between the Infantry on each Side, and the Cavalry on each Side, which were fought distinctly one from the other; I will begin with the Situation of the Town of *Holowszin*, which is in the Middle of a Wood, on the Bank of the little River of *Bobiecz*, which running through Part of *Lithuania*, mixes with the *Drutsch*, with which it discharges itself into the *Dnieper*. This Town is five Leagues from *Mobilow*, and thirty five from *Minsk*. The River *Babiecz* is almost every where bordered by very marshy Meadows, which render its Banks almost impracticable to be approached, so that the Horse could not act, at least without the Assistance of Fascines and Bridges of Communication.

His *Swedish* Majesty arrived near the Town of *Holowszin*, the thirtieth of *June*, where he found a strong Party of the Enemy's Dragoons; but as the Front of his Army was composed only of some Companies of his Foot-guards, he was not able to repulse them. The Dragoons retreating slowly, (the River and three Bridges, of which they possessed the two last, be-

ing between themselves and us) fortified themselves with a little Entrenchment, extended equal with the Extremities of these three Bridges, which were separated from each other by three Arms of the River.

The same Day arrived the rest of the Regiment of Foot-Guards, the King's Drabans, the Regiments of Horse and Dragoon-Guards, with that of *Dahl-Carlia*, and our Artillery, who encamped on an elevated Piece of Ground near the Town. The Enemy posted about two thousand Dragoons, on a Hill directly opposite to us, and fired several harmless Shots from their small Field-pieces. In the Evening, they gave a Signal by the Discharge of a Cannon, to sound and beat a Retreat in their Camp.

The next Day, being the first of *July*, the Enemy's Cannon began to play before Day, and continued to do so till the Evening; their Shot was very small, and did as little Execution as the Day before. We did nothing that Day, waiting the Arrival of the rest of our Troops. The Regiments of Foot of *Sperling*, (*Ostrogoths*) those of Horse of *Rosenstierna*, (*Ostrogoths*) and of *Dahldorff*, (*Smolandars*) arrived the same Day.

The second, the Enemy began to work at a grand Intrenchment lined with *Chevaux de Frise*, which reached the length of a great Wood, pursuing all along the Course of the River, and extended a *Polish* League and a half, or a good *Swedish* League, from their right Wing to their left, being the whole Extent of their Entrenchment. Towards the Evening, their Horse were relieved by a Body of their Foot, after having been posted three Days

without Forage, without drawing Bit, and without stirring.

The same Day the Generals *Allart* and *Repin* arrived with eight thousand Foot, and we learnt from some Deserters and Prisoners, that the Enemy's Army was commanded by Velt-Marshall *Goltz*, and who had under his Command the Generals *Allart*, *Repin*, *Ronn*, *Rensil*, *Heinski*, *Tschambre*, *Gallowin*, *Von Sweden*, &c. &c. Nothing passed this Day except the Enemy's Discharge of eight Pounders, which did us no manner of Hurt.

On the third of July, the Enemy compleated their Entrenchment, which they fortified with six different Batteries, and thirty thousand Men, chose out of their best Troops, which were again reinforced by the Arrival of *Alexander Menzikof*, Generalissimo, *Czeremetof* Velt-Marshall, and the Prince of *Hesse-Darmstadt*.

The same Day eight hundred of their Cossacks and Calmucks threw themselves over the River, and fell openly on our Valoches; but after having killed their Captain *Uchanowitz*, and a Cornet, they were repulsed, and forced to return the same Way they came. In this Action several were killed, wounded, and taken Prisoners on both Sides.

Towards the Evening, Baron *Axel Sparr*, General of Foot, arrived with his Regiment of *Wesmanland* in our Camp, and was followed by nine other Regiments who marched a little behind, but near enough to be brought up in case of Need.

In the Beginning of the Evening, Col. *Bunau* ordered the Artillery to be drawn towards the Village of *Starabella*, half a League from the Camp,

and placed twenty Pieces of Cannon and two Patereros, on a rising Ground opposite to the Enemy's Entrenchments, and six other Pieces of Cannon below the River to the left, to disturb the Enemy's Communication, and to hinder any Succours to be brought to their left Wing from their right.

As Mr. *Bunau* could not make this Motion with his Artillery so secretly but that the Enemy must perceive it, they gave a great Alarm, and discharged a Signal for every one to stand to his Arms.

The fourth of July, being the last Day of the Week according to our Stile, Mr. *Bunau* gave the Enemy a Salutation at half an Hour after two in the Morning, with his twenty Pieces of Cannon and two Patereros, which Serenade he continued till half an Hour after five.

During this Time the King, after having drawn up his Troops, rushed into the River, wading up to his Breast, holding by his right Hand Colonel *Siegroth*, and by his left *Charles Albrecht Adlerfelt*, Captain of his Guards. His Majesty was instantly followed by four Regiments of Foot, namely, the Guards, *Dahl-Carlens*, *Uplanders*, and *Westmanlanders*, commanded by their Colonels *Poss*, *Siegroth*, *Fritski*, and *Sparr*.

At the same Time the *Drabans*, four Squadrons of the Dragoon-guards under Velt-Marshall Count *Rheinschild*, three Squadrons of the Horse-guards commanded by General *Creutz*, and two Squadrons of *Smoland* conducted by *Dabldorff*, and which were principally destined for the Attack, passed the River the first, under Favour of our Artillery; which at the same Time forced

forced the Troops of the Enemy, who attempted, at their right and left, to attack those who past, to return back and regain their Retrenchment, in which Mr. *de Bunau* continued to make a terrible Havock. The Enemy found themselves disconcerted and at a stand, on which Occasion the King said, 'Matters go well, they are conquer-
'ed.'

Count *James Sperling* passed afterwards with his Regiment of *Ostrogoths* Foot, as well as the rest of the Horse; and as *Sperling* perceived two Squadrons of the right Wing of the Enemy to aim at attacking the left Flank of his Regiment, he made them wheel half round to the left, and then gave them such a home Salute with a general Discharge, that they abandoned their Purpose with the utmost Haste. After this vigorous Action, the Regiment recovered their Ground, and marched fiercely on without any farther Interruption, as well as the rest of the Troops that followed; but which could not however come up to the Charge, for the Defile was very difficult to pass, and the foremost Troops charged the Enemy so vigorously, that they were obliged to precipitate their Retreat.

His Majesty being always on Horseback, put himself about half an Hour after four at the Head of the Foot-Guards, the *Dahl-Carlois*, and the *Uplanders*; who advanced fiercely, with their Arms shouldered, towards the right Front of the Enemy's left Wing, commanded by General *Repnin*; during which, the *Westmanlanders* and the *Ostrogoths* had Orders to march more to the left, to cut off any Succour from the rest of the Enemy.

These, who had already suffered much from our Artillery during two Hours, and who saw themselves void of any Covering on their right, (their Cavalry acting neither to the right or left) at the Approach of our Men in this opening, which was about two hundred Paces, that they might not be attacked in the Front, and likewise in the Rear, resolved to go forth from their Entrenchment with their Foot, which consisted of eighteen Battalions on that Side, before we came up to them. They then attempted to pass on the Back of their Entrenchment, defiling below us on two Bridges, the one facing the other, and by the Assistance of which they hoped to pass over a very morassy Ground. In this manner they separated their Infantry from their Cavalry, which latter stood very quiet along their Entrenchment, till our Men coming up with them, attacked and put them to flight.

When the Battle was in this Situation, the King gave Spurs to his Horse, and pressed forward with his Infantry to attack theirs; but notwithstanding all the Diligence of these Regiments, who were animated to such a Degree that they ran towards the Enemy, their Foot gained a thick Wood, which offered itself very favourably to their Retreat. Into this they threw themselves with great Expedition, posting themselves very near the Outside; the Trees, which stood very close and were very bushy, served them for Pallisado's of Defence, and instead of an Entrenchment.

Here the Enemy began to fire on us, who stood all exposed on the open Field; and they ceased not to charge and discharge their Pieces till half an
Hour

Hour past six, when they had no more Powder or Ball left. During all this Time the King went from one Battalion to another, always conveying himself where the Fire was the briskest; animating his Troops with his Hand, his Sword, and his Voice; ordering them above all Things, instead of firing, to use their Pikes, their Bayonets and their Swords; till at last our brave Musqueteers, thoroughly resolved to conquer or die, having forced their Enemies to turn their Backs and penetrated into the Wood, remained intirely victorious by the general Flight of the Enemy; who, throwing down their Arms, abandoned the Field of Battle and the Wood, leaving all to the Mercy of the Conquerors, who now beat a Retreat, to cause our Troops who pursued the Enemy too hotly, to return and draw up in Rank and File, according to his Majesty's Order.

The King was well served by Major-General *Sparr*, and by all his brave Officers and Soldiers, who, in reality, performed Wonders at this violent Attack; where, notwithstanding the Rain, the Fire of the Enemy was very terrible.

His Majesty had always by his Side the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, General *Peniatowski* and Colonel *Wangerheim*, who never quitted the sacred Person of our Hero; tho' the Prince was hardly recovered of a Wound he had received near the River *Berezina* almost three Weeks before.

Let us take a short Survey of the Cavalry who had advanced a League beyond the Attack of the Foot; and where his Majesty came, after the whole was over. We had very credi-

ble Informations, that his Excellency Count *Rheinschild*, seeing the Difficulty he found to make our Regiments of Horse defile and advance through the River *Babiecz*, and that on the other Side, his Majesty was briskly engaged with the Enemy's Foot, took instantly the King's Drabans and four Squadrons of his own Regiments of Body-Dragoons, who had passed the River first, and charged so stoutly with these *Swedes* the whole Bodies of the Enemies Horse and Dragoons of the left Wing, amounting to eleven thousand Men, forming one hundred and thirty Squadrons, and commanded by *Goltz*, that he had no Time to recollect himself, nor to send for Succour to that Body of Foot which the Knez *Repnin*, as we have said, commanded.

Our victorious Squadrons advanced with so much Force and Impetuosity, that the Horse-Guards and the two Squadrons of *Dabldorff* had all the Difficulty in the World to follow in Order, to support them at all Events: so that in this Action the five first Squadrons, and especially the Drabans, who were all the Time surrounded by the Enemies, suffered and lost much the most; and so did the Regiment of Guards among the Infantry.

Amongst those of Note who were killed on our Side, we may reckon Major-General *Wrangel*, Captain-Lieutenant of the Drabans, and Quarter-Master *Wattrang*, of the same Corps; Messieurs *Horn*, *Palpitzki*, *Palmback*, *Barkmann* and *Damm*; the Adjutant-General *Claes Hierta*, *John Ankerbielm* Captain of the Guards, Count *Watchmeister*, and others.

Amongst the wounded, were Count *Poss* Colonel of Guards, his Major *St-*

ernbook,

ernbook, and eight Captains, of which Number was Baron *Gyllenstierna*, to whom his Majesty vouchsafed the Honour of his Horse, whence he dismounted in Order to mount this Officer, who was carried out of the Battle to have the Wounds dressed which he had received at the Attack of the Wood. The Lieutenant Colonels *Ulfsparr* and *Wrangle*, the first of *Dahl-Carlia*, and the second of *Wesmanlanders*; the Majors *Ornstedt* and *Griesbach* of the Dragoon-guards, and *Dahl-Carlia*, were also wounded, with thirty-six Drabans and forty-five Officers of the Guards. We lost in all but two hundred and fifty-five common Soldiers, and had twelve hundred and nineteen wounded.

As to the *Russians*, we learnt from the Prisoners that they had near three thousand Officers and Soldiers killed, among which were the Generals *Gallowin*, *Tschambre*, and *Von Sweden*; and that their right Wing, which was entirely cut off from the left, had retreated at three in the Afternoon under the Command of *Scheremetof*, *Ronn* and *Rensel*, without firing a Piece, and marched towards the Town of *Schlawa* on the *Dnieper*, where their Army re-assembled in a Body, in order to retire beyond *Mobilow*.

We took twelve Pieces of Brass Cannon, all their Ammunition and Baggage, two pair of Kettle-Drums, and some Colours; most of which were taken by the Regiment of Guards, which acted Wonders.

His Majesty, having ordered the Enemy's Cavalry to be pursued for some Time, who sometimes turned about in their Flight firing at an hundred Paces or a greater Distance, and

afterwards flying with the utmost Speed to save themselves, now recalled those that were in the Pursuit, and incamped this and the following Nights in the Enemy's Intrenchments; where we returned Thanks to God for the Victory which he had granted us.

Thus ended this Day so glorious both to the Arms and Person of his Majesty, whose Valour, supported by the Courage and Bravery of his Troops, gave the *Russians* to understand, with what ill Judgment they had compared their Forces to ours.

The Prince of *Wurtemberg* had a particular Rencontre at the Beginning of the Action. An Officer of the Enemy's Foot well mounted, having rode forth from his Ranks, cried out to the Prince, without knowing him, *Venez ici, si vous etes un brave homme, If you are a brave Man, come hither.* He had scarce ended his Defiance, when this brave Prince, who desired no more, giving Spurs to his Horse, received a Pistol-shot which pass'd by him, and in the same Moment ran his Sword up to the Hilt into the Officer's Body, who fell dead from his Horse.

The *Drabans*, to the Number of one hundred and twenty Men, performed the most extraordinary Feats of Valour in this Battle, where ten or twelve joined together formed little Squadrons, and with a terrible Force which nothing was able to resist, overthrew and trampled on whole Squadrons of the Enemy. They made ten subsequent Attacks in this Manner; they suffered the most from the *Calmucks*, who, always falling on their Backs while they were engaged, did them much the most considerable Damage.

Amongst

Amongst the wounded, the Majority had three or four Wounds; nay, some of them carried ten or eleven glorious Marks of their Bravery out of the Battle. The Enemy had thirty Battalions in the Field, eighteen of which only were engaged, which were routed, as we have said, by our three Regiments. Their left Wing was composed of eleven thousand Dragoons, their right of seven thousand seven hundred Horse; besides which, they had four thousand Calmucks; their whole Number amounted to many more than thirty thousand Men.

The Czar arrived in his Army two Days after the Action, and was so incensed at the Loss of a Battle where his Troops were so superior in Number, that he fetched out all those who were wounded in the Back, and made them draw Lots; those who drew a black Lot were immediately shot, which sad Fate happen'd to many of them.

As soon as we had buried our dead, and were joined by the rest of the Army, his Majesty on the seventh of July decamped, facing towards *Mobilow* on the *Dnieper*, where he arrived the ninth, after having passed six Leagues of very bad Road, which gave the Enemy Time to place the *Dnieper* between them and us; who demolishing all the Bridges behind them, marched towards *Smolensko*.

The current Report being, that his Majesty intended to penetrate into *Russia* on the Side of *Smolensko*, the Czar caused his Armies to ravage all that Part of the Country, that we might be unable to follow them. All our Troops being now arrived by diverse Routs, were so posted, that the

most distant were not above a League from *Mobilow*; under which Town his Majesty encamped with most of his Regiments.

The King on his Arrival at *Mobilow*, immediately ordered two Bridges to be built for the Passage of the *Dnieper*; the Readiness with which they were finished, gave Room to believe that we should pursue the Enemy. But as the Troops were extremely faint and fatigued, not only by their violent Marches, but also for want of Food, and above all by that continual Rain which had fallen every Day during six Weeks, and had been followed by very cold Nights; and as we found some Subsistence in *Mobilow* and the neighbouring Places, his Majesty resolved to rest here some Weeks for the refreshing his Troops (amongst which there were many sick) and likewise to give the wounded Time for their Cure.

Nothing remarkable passed during our Stay at *Mobilow*, unless the Disturbances which were frequently given us by the Calmucks; who sometimes swam across the River, and carried off our Horses out of their Pastures.

We found at *Mobilow* several Notes scattered abroad, by which great Recompence was promised to such *Swedes* as would desert. These Promises however made no Impression on our Troops, who despised such Devices. We had here an Opportunity of renewing an epistolary Correspondence with our Friends, which had been interrupted for some Time; and here his Majesty gave Orders that a great Part of the Records of the Chancery should be sent to *Stockholm*.

As to King *Stanislans*, he had bent his

his Course towards *Grodno* by very flow Marches, not more than two or three Leagues a Day, designing to reach the Camp of the *Lithuanian* Army near *Briesowa*. At *Grodno* several Deputies of the Palatinates came to offer him their Submission.

This Prince proceeded to *Prussia*, and on the fifth of *July* arrived at *Elbing*, and the eighth at *Mariembourg*, where the Queen of *Poland* his Spouse came to meet him. The Town of *Dantzick* sent four Deputies to him with their Compliments. He resolved to wait for the Conjunction of the *Swedish* Regiments to act against *Siniawski*, who with his Body of Troops, after having encamped some Weeks at *Nisko*, had marched to *Lublin*, and *Breszia-Cujawski*, to join those *Lithuanian* Malecontents who were under the Command of *Peczici*.

On the other Hand Count *Lowenhaupt* prepared to join his Majesty with his Body of the Army, assembled in *Livonia* and *Courland*, and bring with him Provision and Ammunition for us for three Months; but this General marched very slowly, on Account of the great Number of loaded Waggons which he brought with him, and as he was always harassed in his March by General *Baver*. His Majesty therefore perceiving, that all was consumed in this Country, and that his People could not wait the Arrival of Count *Lowenhaupt* without perishing with Hunger, after having gathered together all the remaining Provisions for the Regiments, resolved to pass the *Dnieper* to meet this General, to whom he sent Orders to endeavour the same Conjunction.

On the fifth of *August* his Majesty

passed the River over a Bridge, followed by the Regiment of Guards and some other Foot Regiments, and leaving the Road to *Horki* or *Gorki* to the left, encamped at half a League from *Mobilow*.

The Calmucks, who were concealed in the Woods, only observed our Motions this first Day, and endeavoured here and there to carry off a little Pilage. The two following Days the rest of the Army continued to pass the *Dnieper*, and then broke down the Bridge.

The eighth, the Army marched to *Oneskewitz*, situated on this Side of a little River called *Resta*. On the ninth we celebrated a Day of solemn Fast and Prayer.

The tenth we proceeded some Leagues towards *Stolki*, where our advanced Guards were posted within a League and a half of the Enemy. Here we halted four Days, during which the Calmucks often attempted to harass us; but they did little more Harm, than the carrying off a few Horses and Servants.

The seventeenth, his Majesty decamped from *Stolki*, and came to *Vijoki*, on the little River *Pronia*. The Enemy continued still to abandon all those Towns which might have made some Resistance, burning, destroying, and sacking all; so that we found on all Sides nothing but the most sad Ruins, and the Country a most horrible Desert. This occasioned great Scarcity among the Soldiers, who were compelled to make Use of all Manner of Means for their Subsistence, cutting the Corn themselves when they found any, afterwards thrashing, grinding it in Hand-mills, baking and eating

eating it directly, which required a good deal of Time and Labour.

This Evening his Majesty was advised, that a large Body of *Russian* Dragoons was but a League's Distance, that General *Goltz* with the rest of the Cavalry was posted three Leagues beyond, and that General *Island* was marched towards the *Ukrain* with seven Regiments, whilst the Czar himself was posted with his Infantry at *Micislaw*, whence he afterwards returned towards *Soffa*.

The next day being the eighteenth, the *Valoches* returned with twelve Prisoners and a Major, named *Du Caille*, who had commanded a Party of an hundred and sixty *Muscovite* Dragoons, the greater Part of which were cut to Pieces. We learnt from the Major, and the Orders in writing which were found upon him, that the Enemy intended to throw a Bridge over the *Soffa*, near the Town of *Czerikowa*, in order to pass the River.

The nineteenth, the Army advanced only two Leagues to *Drakowka*, and the next Day encamped at *Labonowa*, a League and a half; whence they proceeded one League on the twenty-first to *Czerikowa*, and encamped at a little Distance from the Town. Near this Town, which was situated on this Side of the *Soffa*, General *Ronn* was just arrived with fifteen thousand *Russians* in order to pass the River there, over which he had thrown three floating Bridges; when our *Valoches*, having come up with his Rear-guard, consisting of eight Squadrons, attacked them with so much Valour, that they were pushed into a Defile, where the *Russians* standing their Ground, gave our *Valoches*

so warm a Reception, that they were on the Point of being dispersed; when our van-guard advanced to their Succour, and put the Enemy to Flight, with great Slaughter.

General *Ronn* left behind him at this Pass, a great Number both of Men and Horses, which, by Reason of the Fatigues which they had undergone in all their Marches, were not in a Condition to follow him. The greatest Part of his Baggage was likewise lost, and the Peasants of the neighbouring Countries had five hundred of his Waggon's to their Share; the *Valoches* took eighteen, with a Quantity of Tents, a Number of Horses and Camels. Some Coaches full of the Wives of German Officers fell likewise into their Hands, but after having plundered the Coaches, they let the Ladies go.

General *Goltz* marched some Leagues higher to pass the *Soffa*, and so join the Czar; who, as we have said, was posted at *Micislaw*.

The next Day being the twenty-second of *August*, some hundreds of *Russian* Dragoons having had the Boldness to pass one of their floating Bridges, and post themselves on our Side of the River; his Majesty ordered fifty Men of his Regiment of Guards, who were the nearest at Hand, to march immediately, who obliged them to return the same Way with great Speed, leaving some of their Men behind them. This Detachment of fifty Men likewise lost some, and had others wounded.

It was believed, his Majesty would have pass'd the *Soffa* here; but having left *Czerikowa* on his right, he turned towards *Micislaw*, and advanced a League

League and a half to *Sori*. The next Day the Army marched to *Kulloblin*.

On this Rout we surprized a Detachment of *Goltz's* Army, which we never ceased pursuing; and killed thirty Men and took seven Prisoners.

The same Day a Column of our Army, composed of a Regiment of Artillery, two Regiments of Horse of *Scania*, and a Regiment of Foot of *Sudermanland*, met on their Way a Brigade of the Enemy consisting of eight thousand Men. Colonel *Ornstedt* had no sooner perceived the Enemy, than he advanced instantly with two Squadrons of his Regiment of *South-Scania*, and attacked the Rear of that Brigade with so much Valour, that after having killed about fifty Men, he drove the rest home to the main Body of their Troops.

The Enemy being then posted near a Defile, which they fortified with some field-pieces, they made a Feint of intending to hazard a Battle; but as soon as our Colonel began to playing his Cannon on the Defile; they lost their Courage, and retreated in Haste to *Slabatsko*, two Leagues from thence.

The King having halted one Day at *Kulloblin*, decamped and marched to *Patrinowka*, where *Goltz* would have passed the *Soffa*, but was hindered by our close Pursuit. The King halted one Day, and then came to *Malatiza*.

The Czar, after having quitted *Miscislaw*, kept even Pace with us along the other Side of the *Soffa*, which he passed and repassed at many Places to observe our Motions. At length, on the same Day whereon we arrived at *Patwinowka*, this Prince encamped at

Dobro, on the little River of *Bialana*, one League from *Melexier*, where he intrenched himself to attend the Conjunction of his Forces.

The near Approach of the two Armies occasioned a very smart Battle, which happened some days after our Arrival at *Malatiza*. Major-General *Roos* was encamped with his Column consisting of the Regiment of Horse of *Ostrogoths*, and the Regiments of Foot of *Westrogoths*, *Nerika*, *Westerbohn*, and *Jonkioping*, about half a League from the Head-quarters on the River of *Nappa*, or *Czarnapata*, in a Place secured by very large Bogs, through which his Majesty had determined to pass to attack the Czar; who being informed of the Separation of this Column from the rest of the Army, resolved to surprize them. For this Purpose, he caused a Kind of Ponton to be made with little Trees interwoven in the Form of Mats, in order to throw over the Bogs, into which they likewise cast a Quantity of Fascines; and he ordered the Knez *Gallizin*, with the Generals *Ronn* and *Pflug*, to march at the Head of ten Battalions and three Regiments of Dragoons (all of his best Troops) to attack *Roos*.

This Detachment found great Difficulty in passing the Morals and the River; but having at length accomplished it under the Favour of a thick Fog, which hindered us from perceiving their Approach, they surprized our Regiments at six in the Morning in their Camp, where they attacked us with all possible Fury.

The Regiment of Foot of *Jonkioping*, commanded by *Buchwald*, was first ranged in Order of Battle, and sustained at first among the Tents the edoubled Attacks of the Enemy with

so much Valour, that they gave Time to the *Westrogoths* to advance to their Assistance. The two other Regiments coming at the same Time had their Share in the Business, as well as the Regiment of Horse; the Battle became very bloody and obstinate, and lasted two Hours, with a dreadful Slaughter on both Sides.

The King having heard the Fire, gave immediate Orders to several Regiments to march to the Assistance of *Roos*; to whom he hastened himself, followed by the Prince of *Wurtemberg* and several other Generals, to partake in the Action, which yet continued very brisk. The Regiment of *Dabl-Carlens* arriving the first, made so furious a Discharge on the *Russian* Foot, that they gave Ground, and made a retreating Fight, forming themselves into a long hollow Square towards the Morass, in order to repass it.

At which instant Prince *Wurtemberg* having proposed to his Majesty to attack the Enemy's Flank, the King gave him Orders to take the Regiment of Dragoons of *Hielm*, for that Purpose. These having wheeled a little, dismounted and attacked the Enemy with such terrible Fury (the Regiment of *Dabl-Carlens* under *Siegroth*, pursuing at the same Time their first Blow) that the *Muscovite* Foot endeavoured to save themselves cross the Morass, whither their Cavalry had shewn them the Way. They quitted the Field of Battle with such Precipitation, as differed very little from a Flight or general Rout; and returned into their Camp, leaving great Numbers in the Morass, where they sunk, and were killed by the But-ends of Muskets and Fuzees as soon as the Fog was cleared

up. The Business being at an end, our Regiments returned quietly into their Camp.

We lost many brave Officers on this Occasion, Mr. *Rosenstierna*, Colonel of *Ostrogoth* Horse, was killed at the first Attack, with many other Officers. Count *Jasper Sperling*, and Colonel *Buchwald* were dangerously wounded. Colonel *Arfwidson*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Ulfsparr*, were slightly hurt. We had at most two hundred and sixty one Soldiers killed, and seven hundred and fifty wounded.

The Enemy by their own Confession had six hundred Men killed, without reckoning the wounded, which were more than a thousand. Amongst their Officers of Note who fell on the Spot, were Prince *Dolgoruki*, Colonel *Campen*, Major *Wogeknowski*, and some others.

The *Russians* however loudly proclaimed, that they had got the Advantage; and to impose on the Publick, the Czar honoured the Knez *Repnin* with the Order of St. *Andrew*.

The King of *Sweden* gave an hundred Crowns to a single Soldier, who cast himself into the Bog and killed a *Russian* Officer that had taken a Pair of *Swedish* Colours; and afterwards advanced him on the first Opportunity.

On the third of *September*, having first buried the Dead, the King decamped; and as soon as he had passed *Nappa*, or *Czarnapata*, he encamped at a Quarter of a League from thence, at a Place called *Walowniki*.

The same Day Count *Rheinschild* Velt-Marshal, accompanied with many Generals, went to reconnoitre the Czar's

Czar's Camp; but he found that Prince had quitted *Dobro* two Days before, and was retired towards *Smolensko*, having left behind him some thousand of *Cossacks* who had orders to attend us with a flying Camp.

On the fourth, we came to *Bezvodice*, and the next Day to *Ivony*, always following the Czar's Rout, in order to oblige him at last to stand his Ground; so that we encamped those two Days on the same Spot where the *Russians* had encamped the Evening before. At *Ivony* we halted till the eighth, on which the Army advanced to *Raikowa*.

We shall see the Continuation of this March in the following Letter, written by the Author to the Duke of...

MY LORD,

' I had the Honour to write to your
' Serene Highness, the tenth of *November*, by a Courier, which the
' Field-master *Mazeppa* sent to his
' Majesty the King of *Poland*. That
' Letter was very short; but I had at
' that Time no Opportunity to write
' a longer. I embrace the present Oc-
' casion with Pleasure, since I am now
' able to send your Serene Highness a
' faithful Recital of what hath happen-
' ed to us: for we have hitherto been
' able to give no Account of ourselves,
' whilst our Enemies, as some Letters
' which we have intercepted inform
' us, have not been backward in pub-
' lishing Reports very much to our
' Disadvantage.

' To continue this Journal, I shall
' go back to the Month of *September*,
' and shall begin by entertaining your
' Serene Highness with the Particulars
' of a Rencounter, which his Majesty
' had with a large Detachment of the

' Enemy the tenth of this Month.
' Your Serene Highness is to be in-
' formed, that the Army marched that
' Day in several Columns; for we had
' no open Plains to pass over. When
' we were advanced a League, we
' came to a Bridge near a Mill, which
' the Enemy who had set fire to it, had
' not had Time to burn entirely.

' The Column which the King led
' having pass'd a Bridge, perceived the
' Enemy's Troops on the left. This
' was General *Baver's* Brigade, which
' had attended and observed us during
' our March, which gave the King
' a Desire of chasing them. That
' Column which was placed to the left
' of the Army, ought to have been
' near at Hand; but was so far behind,
' that it could give us no Assistance.
' The King therefore putting himself
' at the Head of the *Ostrogoth* Horse,
' which was of his own Column, hast-
' ened to the Enemy, who had hid
' seventy Squadrons behind some lit-
' tle Woods. The King soon over-
' threw those he attacked, but found
' himself invironed by a greater Num-
' ber, without reckoning *Cossacks* and
' *Calmucks*.

' The Battle became obstinate, and
' the King's Person was never exposed
' to such Danger as now. Whilst the
' Squadron which the King led was
' surrounded on all Sides, and had
' nothing left but to break through
' Sword in Hand, his Majesty's Horse
' was unluckily killed under him. By
' divine Providence, which was care-
' ful to preserve his Majesty, Adjutant-
' General *Tburo Hard*, who fought by
' his side, was killed at that Instant;
' so that the King instantly took his
' Horse, and continued the Battle till
' the

the Arrival of a greater Number of his Troops, who soon decided the Affair, breaking the Enemy and forcing them to give back. Many were killed on both Sides; and Adjutant *Rosenstierna*, whom the King had sent at the Beginning to bring up the Horse, as he was returning at the Head of a Squadron, was wounded, and died a few Hours afterwards.

His Highness the Prince of *Wurtemberg* was that Day in great Danger of being taken Prisoner, he had headed a Squadron and led them to the Charge; but when they came to the Attack, this Prince hurried into the Midst of the Enemy, whom he now saw himself obliged to follow for some Time as one of their own Party. By good Luck, the Smoke and Dust prevented his being known, and when the Troops returned to the Charge, the Prince disengaged himself at the Price of the commanding Officer's Life, into whom he plunged his Sword up to the Hilt; and then giving Spurs to his Horse, re-joined the *Suedes*, the Enemy having sent several Shot after him to no Effect.

Colonel *Dubldorff* distinguished himself very eminently in this Encounter. After our Horse had pursued the Enemy for some Time, the King commanded them to stop at a Morass, which separated the two Parties. We were then advanced a League beyond the Foot, and the Baggage; but his Majesty resolved to return and encamp near the Villages of *Atokki* and *Raikowa*.

We were but half a League's Distance from the Frontiers of *Musco-*

vy; but the Enemy not sparing their own Country, laid all the Towns and Villages in Ashes, destroying every Thing for a Circumference of ten or twelve Miles; so that nothing but Fire was seen any where, and the Air was so darkened with the Smoke, that we could hardly see the Sun.

On the eleventh his Majesty decamped with the Army, and proceeded a League on that Side, where the Battle had been fought the Day before; but past not the Frontiers, coasting along their Side only, and sat down near a Town called *Starichi*, where we staid some Days, as well to give our Army a little Repose, as to procure them some Bread, of which the Scarcity increased considerably. As the Peasants have a Custom among them of keeping all their Corn under Ground, we applied ourselves to seeking it out, grinding it, and making it into Bread; the Cossacks at the same Time giving daily Molestation to our Guards and Foragers.

The Czar with the gross of the *Muscovite* Army, which consisted of Horse, was retired some Leagues off; but Velt-Marshal *Scheremetbof* had gained *Smolensko* with the major Part of the Foot, in his Way to which Place he cut down a Wood, in order to shut out the King from passing through that Country.

The King, who hitherto had flattered himself that he should be able to bring the Czar to a pitch'd Battle, saw by this Play that he should never accomplish it, and that he should suffer too much by advancing any farther; he resolved therefore to penetrate

netrate by another Rout, viz. by the Dutchy of *Severia*, tho' that was difficult, leading through Forests almost impassable.

As it was necessary to get before the Enemy, his Majesty detached Major-General *Lagercrona* with four thousand five hundred Horse and Foot, and six pieces of Cannon, with Orders to advance in the Front towards the Town of *Kruisbow*, and to repair the Roads for facilitating the March of the Army, and also to throw Bridges over the River *Soffa*.

Mr. *Lagercrona* marched out of the Camp of *Starichi* in the Night between the fourteenth and fifteenth of September, and the King followed in the Morning with all the Army, which marched in several Columns. We gained four Leagues that Day, and arrived at the Village of *Bistri-za*, passing through *Milikowa*, whence we had before come. From hence the King continued his March on the sixteenth to *Wolosniki*, and so on the seventeenth to *Horbatka* through the Town of *Malacziza*, where we rested the eighteenth.

From *Horbatka* we marched on the nineteenth to *Kruisbof*, where Mr. *Lagercrona* had laid two Bridges; he was now ordered to go on farther, and cross the shortest of the Forests on that Rout which divided *Severia* from *Lithuania*, to possess himself of the Road, and secure the Passage over the River *Ipoox* (*Obietz* in the Map) whence he was to gain the Town of *Pozzoppo*, which covers the Country on *Smolenkow* Side, through which the Enemy must pass into *Severia*.

The King passed the *Soffa* at *Kruisbof*, the very Day of his Arrival, on which we proceeded three Leagues farther to *Lobza*. After our Passage of the *Soffa*, we entered forthwith into a Wood of above twenty Leagues extent, and where Mr. *Lagercrona* was misled by the Peasants: for having swerved too much to the right, he entirely declined from the Rout which was prescribed him, and fell into that which was ordained to Count *Lowenhaupt*, to whom the King sent Orders to pass the *Soffa* at *Propoisk*.

The King, who marched on the twentieth from *Lobza* to the Village of *Buda* immediately conceived that *Lagercrona* had missed his Way, because he heard no more News of him; so being arrived on the twenty first from *Buda* at *Korkovice* he left his Baggage behind, and advanced with the Regiment of Guards, the *Dabblers*, and the Rear-guard of *Lagercrona's* Party, being three hundred Horse commanded by a Major, who by Accident had taken the right Road.

His Majesty on the twenty second and twenty third proceeded and entered into *Severia*, passing the little River of *Bieser* at a Ford, there being no Bridge. In the first Village called *Niwna*, his Majesty reposed himself, and was joined by the Count and the *Drabans*; but the Baggage followed slowly, being escorted by the Regiment of *Upland* and other Troops.

The King staid not long at *Niwna*; and having sent the Major before with the three hundred Horse of *Lagercrona's* Detachment, to render himself

himself Master of the Pass of the *I-pooz*; he followed very early on the twenty fourth, and encamped near the River *I-pooz*, in the Village of *Drakowa*, two Leagues from *Niwna*. On the twenty fifth, the Bridge over the *I-pooz* being finished, he continued his March a League farther to *Kossinice*, where we came forth from the great Wood, and began to discover a better Country.

The King waited here fifteen Days for his Army, who arrived by Degrees, having suffered a little in the Forest.

The Czar surprised to see his Enemy turn back, flattered himself at first that they were returned into *Litbuania*; but being advertised of his passing the *Sossa* at *Kruischow* he was too much convinced that the King of Sweden intended for *Severia*. As it was his Interest to prevent him, he instantly dispatched Major-General *Island* at the Head of four thousand Horse, with Orders to march Day and Night till he had got before the Swedes, and to throw some Troops into the Towns of *Severia*, which are fortified after the Manner of that Country, with Ramparts overcast with Wood, and a Moat.

This Muscovite General was followed presently by Lieutenant-General *Ronn*, at the Head of six Regiments of Dragoons; and these two Commanders marched above thirty Leagues in three Days. Velt-Marshal *Scheremetshof*, having with him *Goliz*, *Allart*, *Renzel*, and other Generals, followed *Island* and *Ronn*, with that Body of Foot which had en-

camped under *Smolensko*, all marching as fast as possible.

General *Baver*, who was with the Czar's Army, was detached with six thousand Horse, who were to follow close at the Heels of the King. He fell in near the Town of *Kruischof* with our Rear-gard, under the Command of Major-General *Cruus*, which he ordered Major-General *Michos* with two thousand Dragoons to attack. *Michos* was so smartly received by Lieutenant-Colonel *Grotshusen*, who made Head against him with some few Squadrons only, that he lost three hundred Men on the Spot; after which, retreating with Precipitation, he had no Stomach to a second Attack.

The Czar who had kept his best Troops with him, knowing that General *Lowenhaupt* had not yet joined the King's Army, and that this General was in full March to pass the *Dnieper*, resolved to go and attack him, and to cut off his March towards *Sossa*, which *Lowenhaupt* had Orders to pass at *Propoisk*, or elsewhere if he had found it more convenient.

Lowenhaupt, who passed the *Dnieper* on the twenty second and twenty third of September, drawing according to his Orders directly towards the *Sossa*, though he doubted not but that the Enemy would attack him.

On the twenty sixth the Van-guard of the Enemy appeared; and the twenty seventh and twenty eighth passed in little Skirmishes, wherein the Enemy was always beaten. On the twenty ninth, Count *Lowenhaupt* having gained some Ground of them, notwithstanding the heavy Baggage,

‘Baggage, and Quantity of Waggon
‘loaded with Provisions for three
‘Months, which he drew after him,
‘was at no greater Distance than two
‘Leagues from *Propoisk*, when the
‘grofs of the Enemy’s Army presented
‘itself before him, and against which
‘he made Head, as your Serene High-
‘ness will see by the following Rela-
‘tion which I have the Honour to
‘send you.”

A true Relation of the bloody Battle fought near Liefna in the Palatinate of Micislaw, two Leagues from Propoisk, between the Troops of his Swedish Majesty, commanded by Count Adam-Lewis Lowenhaupt, and the Russian Army commanded by his Czarish Majesty and his principal Generals, on the twenty ninth of September 1708.

After Count *Lowenhaupt* had received Orders to pass with his Army thro’ *Propoisk* and *Starodub*, in order to go and join his Majesty, he passed the *Dnieper* the twenty first and twenty third of *September* near *Sklow*, over a Bridge of Boats, though the Czar who lay with his Army near *Horki*, *Drebben* and *Romanow*, ten Leagues from *Sklow*, might have easily disputed the Passage.

The first Day this General pursued his March without any Molestation from the Enemy; but on the next some of their Troops appeared, and on the twenty fifth about two thousand Dragoons approached to attack our Rear-guard, which consisted of three hundred Horse, and as many Foot; but as soon as our Rear-guard faced about to receive them, they durst not

attack us, but retired in Haste.

On the twenty sixth the Army arrived near *Bieliza*, which is a very difficult and dangerous Pass. Here the Enemy appeared in great Numbers. General *Lowenhaupt* gave Orders to place the Baggage in the Front, where it proceeded with a Number of Troops to guard it, and he followed himself at the Head of the Regiments. The same Order was observed on the twenty seventh.

As we were now informed that all the Enemy’s Cavalry was at Hand, the Count *de Lowenhaupt* presently ranged his own on two Lines, and placed his Foot in the Rear in a Valley where they were hid from the Enemy: When the Battle was begun, these were to enter at some Openings which the Horse left between the Squadrons. This Disposition disconcerted the Enemy, who were ranged in order of Battle, and did not expect this Motion. General *Lowenhaupt*, who instantly perceived the Order in which they stood, went to the right, and Major-General *Stackelberg* to the left, and marched at the same Time with the two Lines to attack the Enemy, who turned their Backs and ran away full Speed. We followed them half a League without being able to overtake them; but Lieutenant-Colonel *Zoge*, who was in our Front with some Squadrons, and who briskly pursued their Rear-guard, had the good Fortune to overtake some of the hindmost, of whom he killed many, and brought off eight Prisoners.

We learnt from the Prisoners, that the Horse we had pursued was commanded by *Menzikof* and *Pflug*, who led the Van; and that the Czar follow-

ed with the whole Army. This made *Lowenhaupt* resolve to pursue his Way, which he did, with a thousand Difficulties, on account of the continual Defiles, and the deep and almost unpassable Morasses, which very much retarded his March, and occasioned the General to give Orders to his Troops to lie this Night on their Arms in the open Field, to be ready on any Accident.

The Enemy hastened their March to that Degree, that on the twenty eighth in the Morning they began a fresh Attack on our Rear-guard, which received them so briskly, not only by the Fire of their small Arms, but likewise from their Cannon, (having placed two Pieces behind a Defile, thro' which their March lay) that they could make no Impression, and were at last obliged to let us follow our March; and though the Enemy afterwards tried at different Places, especially on a Bridge which our Men had laid over a little River, to attack us with all their Force, they were nevertheless every where repulsed with great Valour, though they had already received their Cannon, and tho' the Czar was come up with all the Foot.

After we had placed the Baggage in a safe Situation, the Horse marched first, and then the Foot, drawing towards *Liesna*, where we arrived at four in the Evening, and encamped here on a narrow Spot of Ground. The General immediately ordered the Troops which formed the Van-guard, to set about repairing the Bridges over the Morass, which was near our Camp, and to repair the Roads through a Wood, where the Enemy had thrown

down a great Quantity of Trees, that he might open and render the Rout to *Propoisk* more commodious for the next Day.

As we were apprised, while we were taking these Measures, that some of the Enemy's Troops had already posted themselves at *Propoisk*, and that some other Detachments were passing by us, General *Lowenhaupt* thought proper, on the twenty ninth at Break of Day, to detach Quarter-Master-General *Brask* with seven hundred Horse and Foot drawn out of different Regiments, together with the Regiment of Foot of *Abo Lebn*, and the Dragoons of *Carelia* and *Schreiterfeldt*. These Troops had orders to advance in the Front, and were followed by half the Baggage, and that Detachment which was to guard it. Next marched the Regiment of Horse of *Abo Lebn*, the Dragoons of Colonel *Skog*, and Colonel *Leyon* with the Battalion of *Nyland*, who were followed by the other half of the Baggage. The rest of the Army remained on the Borders of the Wood, to watch the Motions of the Enemy, and prevent their attacking the Baggage.

The Enemy had found Means to defile and draw up all their Forces in order of Battle in the Wood, which, not being very thick, afforded Room enough for their Troops. They came out upon us all at once, without our expecting them, and began their Attack about eleven o'clock.

Our General after visiting the Ground and viewing the Situation of the Field of Battle, drew up his Foot facing the Wood, and being himself dismounted at the Head of his own Regiment of Foot, and the Battalions of

Helsingois

Helsingois and *Abo Lehn*, he led them on, ordering the other Regiments to second him; as likewise all the Troops which were on this Side the Pass near the Baggage to join him. When they were at about Musquet-shot Distance from the Enemy, the General mounted and rode towards the Horse, who at the same Time with the Foot attacked the Enemy with such Fury and Success, that they were forthwith compelled to give Ground, and were at last driven out of the Wood where we took four Pieces of Cannon.

So happy a Beginning extremely animated the Troops, and made them hope for a speedy Defeat of the Enemy. But as they were infinitely our Superiours in Number, and were every Moment bringing up fresh Troops against us, it happened by Mistake, and through the Fault of an Officer, that the *Swedes*, who were already Masters of the Wood, instead of being seconded according to the General's Orders, were led back during his Absence over the Plain towards those other Regiments who were advancing to support them. This not only occasioned some Confusion, but gave the Enemy, who were reinforced by fresh Troops, an Opportunity to repossess themselves of the Wood, and to point their Cannon.

Count *Lowenhaupt*, in despair at this Mistake, had now no other Course left him but to advance his Artillery, which struck such a Terror into the *Russians*, that they retired, and did not dare to make use of their Advantage. Colonel *Wrangle* was afterwards ordered to attack the Enemy's fresh Body with all the Regiments of Foot that were present, in order to drive

them out of the Wood. On our Attempt to penetrate into the Wood, the *Muscovites* came forth on the Plain, forming themselves into four Lines of Foot, which were ranged behind one another. We attacked them with such Fury, that having staggered the first Line, we drove them back on the second, which pushed back the others; being thus driven into the Wood, where they met with a Support of fresh Troops; and having Advantage of the Trees and the Bushes, it was impossible for our Foot, notwithstanding all the Efforts they made, to push them farther.

Whilst our Foot were performing Wonders, our Horse overthrew the Enemy's Squadrons as often as they advanced to the Charge, and often pushed them as far as the Wood, where they were always supported by their Foot, without whose Assistance they would have come very ill off.

This Battle lasted from Noon till Night, in which the Enemy was always driven back into the Woods with great Loss, as often as they came forth, notwithstanding the fresh Troops which they brought up against us, and which were continually relieved. There were three principal Actions, the Foot returning every Time ranged in four Lines, and the Horse which formed the two Wings in five or six, whilst we had only a single Line to oppose them with, the rest of our Troops having, as is already said, gone forward with the Baggage. This Line moreover was not long enough to prevent the Enemy's flanking it, which did not fail to happen during the three Actions, in which six thousand *Swedes* sustained from the Beginning a most

dreadful Fire, from an Army five times at least their superiors in Number, reckoning only the *Muscovites*.

In the first Action, when the Enemy's Foot attempted to follow the *Swedish* Regiments which were drawn back, as we have said, out of the Wood into the Plain, without the Knowledge of the General, and contrary to his Orders, our Horse fell on them Sword in Hand, and routed them in such a Manner, that quitting their Ranks they fled with Precipitation into the Wood. The Enemy's Horse being advanced behind to support the Foot, had the same Fate, and were driven back with like Force a great Way among the Trees, without giving them Time to recover their Order, till they were at last supported by their Foot.

In the second Action, the *Swedish* Foot, as we have seen, not only overthrew the four Lines of Foot on the Plain, but pursued them a great Way within the Wood; where the Enemy bringing up fresh Troops, and making Use of their Cannon, obliged our Regiments to retreat, which they did however in good Order. Our Horse at the same Time repulsed those of the Enemy with equal Success; though some of our Squadrons being advanced too far into the Wood, suffered a little from the Enemy's Foot.

At the third general Shock, the Enemy made their last and greatest Efforts, leading on fresh Troops just arrived to attack our six thousand *Swedes*, who quite spent with Fatigue, and being so much their Inferiours in Number, could not hinder them from making themselves Masters of the Pass towards *Propoisk*; but when our Regi-

ments which had marched in the Front, and were already advanced a League and a half, having received Orders to turn back to our Assistance, had returned and joined us; we attacked the Enemy all together with so much Valour, that they were put to flight, and lost on this Occasion seventeen Standards, and two pair of Kettle-Drums, which we took in the Rout. At the same time our Cannons, which were charged with Musquet-balls, made such terrible Havock, especially on a Regiment which was cloathed in green, and advanced beyond the others, that the Ground was covered over with dead Bodies, very few escaping.

After this Battle, the General having drawn up his Army, stood on the Field till very late at Night, to see if the Enemy had any farther Design of attacking him; but they were too much dismayed by the last Action, seeing that all their Efforts which had cost them so many Lives had been fruitless; for they were forced to abandon the Field of Battle: they began therefore to retreat, first with the left Wing of their Army, and afterwards with all their Foot, penetrating farther into the Wood where they kindled several Fires.

This Retreat of the Enemy caused a Resolution in General *Lowenhaupt*, who thought not proper to attack them again on this Spot, to continue his March; hoping to find on his Rout a more advantageous Ground, in case that the Enemy had a Desire to follow him, and to give him Battle a second Time. So after having stood some Hours in order of Battle, he caused Vespers to be said quietly, and then gave Orders to the Regiments to desile one after another

another into the Road. This was all executed in good Order; nor did the Enemy, who was drawn up in Battalia hard by, and saw all that was done, dare to molest us in the least Degree.

As several Waggon's had run foul of each other during the Darkness of the Night, by which they stopt up the Way, and hindered the March of one Part of the Artillery which had served in the Battle and could not come on, the General ordered the Cannons to be sunk in the Bogs, that the March might not be retarded. Near *Propoisk* our Regiments joined the greatest Part of the Baggage which was sent before; but as the Enemy had reduced this little Town to Ashes, and as we could not find any Wood to build a Bridge, and the Enemy's Troops began to appear facing us, the General took a Resolution to turn on one Side; and reflecting on the Difficulty of dragging along with him a vast Quantity of Baggage, with which he was to pass three Rivers, and Woods of twenty Leagues in length, where the Enemy might always stop him by every Moment harassing and retarding his March, he ordered the best Part of the Baggage, and such as could conveniently be carried on, to be preserved, and the rest with all the Waggon's to be destroyed. This was executed directly, and the General having distributed the Baggage Horses among the Foot, continued his Journey.

It was impossible on this Occasion to hinder several of the Soldiers and Servants from intoxicating themselves with Wine, Brandy and other Liquors, which occasioned them to lie behind, and for the most part fall into the

Hands of the Cossacks; and I believe, one might safely say, that these were almost the only Prisoners made by the Enemy during the whole March.

Before we had quitted *Propoisk*, an Alarm was spread of the Enemy's Approach. The General instantly ordered some Regiments to face about, which ranged themselves in order of Battle near the Town on a little Plain; but when he saw that they were only the Cossacks, he ordered his Men to defile through the Wood, all along the Side of the River, with Hopes to find an easy Place to pass the *Sossa*, which he did near the Village of *Glewfsna*, four Leagues from *Propoisk*, where five hundred Horse swam over easily the same Night.

The next Day being the first of *October*, the rest of the Troops swam over likewise; and now the whole Army having passed the River, the General pursued his March very commodiously thro' those great Woods, and passed the Rivers of *Biesez* and *Ipacs* without any Opposition; and being at last arrived in the great Plains of *Siberia*, he rested his Troops.

As soon as General *Lowenhaupt* de-camped on the tenth, to join his Majesty, General *Von Worden* attacked us with four thousand Horse; but was so well received that he retired in Confusion, after having lost upwards of four thousand Men, who were killed on the Spot. After this Rencontre, the General arrived the same Evening at *Turkowa*, where he found a Swedish Party arrived there before him, and on the thirteenth he joined the King at *Rukowa*, which was the Head Quarters.

The Loss of the Enemy in the above-

bove mentioned Battle was considerable. *Schultz*, the *Muscovite* Adjutant-General, who was taken Prisoner some Time afterwards, confess'd, that it amounted to upwards of six thousand Men, who were kill'd on the Spot; without reckoning the wounded, which were a much greater Number. *Menzikoff's* Brigade, consisting of six Regiments, was almost entirely destroyed; as were the Regiments of the Czar's Guards of *Preobrasinski*, and *Semenofski*, which suffered terribly. Amongst the Persons of Note, the Prince of *Hesse-Darmstadt*, General *Baver*, and a great Number of Officers were wounded, and the first died of his Wounds. We had near three thousand Men killed, with many Officers of Distinction.

Count *Lowenbaupt* performed on this Occasion, whatever was in the Power of Valour or Conduct, exposing himself in all Places where the Fire was most violent. He received two Wounds, which did not however prevent him from staying in the Battle till it was over.

It is certainly a Truth, that our Troops never fought with more Bravery and Firmness, notwithstanding the extraordinary Inequality of Numbers, than on this Day; six thousand Men having sustained the whole Efforts of more than thirty thousand, without staggering or losing one Foot of Ground, from Noon till Night; and tho' the Field of Battle was marshy, and also very close and streight; and that during the Fight itself, the Wind drove both Hail and Snow into the Eyes of our Soldiers, they defended themselves, notwithstanding all these Disadvantages, like Lions till

the Night: so that we must have obtained a compleat Victory, if we had had more Room to act in, and if the General could have departed from the King's Orders, and instead of following his Majesty, as his Instructions were, through Woods and grievous Defiles, where it was easy for the Enemy to cut us off and harraß us every Minute, could have waited for them and attacked them with all his Forces on an advantagious Ground in an open Field. All those who were present at this bloody Battle, thought they could neve sufficiently admire how gloriously our Troops delivered themselves out of such difficult Straits.

Other Historians relate this Action more in favour of the Czar, who is said to have gotten a complete Victory, and to have possessed himself of a vast Quantity of the *Swedish* Waggons; and that *Lowenbaupt*, who is agreed to have made a fine Retreat, brought no more than the fourth Part of his Men to the King. An Account, I think, not so probable as that given by our Author: for if this Army had been so nearly destroyed, it must have been an unpardonable Fault either in the Czar and his Generals, to have suffered those few shattered Remains to have joined the King in an orderly Retreat.

I shall only add, *My Lord*, to this Relation, that Prince *Menzikoff* being ordered to follow Count *Lowenbaupt* and enter *Severia* on that Side, passed the *Soffa* near *Hommel*, and entered the Gountry through *Czernikow*. As to the Czar, he returned to *Smolensko* with the rest of his Army, and the Wounded, which were a great many.

‘ I have told your Serene Highness, that his Majesty spent fifteen Days at *Kossinice*. This Village is situated at the Entry of a great Wood, twelve Leagues from *Starodub*, and seven from *Potschopo*. Notwithstanding our utmost Diligence, the Enemy, if they did not get before us, at least entered along with us into the Country. The first Step which *Island* took, was to possess himself instantly of *Starodub* and *Potschopo*, to observe the future March of the *Swedes*, and burn all the Villages through which they were to pass.

‘ We were some Days at *Kossinice* before we had any News of Major-General *Lagercrona*, who instead of going out of the Wood near *Potschopo*, went out two Leagues from *Starodub*; so that the Enemy had Time to take all their Measures of Precaution, before his Arrival: when he afterwards took his Rout to join the King, he received Orders to return towards *Starodub*, in order to watch the Motions of the *Muscovites* who were fortifying themselves more and more, and to endeavour to prevent them from burning the Villages. Colonel *Hamilton* was detached to join *Lagercrona* with a thousand Horse, that he might be in the better Condition to put a Stop to the Defolation which the Enemy were making.

‘ The King decamped from *Kossinice* the eleventh of *October*, and taking the Road to the *Ukrain*, he advanced the first Day three Leagues to *Bialaborst*, where he remained till the twelfth. The Army marched in different Columns, all led by Major-Generals. From *Bialaborst* we went

‘ the thirteenth to *Ruchowa*, where Count *Lowenbaupt* with his Troops joined the King. The March was continued on the fourteenth from *Ruchowa* to *Skolkow*, where the King commanded Colonel *Albedbyl* with twelve Squadrons to cover his March to the right, where *Menzikof* was, and to hinder the Enemy from burning the Country through which he was to pass.

‘ On the sixteenth of *October*, we marched from *Skolkow* two Leagues to *Czerenkowa*. On the eighteenth the King passed by the Town of *Starodub* to the right; the rest of the Army passing at the same Time on the left Side of it. We made three Leagues to *Kartuczina*. The Enemy which was in *Starodub* came out that Day, and did some Mischief to our Baggage.

‘ From *Kartuczina* we went on the nineteenth to *Panorofka*, where we rested some Days. Here Mr. *Lagercrona* returned with his Party.

‘ Velt-Marshall *Scheremetbof* in the mean Time having entered the Country with his Foot, and having under him the Generals *Goltz*, *Allart*, *Renzel* and others, kept up even with the King’s Army on the left, without daring to attack us; so that nothing remarkable passed, unless that General *Island* having with four Regiments of Dragoons taken Possession of a Pass near that Column, which was led by General *Creutz*, this General ordered Colonel *Hamilton*, who had now joined him with his Detachment, to attack *Island*. *Hamilton* forced the Pass, killed many of his Men, and put the rest to Flight.

‘ The Enemy seeing the Rout which the

the King of Sweden had taken, failed not to throw some Troops into *Novogorod, Sewierski*, the Capital of the Province, and fortified like the other Places; so that General *Creutz*, whom the King ordered to make himself Master of it, came too late, the Enemy having been before-hand with him. He was then ordered, with General *Cruus*, to attend the Motions of *Scheremetz*; who, fearing an Attack, cast Bridges over the river *Dezna*, and made his Army pass over.

The Enemy left off burning, that they might not incense the Cossacks; and so much the rather as the Swedes did no such Thing, and as they saw that all the dreadful Waste they had committed could not stop the King of Sweden's March thro' a Country which abounded with many good Things, and especially Forage; which the King's Cavalry, utterly fatigued with the terrible March they had made, did not lose the Advantage of, tho' they were in Motion.

The King of Sweden's Rout towards the *Ukrain* was very agreeable to *Mazeppa*, Great General of the Cossacks; who being very ill satisfied with the Czar's Government, had formed a Design to shake off the Yoke, and throw himself into the Protection of the King of Sweden. But as great Circumspection was necessary, he had trusted this Design only to two or three principal Men of the Country, of whose Fidelity he was persuaded; and to conceal his Game the better, he had sent his Nephew *Woniowski* to Prince *Menzikof*, at the Time when he approached *Czernikow* after the Battle

with *Lowenbaupt*, to assure the Czar of his Submission and Fidelity, and to excuse his not coming himself, on the account of a Distemper, which he used as a Pretence.

Mazeppa very dexterously employed a *Livonian*, a Subject of the King of Sweden, who having been made a Prisoner at the Beginning of the War, had been transported into this Country, where he had since lived with his Family. This Man was sent secretly, accompanied by one of his Relations, with necessary Instructions to insinuate *Mazeppa's* Intentions to the King. These arrived when his Majesty was at *Panarofka*, and were presently dispatched according to their Wishes.

But whether *Menzikof* had any Intelligence of *Mazeppa's* Design, or whether he only doubted it, *Woniowski*, soon perceived that he had no good Inclination, either to him or to his Uncle; and being warned at the same Time to keep on his Guard, he resolved to set out without taking leave. At his Return *Mazeppa* pretended to be very much displeased at the young Man's Conduct, and complained thereof to a *Muscovite* Colonel, who was always about him by the Czar's Orders, to watch his Actions: desiring him to go and make his Excuse to Prince *Menzikof*, and to endeavour to remove all those Suspicions which he might have conceived against him.

The Colonel, deceived by these Pretences, went to wait on *Menzikof*; and *Mazeppa*, charmed at the Removal of his over-looker, left a Garrison in *Baturin*, which was his

his Residence, with Orders to the Commandant, to defend the Place to the last Extremity; and went himself over the *Dezna*, in the Company of four or five thousand Men, being the principal Persons of the Country.

The King of *Sweden*, who advanced towards the same River, marched the twenty-second from *Panarofka* to *Mazovobuta*; from whence on the twenty third of *October*, he proceeded to *Larinofka*; and, on the twenty-fifth, came to *Horki*, passing near the Town of *Novogrod Sewieeski*, where General *Ronn* commanded.

As to *Mazeppa*, after having passed the *Dezna*, he drew directly towards the *Swedish* Quarters, the Troops which he had with him believing that he intended to attack them; but when he was within a little Distance he disclosed his Design, which none of them opposed. He afterwards advanced to a Village, where were the Colonels *Hielm* and *Gyllenstierna*, with their Regiments of Dragoons, who were a little alarmed.

Mazeppa having sent one to the *Swedes* to notify his Arrival, Colonel *Hielm* was prevailed on with great Difficulty to believe the Messenger, imagining it a Snare laid for him. He ordered his Troops to mount their Horses, and as he had in his Regiment an *Italian* Captain, named *De Saxe*, who had some Time served the *Muscovites*, and who personally knew *Mazeppa*, he sent him to him, with some Dragoons, to enquire into the Bottom of the Affair. The Captain returned, and reported that

Mazeppa was there in Person, whom *Hielm* then received with all suitable Honours. The *Cossack-General* remained there the next Day, being the twenty-eighth; on which he obliged his Chiefs to confirm their Confederacy by a solemn Oath. Colonel *Hielm* sent immediately Advice of this Matter to the King, who was but three Leagues off; and who gave forthwith Orders to prepare Quarters for *Mazeppa* half a League from *Horki*, where he arrived the same Evening.

The next Day was fixed for *Mazeppa's* Audience. He arrived at the Court, accompanied with the Chiefs of the Country, viz. the Quarter-Master-General, the Chief Judge, the Chancellor, the two Aide-Camp Generals, and several Colonels. His Train consisted of a thousand Persons, and before him was carried the two Ensigns of his Dignity, namely, an Horse's Tail and a General's Truncheon.

Mazeppa being come into the King's Presence, harangued him in *Latin*. His Discourse was short, but well pointed. He beseeched his Majesty to protect the *Cossacks*, and gave God Thanks that he had been pleased to deliver them from that Slavery, with which they had been for some Time threatened by the *Czar*. He afterwards kiss'd the King's Hand; and as he was troubled with the Gout, he was permitted to sit down, while the King remained standing, and reasoned with him.

Mazeppa, is a Man of sixty-four Years of Age, of a middle Stature and thin, with a stern look, and wearing his Mustaches after the *Po-*

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‘ *lish* Manner; he is nevertheless of
 ‘ a very pleasant Temper, and delights
 ‘ much in making Jest. He speaks
 ‘ very properly, and there is much
 ‘ good Sense in all he says; he hath
 ‘ studied formerly, and speaks the *La-*
 ‘ *tin* Tongue very well. His Charac-
 ‘ ter approaches very near to that of
 ‘ the late Grand Treasurer *Sapieba*,
 ‘ whom your Serene Highness hath
 ‘ seen in *Saxony*.

‘ The King was much pleased with
 ‘ his Conversation, which he suffered
 ‘ him to continue till Noon, some-
 ‘ times on more serious Matters, in
 ‘ Presence of his Excellency Count
 ‘ *Piper*, and the two Secretaries of
 ‘ State; sometimes in the Company of
 ‘ the principal Officers and Cossack-
 ‘ Ministers, who had the Permission
 ‘ to come into the King’s Presence,
 ‘ and to kiss his Hand. When the
 ‘ Hour of Dinner was come, the
 ‘ King sat down at Table, and with
 ‘ him *Mazeppa* and his Officers of
 ‘ the first Rank. Besides the King’s
 ‘ Table, there were two great Tables
 ‘ prepared for the Cossack-Ministers,
 ‘ who were likewise invited by Count
 ‘ *Piper* and *Rheinschild*.

‘ After Dinner the King returned to
 ‘ his Chamber, whither *Mazeppa* had
 ‘ the Horse’s-Tail brought, which he
 ‘ shewed to the King, and laid at his
 ‘ Majesty’s Feet, as a Token of his
 ‘ Submission: he then retired, and
 ‘ when he mounted his Horse his
 ‘ Trumpets sounded, which brought
 ‘ all his People together to attend him,
 ‘ who all gave great Demonstration of
 ‘ Respect to his Person.

‘ *Mazeppa* now received Advice,
 ‘ that a *Muscovite* Party had been
 ‘ commanded to surprise him; and

‘ that the same Party had carried off
 ‘ some Waggon belonging to his
 ‘ Troops near the *Dezna*. The King
 ‘ ordered Colonel *Dabldorff* the same
 ‘ Evening with six hundred Horse and
 ‘ three hundred Cossacks, to repair
 ‘ to *Blonia* on the *Dezna*, five Leagues
 ‘ from his Majesty’s Quarters, to watch
 ‘ the Motions of the Enemy, and co-
 ‘ ver the Right of the Army.

‘ The rest remained at *Horki* from
 ‘ the twenty fifth of *October*, to the
 ‘ last of this Month. Velt-Mar-
 ‘ shal *Scheremetshof* was posted with his
 ‘ Troops along the *Dezna*, with De-
 ‘ sign to prevent the King of Sweden’s
 ‘ Passage.

‘ On the thirty-first of *October* the
 ‘ King decamped from *Horki* with
 ‘ his Column, and went a League and
 ‘ a half to *Ignotoska*; and having re-
 ‘ solved to throw Bridges over the Ri-
 ‘ ver at one League from thence, at
 ‘ the Village of *Mezin*, however great
 ‘ the Difficulty was, with which he
 ‘ was to struggle to get at this Place,
 ‘ he would not decline his Purpose.
 ‘ He went attended by the Prince of
 ‘ *Wurtemberg* and Major-General *Ax-*
 ‘ *el Sparre*, and followed by his Regi-
 ‘ ment of Foot-guards, and by the
 ‘ *Dahl Carlers* Foot to order the Passage.

‘ The Column under *Sparre* having
 ‘ soon joined them, they fell present-
 ‘ ly to work on the Bridges; but the
 ‘ Frost coming upon them, so filled
 ‘ the River with Cakes of Ice, that
 ‘ nothing was to be done that Day.
 ‘ As this gave the Enemy Time, and
 ‘ the King imagined they would not
 ‘ fail to come and dispute the Passage
 ‘ with him, his Majesty placed twenty-
 ‘ eight pieces of Cannon on some ri-
 ‘ sing Ground bordering on his Side
 ‘ of

of the River, and which commanded the Country on the other Side.

We soon discovered the Enemy, who did not however, for fear of our Cannon, approach while it was Day-light; but as Night came on, they took the Advantage of some Bushes, with which the Banks on their Side were furnished: so that on the first of *November* in the Morning, we perceived they had raised a Battery on the left of our Artillery. The Enemies Fire was very weak, the Gros of their Troops keeping always at a Distance, our Cannon being very successfully discharged on them as often as they ventured to approach.

The second was the Day, destin'd by the King for the Passage; but as the Batteries of the Enemy hindered us from attempting the River where its Banks were most easy to be climbed up on the other Side, and where it was our Business to post some of our Men; we were obliged to seek after another Place, which by its Difficulty render'd this perhaps the most extraordinary Passage that ever was.

You must know, my Lord, that the Hill on which the Cannon were placed, was very steep, and the Space between the Hill and the River very narrow on that Side; the King nevertheless ordered his Troops to descend here, not only those who were to pass, but those who were to build the Floats; for Boats we had none.

The Officers and Soldiers having slid down the Hill on their hinder Parts, made some Floats or Pontons at the Foot of it. There then passed over

some Men, who fastened the Cords or Cables on the other Side, which was to serve them for passing and re-passing; this being done, we began by carrying over fifteen or twenty Soldiers on each Float: so that towards the Evening six hundred Men, namely, two hundred *Westmanlanders* and four hundred *Finnos* had passed with Major-General *Stakelberg* at their Head, who under him Lieutenant-Colonel *Sacken von Oesel*, and Major *Starenshyck*.

The Enemy had hitherto undertaken nothing, they had only made a few Motions; but at Night, they approached with six or seven Battalions, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Allart*. This General divided his Troops, and made one Party advance to the Right and the other to the Left, to assail the *Swedes* on both Sides; to whom he marched up with a long March, the better to avoid the Fire of the Cannon, which was discharged with great Success.

Stakelberg, who had taken Possession of the Bushes, was ordered to advance to the Left with the *Finnos*, to attack the Enemy's Battery. By this Means there was some Distance of Ground between him and the *Westmanlanders*. The Enemy in the mean Time being got within shot, and the Night growing so dark that they could no longer distinguish each other, the *Swedes* kept themselves as close as possible.

The Enemy then began first to discover themselves by a Volley of their small Arms, without however being able to see any of us, and the Grenadiers

Grenadiers being posted opposite this vacant Space between the two Parties under *Stakelberg*, threw their Granades, all which fell into the River without doing any Mischief.

On the other Hand Major *Starenfych*, who commanded the *Westmanlanders*, and who had the first Engagement with the *Muscovites*, discerned the Enemy plainly by the Light of their own Fire. He returned their Fire therefore with much Vigour, and much more Success. In the Interval other Troops continued to pass over, while Major-General *Stakelberg* returned to support them. The Firing lasted three Hours with hardly any Discontinuance; so that the Powder failing in the End, each Soldier having fired upwards of thirty Times, his Majesty ordered the rest of the Troops to pass over. In the mean while, the *Swedes* repulsed the Enemy Sword-in-hand, for they had no more Powder, and hindered them from cutting off their Return to the River, where the *Muscovites* endeavoured to lay hold on the Ropes to which the Floats were fastened.

The great Obstinacy with which the *Swedes* maintained their Post, at last repelled the Enemy; who, superior as they were in Number, retreated in Confusion, fearing that they might be pursued; which however they were not, unless by our Cannon, which fired very briskly on their Retreat.

The *Muscovites* had six hundred Men killed, and more than a thousand wounded, according to their own Confession; and we had but thirty killed, and seventy or there-

abouts wounded. Two of the King's Adjutant Generals were amongst the wounded, namely *Ogilvi* and *Duwald*, who past and repast with his Majesty's Orders; the former died two Days afterwards.

We being now Masters of the Passage, the King employed the next Day in finishing two Bridges. General *Raas*, who was a League lower down, had Orders to make one to pass with his Column; and the whole Army passed the River at these two Places.

Whilst we were busy in passing the *Dezna*, the Czar was come post from *Smolensko* to join his Army, imagining that the King of *Sweden* designed to succour the Town of *Baturin*: For which *Mazeppa* feared the more, as it was in a very bad State of Defence, tho' he had left a very reasonable Number of Troops there. The Fortifications of this Place were in a very tattered State, and were built in the ordinary Manner of that Country, where the strongest Place could at best pass but for what the *French* call a *Bicoque*. *Mazeppa* would have repaired it some Years ago, but was always hindered by the Creatures of the Czar, who desired that *Mazeppa* should not have any strong Place in his Possession. These therefore dissuaded him from it, alledging for their Reason, that he had no Occasion to lay out his Money this Way; for his Czarish Majesty was strong enough to defend him from all the Insults of his Enemies.

The Czar desirous to be revenged on *Mazeppa*, against whom he had published a dreadful Manifesto, gave Orders

‘ Orders for the immediate Attack of
‘ his Capital before the *Swedes* could
‘ come to his Assistance. To which
‘ Purpose, *Menzikof*, who was not
‘ far from it, suddenly invested it with
‘ some thousand Men, and gave an
‘ Assault on the third of *November*;
‘ his Troops took it Sword-in-hand
‘ without much Loss, and after an in-
‘ human Massacre, without sparing
‘ Sex or Age, they carried away the
‘ Women who remained alive, with
‘ all the Cannon which amounted to
‘ forty Pieces, without reckoning the
‘ Mortars; and then reduced the Town
‘ to Ashes, together with the Mills
‘ which were on the *Sem*, after having
‘ first plundered every thing in the most
‘ barbarous Manner. Part of the Gar-
‘ rison saved themselves over the River
‘ *Sem*, and had the good luck to es-
‘ cape; but the Commandant was ta-
‘ ken and treated very cruelly. He
‘ was a Native of *Prussia*, and his
‘ Name was *Konigseck*.

‘ The King of *Sweden* having pas-
‘ sed the *Dezna*, continued his March
‘ towards the River *Sem*, and advanc-
‘ ed the sixth of *November* to *Czieplof-*
‘ *ka*. On the seventh, his Majesty
‘ continued his March to *Lucknowa*;
‘ and from thence repaired on the
‘ eighth to *Otiusa*. In this Village
‘ the Peasants who had fled away, as
‘ the other Inhabitants of the Country
‘ did, seeing his Majesty’s Approach
‘ came forth and presented him a large
‘ Loaf with Salt, as a Token of their
‘ Confidence.

‘ The King halted here till the rest
‘ of the Army had past the *Dezna*. He
‘ afterwards followed his Rout, and
‘ passed the *Sem* the twelfth, near the
‘ Town of *Baturin*; where they saw

‘ with Horror the dreadful Destruction
‘ that had been committed, the very
‘ Air being infected with the Stench
‘ of dead Bodies, some of which were
‘ half burnt. His Majesty advanced
‘ two Leagues and a half to *Horodiska*,
‘ where he stopt some Days.

‘ Here *Mazeppa*’s People brought
‘ an Adjutant-General of Prince *Men-*
‘ *zikof*, whom they had taken at *Przi-*
‘ *luki*. His Name was *Schuliz*, and
‘ he was a Native of *Prussia*. He was
‘ dispatched from the Czar with Let-
‘ ters to King *Augustus*, to desire that
‘ Prince to return into *Poland*, seeing
‘ he had no more to fear from the King
‘ of *Sweden*, who was now reduced to
‘ the last Extremity. Several Letters
‘ were found upon him directed to the
‘ Chancery, all full of vulgar Invec-
‘ tives and *Muscovite* Rodomontades, to
‘ persuade the Publick of many Things
‘ to our Disadvantage, at which the
‘ King laughed much when he read
‘ them.

‘ As soon as the Czar was joined by
‘ *Menzikof*, he retired on the Fron-
‘ tiers of his Dominions to *Glukow* on
‘ the River *Leszianan*, between the Ri-
‘ vers of *Dezna* and *Sem*, where he
‘ waited for several new Regiments
‘ from *Muscovy*, which amounted on
‘ their Arrival to twenty thousand
‘ Men. He had with him some thou-
‘ sand Cossacks, who preserved their
‘ Fidelity; and as he was very desirous
‘ of gaining over the rest, he thought
‘ proper to begin by deposing *Mazeppa*,
‘ which was performed with great
‘ Ceremony in the Town of *Baturin*,
‘ as soon as it was taken. They pre-
‘ pared for this Purpose a Scaffold, on
‘ which his Effigies drest in the blue
‘ String of the Order of St. *Andrew*,
‘ was

‘ was first stript of that Order, then
‘ thrown down, and afterwards hang-
‘ ed by the common Hangman.

‘ As the Czar had confined the E-
‘ lection of another Great General at
‘ *Glukow* to the Number of seven;
‘ they elected into this Dignity a Co-
‘ lonel of *Starodub*, named *Ivan Ilie-*
‘ *witz Skoropatzki*, whom his Czarish
‘ Majesty had proposed to the Cossacks
‘ of his Party. The Colonels are the
‘ Commanders of Territories or Pro-
‘ vinces, and there are some who com-
‘ mand upwards of ten thousand Men.

‘ The Season being too far advanced
‘ to put off any longer the Considera-
‘ tion of Winter-quarters for the Ar-
‘ my, where they might repose them-
‘ selves after the most toilsome March
‘ that any Army had ever undertaken;
‘ it was endeavoured to canton them
‘ in such a Manner that they might
‘ refresh themselves well, and be free
‘ from any Insult: a Precaution very
‘ necessary, since his Majesty would
‘ not remove too far from the Fron-
‘ tiers of *Muscovy*.

‘ On this Side the River *Sem* begins
‘ the vast Country of the *Ukrain*, which
‘ extends to the *Crim Tartary* on the
‘ one Side, opening every where the
‘ largest and most delightful Plains,
‘ which in some Parts abound so plen-
‘ tifully with Towns and Villages,
‘ that for many Leagues together we
‘ are never out of Sight of them.

‘ As the King had caused an exact
‘ Account to be taken of the Situation
‘ of this whole Country, particularly
‘ all along the Frontiers, his Majesty
‘ thought proper to gain yet more
‘ Marches; and casting his Eyes on
‘ the Town of *Romnei* or *Rumni*, and
‘ the neighbouring Parts, he sent Mr.

‘ *Gyllenkrok* to secure that Place, which
‘ is situated on the River *Sula*, near
‘ the Frontiers of *Russia*, having a
‘ Rampart and a Ditch, and to make
‘ a Disposition for the Winter Quar-
‘ ters.

‘ *Gyllenkrok* advanced to *Horodiska*,
‘ accompanied by some Troops and a
‘ Colonel of *Mazeppa*’s with a Party of
‘ Cossacks.

‘ The Czar had already published
‘ his Proclamations in several Towns
‘ which bordered on the Frontiers.
‘ These Proclamations were full of Ca-
‘ lumnies, which the *Muscovite* Court
‘ spread amongst the Cossacks, to make
‘ them believe that the King of *Sweden*,
‘ whom they painted as a Tyrant and
‘ an unjust Invader, was come to exer-
‘ cise all manner of Cruelties. It was
‘ afterwards set forth, that as the Czar
‘ had given them a new Great Gene-
‘ ral in the Room of *Mazeppa*, against
‘ whom there were the most bitter In-
‘ vectives; he exhorted them to re-
‘ cognize him as their Chief, and to
‘ keep themselves stedfast against the
‘ common Enemy of their Country.
‘ This Manifesto was without Date, or
‘ Name, or Place where it was made,
‘ but most horribly violent.

‘ *Gyllenkrok* at his Arrival at *Romnei*,
‘ found these Proclamations published;
‘ this caused him to put one of the
‘ Burgomasters under Arrest; he was
‘ accused of having been with the *Rus-*
‘ *sians*, to demand Succours of them.
‘ The King decamped the sixteenth
‘ from *Horodiska*, and followed *Gyllen-*
‘ *krok* with his Column, proceeding
‘ three Leagues to *Hallinka*, on the
‘ River *Zisz*. Before he decamped
‘ thence, he sent Adjutant-General
‘ *Linroth* to the Generals *Cruetz* and
‘ *Cruus*,

' *Cruus*, who led the last Columns of
' the Army, and had not yet passed
' the *Sem*, with Orders to pass it with
' the utmost Expedition. *Linroth* hap-
' pily joined *Cruus*; but as he was go-
' ing with the same Orders to Gene-
' ral *Creutz*, who was but half a
' League distant from the other, a
' Party of the Cossacks that were our
' Enemies, who had slipped between the
' two Columns, surprized him on the
' Road; and as he had but three or
' four Persons with him, he was neces-
' sarily obliged to yield to a Multitude,
' who after they had treated him very
' barbarously, left him dead on the
' Spot; one of the Company was
' found ready to expire the next Day,
' being scarce able to give an Account
' of the unhappy Fate of his Compa-
' nions. This *Linroth* is the last of six
' Adjutant-Generals, which the King
' made at his going into *Saxony*, five
' of them were killed, and Mr. *Can-
' fer* the sixth, was made a Prisoner in
' *Muscovy*.

' The King continued his March
' on the seventeenth from *Hollinka* to
' *Demitrofska*, and thence the eigh-
' teenth to *Romnei* where we are at
' present, being four Leagues from
' the Frontiers of *Muscovy*.

' *Mazeppa* had already represented
' to the King the Necessity of securing
' the Town of *Hadiacz*, his Residence,
' being six Leagues from *Romnei*, and
' the rather as he was informed that
' the new *Hettmann* was on his March
' at the Head of *Muscovite* Troops, to
' render himself Master of it.

' His Majesty being arrived at *Rom-
' nei*, detached the same Night Colo-
' nel *Dabldorff* with the Regiment of
' *Smoland* Horse, the Dragoons of

' *Schreiterfelt*, and the Regiment of
' Foot of *Westerbatn*, commanded by
' *Lagercrona*, and ordered him to fol-
' low *Mazeppa*, who arrived the next
' Day some Hours before the Enemy,
' and took Possession of the Town,
' which as well as the others hath a
' Rampart and a Ditch. *Mazeppa* hav-
' ing given the necessary Orders, and
' left some thousand Cossacks near
' *Dabldorff*, returned the same Way,
' to be nearer the King at *Romnei*.

' The Army in the mean time ad-
' vanced, and was distributed into
' Quarters through the several Towns
' and Villages in a Circle of ten or
' twelve Leagues; two or three Regi-
' ments were quartered together, ac-
' cording to the Extent of each Vil-
' lage, which are very large in that
' Country.

' The Enemy seeing with Uneasiness
' the *Swedes* so near their Winter Quar-
' ters and their Frontiers, sent out large
' Detachments to oppose them. This
' Proceeding gave our Colonels and
' Generals an Opportunity of signaliz-
' ing themselves. On the twenty first
' of *November*, Colonel *Duker* beat
' General *Ronn*, and drove him off
' from a *Swedish* Quarter which he de-
' signed to attack.

' Again Colonel *Taub*, in the Night
' between the twenty seventh and twen-
' ty eighth, defeated a Party of Cos-
' sacks and *Muscovites*, and took near
' nine hundred Horses from them.
' Those who were not burnt or killed,
' escaped in their Shirts. Another time
' *Duker*, on the first of *December*, sur-
' prized in the Night a Party of the
' Enemy in the *Muscovite* Country,
' and put all to Fire and Sword. Last-
' ly General *Cruus* beat a Detachment
' of

of five thousand Cossacks and *Muscovites*, some Leagues from hence, and took from them more than a thousand Horses.

We thank God, the Enemy have been hitherto beat whenever we have met with them.

I am, with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your Serene Highness's, &c.

Romnei, Dec. 5,
1708.

GUSTAVUS ADLERFELT.

To illustrate the latter Circumstances of this Letter, let us return to our Journal.

On the twentieth, the Colonels *Duker* and *Taub*, who had been detached to render themselves Masters of *Smielajab*, which was appointed for their Quarters, arrived there, and posted themselves in the Suburbs, the Magistrates refusing to let them enter the Town without an express Order from *Mazeppa*; at the same Time that they admitted General *Ronn* with three or four thousand *Muscovite* Dragoons on the other Side. The King being advertised thereof, hastened thither with the utmost Speed, giving Orders at his setting out to the Columns of *Sparr* and *Roos* to march, which they instantly did. In the mean time General *Ronn* endeavoured to barricade himself as well as he was able.

On the twenty first the Columns of *Sparr* and *Roos*, arrived at *Smielajab* with two Battalions of Guards, who were ordered to follow them; they ap-

peared before the Place just after a Battle, wherein General *Ronn* having made a Sally, was beat back into the Town with the Loss of four hundred Men. This Fight lasted not long, but was very brisk; two *Swedish* Squadrons suffered a little at the Beginning of the Action. On the same Day some Cossacks of the Enemy's Party took several Waggon-loads of Baggage, and massacred some of our Sick who had lost their Road, while they followed the Columns of *Roos* and *Sparr*.

On the twenty second *Mazeppa* returned from *Hadiacz* to the Headquarters. The Cossack Colonel *Apostol* departed that Day from *Mirograd* with Colonel *Labieniki*, and some Cossacks, under certain Pretences, and fled towards the *Russians*. He was displeased at *Mazeppa's* obliging him to bring his Wife and Family to *Romnei* to follow the Army, as all the other Cossack Ladies did.

We had Advice this Day that the Czar who was posted at *Libidin*, had caused a great Body of Troops to advance within a League of *Hadiacz*, into the little Town of *Wieprek*, situated on the River of the same Name, by whom that Place was put into a Posture of Defence. He had besides at *Libidin* near twenty thousand Men for the Attack of *Hadiacz*, which, as he knew the Garrison to be very weak in Comparison of the Troops that were to attack it, he hoped to carry at the first Onset.

On the twenty third, Major-General *Meyerfeld* and Colonel *Albedybl* arrived with their Regiments, and posted themselves within the Suburbs of *Romnei*. The same Night General *Ronn* retreated from *Smielajab* on the

Prepa-

Preparations which our Troops were making for the Assault, General *Duker* pursued him, killed and took several of his Party Prisoners.

The twenty fourth, his Majesty sent *Gyllenkla* to *Smielajah*, with Orders to burn it.

The twenty sixth, *Meyerfeld* and *Albedybl* marched towards their Quarters. The *Dabl-Carlers* rendered themselves at their Post, and took Possession of the Suburbs.

In the Night between the twenty seventh and twenty eighth, Colonel *Taub* who was returned to *Romnei* with *Duker*, sallied out and surprized a large Body of *Muscovites* and Cossacks, most of whom were put to the Sword, some were burnt, and others saved themselves in their Shirts. *Taub* took above nine hundred Horses.

The first of *December*, Colonel *Duker* made an Excursion with six hundred Horse, pass'd the Frontiers, surprized a *Muscovite* Party, and penetrating further into the Enemy's Country, put all to Fire and Sword, and returned with the Loss of three Men only.

The fifth, General *Cruus* and Colonel *Taub* defeated a Party of five thousand Cossacks and *Russians*, whom they had fallen in with in the Night at *Krovireca*, some Leagues from *Romnei*, put most of them to the Sword, pushed the rest into the River *Sula*, and took above one thousand Horses.

The tenth, Lieutenant-Colonel *Funk* was detached with five hundred Horse to chastise the Peasants, who were got together in divers Places, and bring them to Reason. He killed above a thousand Cossacks in the little Town of *Terey*, which he burnt, as he

did *Drithelow*; he reduced likewise many Villages to Ashes which belonged to those Cossacks who sided with the Enemy, and put all whom he found to the Sword, in order to strike a Terror into the rest.

It was hoped that the King's Manifesto dated in the End of *November* O. S. written in the *Latin* Language, and dispersed among all the Cossacks, would convince them of the Uprightness of his Majesty's Intentions, who came but to deliver them from the Yoke under which they groaned; but notwithstanding the strongest Assurances which were given them of protecting and re-establishing them in their Rights, and to do them no manner of Mischief provided they would remain quietly at Home; all this seemed to make no great Impression on the Body of the Nation, whom the Czar by his Proclamations, and the new Great General, had found the Means of gaining; so that we were at continual Blows with the Inhabitants, which extremely troubled old *Mazeppa*, especially when he was informed of the yielding up of *Bialacerkiew*, where his Loss was very considerable.

The King having perceived by the Preparations of the Czar at *Lbidin*, what he intended at *Hadiacz*, decamped the seventeenth from *Romnei*, with the Regiment of Foot-Guards, the *Uplanders* and *Dabl-Carlers*, Foot, and the Regiment of Dragoons of *Duker*, to seek the Enemy, and offer him Battle.

His Majesty advanced two Leagues that Day to *Lipowa Dalina*, where we surprized a Party of a hundred *Muscovite* Dragoons, who were posted to watch the Road between *Romnei* and

Hadiacz; thirty were cut to Pieces by the Valoches, and the rest, namely, a Major, a Lieutenant, and seventy Dragoons were taken Prisoners. The Prince of *Wurtemberg* narrowly escaped being killed by a Dragoon of the Enemy's, who got behind him and aimed to cut his Head off; the Prince at the very Instant when he was going to make the Blow, looked behind him and avoided it.

The eighteenth, his Majesty continued his March and arrived at *Hadiacz*: The Garrison consisted of the Regiment of *Smoland*, and that of the Gentry of *Livonia*, both Horse; the Dragoons of *Schreiterfeld*, and the Foot of *Westerbohn*. Within an Hour of the King's Arrival, the Enemy were on the Point of giving the Assault, and every Thing was ready for that Purpose, when they received the News by some Dragoons who had escaped from the Surprize of *Lipowa Dalina*, of the Approach of some Troops which were coming to the Succour of that Place: This obliged them to set Fire to the Suburbs of *Hadiacz* and a Magazine of Forage which was there, and to retreat thence with Precipitation.

The Czar, who was but at half a League's Distance from this Place, and who was marching with considerable Forces to support the Assault, turned about likewise on this News, and hastily regained the Rout of *Libidin*.

This first Night was extremely cold, and the Frost continued thenceforth with most extraordinary Rigour during the whole Winter; and as there is but one Gate to the Town, at which so many Waggon, &c. could enter

but slowly, the one after the other, the Place moreover being scarce able to hold so many Men and Horses, a great Number were obliged to remain in the open Air without the City Gate, and this for several Days and Nights following, while they were placing what had already entered.

Many died of the excessive Rigour of the Cold, and a great Number lost the Use of their Limbs, as their Feet and Hands; so that the Town was filled with sick Persons, and all the Houses resembled Hospitals, which afforded a horrible Spectacle. The King himself was not free from the terrible Effects of this rigorous Season, being affected with a Swelling in his Nose, which he presently cured by rubbing it with Snow, the only Method to prevent any Numbness.

But if our Troops suffer'd so much from the excessive Rigour of the Winter, those of the Czar, which were continually in Motion, suffered no less. We heard from all Parts, that Sickness raged in all their Garrisons and Quarters; and as they were obliged to be always on their Guard, on account of his Majesty's continual Marches, which left them not one Moment in Safety; this perpetual Agitation, together with the severe Cold, carried off abundance of their People: They had however the Advantage of replacing their Dead, by Recruits which arrived incessantly from *Russia*, and the Czarewitz himself was advancing with seventeen thousand fresh Recruits to reinforce their Army.

The same Day five Regiments entered *Romnei*, where the *Drabans*, the Court and the Chancery were; namely,

ly, *Sparr's*, *Buchwald's*, and *Cronman's* Foot, *Cruus's* Horse, and *Taub's* Dragoons, to replace the Troops which his Majesty had taken with him.

Major-General *Meyerfeld* had had a very smart Action in his March from *Lochvita*, to join the King, with *Wolkonski* who commanded the Garrison of *Mirogorod*, who sallied out with several of his Troops, which were beaten and repulsed with Loss. *Meyerfeld* in this March had the Misfortune to break his Leg by the Fall of his Horse, but it was afterwards very well cured.

As the King was not pleased at the Neighbourhood of the Enemy, and as he burnt with Impatience to attack them, he resolved to seek and pursue them till they would stand their Ground. Having therefore left all his Baggage and Sick at *Hadiacz*, with some Regiments to guard them, and having sent for the Court and *Drabans* from *Rommei*, he decamped the twenty-sixth with Part of the Army, and marched directly to *Wieprek*, where *Ronn* was posted with a considerable Body of Troops, who, as soon as he had Advice of the King's Approach, left three Battalions in the Town, and marched immediately on the Side of *Kamien*; our Van-guard and Valoches being close at the Heels of his Rear-guard, fell on the *Russian* Cossacks and Calmuks, who cover'd his precipitate Retreat.

Ronn continued his March with much Diligence, and passing near *Kamien*, which is situated on the same River with *Hadiacz*, three Leagues from *Wieprek*, he threw a Colonel with a Party of Dragoons into that

Place, and pursued his Rout towards *Libidin*. During this March our Troops suffer'd extremely by the Cold, of which several Men and Horses perish'd, and many lost their Hands and Feet.

The 27th the King passed by *Wieprek* in Pursuit of *Ronn*, leaving the Regiment of Horse of *South-Scania*, under *Ornstedt*, and the Foot Regiment of *Ostrogoths*, under *James Sperling*, behind him, to watch this poultry Town; to these were afterwards join'd the Dragoons of *Meyerfeld* and *Albedybl*. On the other hand, Count *Jasper Sperling*, with his Regiment of *Westrogoths*, advanced towards *Kamien*, and posted himself at half a League's Distance, where he dislodged an advanced Guard of the Enemy.

The King proceeded some Leagues to a Village named *Pleszinicz*; when the Cold was so piercing, that it became absolutely impossible to continue the March. This obliged his Majesty to keep his Christmas there with the Regiments which he had with him, and which suffered much from the Cold in these Quarters.

Colonel *James Sperling*, by the King's Order, summoned the Commandant of *Wieprek* to surrender the Place; but he refusing, *Sperling* acquainted his Majesty, who changing his Quarters, turned towards *Czinkow*, where he placed *Rank* in his Front with his Regiment of Foot.

Czinkow is a little Town fortified in that Country Manner, with Palisadoes, and a little Bulwark lined with a Moat. A great Number of Peasants had thrown themselves into it, pretending to remain Neuters, and admit neither *Swedes* nor *Russians*. While *Rank* was

marching, Colonel *Taub*, who had been detach'd with five hundred Horse from the Side of *Kamien*, arrived and burnt the Suburbs.

The King followed *Rank*, and pass'd again by *Wieprek*; he now left there the Regiment of Foot of *Upland*, with four Pieces of Cannon; and after having pass'd by the Side of a great Wood, he arrived in the Evening at *Czinkow*. He found the Gates shut, and the Inhabitants with a great Number of Peasants on the Ramparts; they were all drunk with strong Waters, made a great Noise, and appeared much elated. Adjutant-General *Gyllenkla* let Fire to some Houses in the Suburbs.

The 31st, *Gyllenkla* received Orders to summon the Town, declaring to those who were in the Town, that he would give them but an Hour to surrender themselves; they demanded a longer Time, which was refus'd them. The King at the same Time having drawn up a Battalion of *Calmar*, advanced to the Gates, and sat down on the *Chevaux de frise*, till the Capitulation was signed. It was soon concluded, and before the Hour was expired, the Populace being intimidated, surrendered at Discretion, and opened the Gates, which the Battalion of *Calmar* instantly took Possession of.

The King posted himself in the Suburbs with the Regiment of *Dahl-Carlers* under *Siegroth*, that of *Wesmanland* under *Roos*, and that of *Calmar* under *Rank*, all Foot, with the Artillery and the *Ostrogotb* Horse under *Hamilton*; together with the Dragoons of *Duker* and *Sbreiterfelt*. The rest of the Army remained till farther Orders in *Hadiacz*, and the Places thereabouts.

Count *Piper* with a Part of the Court and *Drabans*, took up his Quarters near *Crasnaluka*. The chief of the Court Baggage remained at *Hadiacz*, *Sparr*, *Cruus*, and *Creutz* possessed themselves of the rest of the Neighbourhood.

The King spent New-year's Day, 1709, at *Czinkow*, during so rigorous a Cold, that nothing equal to it had been known in the Memory of Man. His Majesty having formed a Design to attack *Wieprek*, sent Major-General *Stakelberg* thither, to take upon him the Direction. *Siegroth* was ordered to follow to reconnoitre the Place, and make an exact Report thereof to his Majesty. At his Return, which was two Days afterwards, the King decamped from *Czinkow*, escorted by the Artillery and *Sbreiterfelt's* Dragoons.

His Majesty arrived the 6th at *Wieprek*, where they had already raised four Batteries of five Pieces of Cannon each; and when the Commandant was again summon'd to surrender, he answered from the Mouths of his Cannon, to which those on our Batteries replied. The same Evening the King made the necessary Dispositions for an Assault early the next Day, ordering three Attacks, of which one was to be conducted by *James Sperling*, and the other two by *Fritski* and *Albedybl*.

The 7th in the Morning the Attack was begun by the Discharge of the Cannon, while the Troops were drawn up to mount the Assault, which they did with all possible Force and Vigour; but as the Enemy had thrown a Quantity of Water on the Ramparts which was frozen on all Sides, and the Garrison taking Advantage of the Diffi-

Difficulty which our Men met with in scaling the Ramparts, which were so slippery they could hardly stand, defended themselves in the most desperate Manner, his Majesty without Delay gave Orders to his Troops to retreat.

We lost many brave Men at this Attack. The two young Counts of *Sperling*, equally illustrious by their Birth, their Rank and their Merit; Colonel *Fritski*; the Lieutenant-Colonel *Morner*, and *Lilliegreen*; Count *E. Gyllenstolpe*, a Man much esteemed; and many other Officers of Merit, were killed. Count *Rheinschild* received a Blow from a Grenade, which made a Contusion. General *Stackelberg* was wounded, and the Sleeve of the Prince of *Wurtemberg's* Coat was shot through with a Ball. The King having founded the Commandant again by *Siegroth* and *Wrangle*, he demanded some Hours for Consideration, and surrendered the same Night at Discretion. The Officers were made Prisoners of War; but kept their Baggage, as the Colonel did his Sword. We found here some pieces of Cannon that had been burst.

The Garrison marched out the next Day, consisting of eleven hundred Men, besides the Peasants, which had born Arms. They were escorted to *Czinkow*, by *Silfwerbielm*, where they had full Liberty to enter into the Town; but the greater part died of the cold.

During these Transactions, two Officers of the King's Army, whose Names were *Leod* and *Ox*, arrived in our Camp. They had been taken Prisoners by the Czar, and were by him sent to his Majesty, to solicit the Exchange of *Schultz*, Adjutant to *Menzi-*

kof, of whom we have spoken before with one named *Cauduroff* in their Room. The King refused this Exchange, and in the former's Place sent back a Lieutenant-Colonel who was taken at *Wieprek*, and instead of *Cauduroff* a Captain taken at the same Place.

The eleventh, the little *Bicoque* of *Wieprek* was burnt, and his Majesty set out for *Czinkow*, being escorted by the Regiment of Artillery, the Horse of *Cruus* and *Taub's* Dragoons. At the same time General *Sparr* received Orders to go with six Regiments of Foot to *Lutenka*, which is some Leagues distant from *Czinkow*, on the River *Lutuka*, to be there in Readiness, and to give Rest to the Troops.

Our Quarters were so well disposed, that the Enemy could not easily surprise us. *Creutz* was posted at *Lochowitz*, or *Lachwica*, which is on the Side of the *Ukrain*; and all the rest were drawn close together towards the Frontiers, where we stood well on our Guard. *Hadiacz* was in the Centre, and the Baggage remained always quiet with a Body of Troops which the King had at first left there, and to which several other Regiments had since joined themselves by his Majesty's Orders. As to the Enemy, they had Troops in *Ogtirki*, *Kutilwa*, *Opuczna*, *Pultawa*, &c. without reckoning the main body which was at *Libidin*, and on the Frontiers in their own Country.

The thirteenth Count *Piper* came to his Majesty to *Hadiacz*.

The fourteenth, the Lieutenant-Colonels *Ulffsparr*, *Apelgreen* and *Stiernbielm*, were made Colonels; the first had the *Ostrogots* of *James Sperling*, who was killed; the second the *Westro-*

Wästrogöths, of *Jasper Sperling*; and the third, another Regiment.

The nineteenth, Colonel *Duker* was detached at six in the Evening, with two thousand Horse towards *Horogni*, where lay five Regiments of the Enemy, under the Command of Brigadier *Carrupel*. He arrived the next Day, and having instantly attacked them, utterly routed them, killed three hundred Men, took two Pair of Kettle-Drums, and some Colours; and carried off more than a thousand Horses, with some part of their Baggage, which he brought happily to the Headquarters, with the Loss only of about twenty Men.

The twenty-second, Lieutenant-Colonel *Wrangle*, who commanded in Chief the Dragoons of *Scania*, otherwise called the Priest's Dragoons, was killed with a shot from a Fauconet, as he was going to reconnoitre the Town of *Sorotzin*, which was near his Quarters, and where the Enemy had a Garrison. Prince *Wurtemberg* asked this Regiment of the King, who gave it him soon after.

In the Night between the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth, the King taking with him *Hamilton's* Regiment of Horse, and *Duker's* and *Taub's* Dragoons, making together about two thousand, and followed by the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, Count *Rbeinschild*, and other Officers of Note, marched through the great Wood to *Opuczno* on the *Worskla*; where were six Regiments of *Muscovite* Dragoons, under the Command of General *Shaumburg*, with six hundred Horse Grenadiers, and near two thousand Cossacks. They presently made an orderly Retreat at our Approach along the Town of *O-*

puczno, or *Obulzin*; but our Regiments having attacked them with Vigour, overthrew them almost at the first Shock, and pursued them a whole League close at their Heels.

The Enemy had four hundred Men killed on the Spot, and fifty taken Prisoners; and we took two Pair of Kettle-drums, and five Standards. *Menzikof* with General *Ronn* arrived just before the Fight, with an Intention to advance with these Regiments towards our Quarters, and to surprize the Dragoons of *Scania* and *Horn's* Horse, both in Quarters at *Kovaluska*; but they had only Time to run away with the rest. The *Valoches* made a considerable Booty in the Town of *Opuczno*, where they plundered all the Baggage of these Regiments.

Immediately after this Fight, wherein we had only two killed and seventeen wounded, his Majesty sent his Adjutant-General *Duwaldt* to *Czinkow*, with Orders for all to march, the Baggage as well as the Regiments; *Rank* and *Roos* were to come with their Foot to *Opuczno*, and the Artillery with the rest to *Casmin*.

On the twenty-ninth the King advanced to *Kurilwa*, hoping to meet another Column and six *Muscovite* Regiments, which were there posted; and he flattered himself that those who fled from *Opuczno*, might possibly have taken the same Road. They did indeed repair thither, but had at the same Time spread so general a Terror, that they had altogether ran away thro' *Krasnakui* to *Ogtirki*; so that at his Majesty's Arrival they were all decamped.

The King in the mean while had left a Captain, with fifty Horse and some

some wounded Soldiers to guard the Wounded and Trophies taken in the last Fight. The *Russians* hearing this, made a Detachment of Dragoons defile that way, who surprized the Captain, and having killed him and all his People, carried off the Trophies and Prisoners; so that when General *Ronn* arrived, he found nothing but dead Bodies.

The Court, the *Drabans* and the Regiments decamped the thirtieth from *Czinkow*, where we left only one Party of Cossacks behind, to observe what passed in the Neighbourhood. The next Day, the Court and *Drabans* came and joined the King at *Kutilwa*, where his Majesty stopped some Days. In the mean time the Enemy retired to *Kalcutai*, and thence to *Ogtirki*.

The fifth of *February*, *Klint* arrived at the Army.

The sixth, a large Party of *Calmucks* attacked the Guard near *Casmin*, and killed some Men; after which, as soon as the *Picquet* advanced they ran away full Speed. The eighth his Majesty gave the Troops Orders to hold themselves in Readiness for a March the next Day. The cold still continuing to be very piercing.

In one of these Marches two thousand Men fell down dead with the cold, before his Eyes. The Troopers had no Boots; the Foot were without Shoes, and almost without Clothes. They were reduced to warm themselves with the Skins of Beasts as well as they could, they often wanted even Bread; they were obliged to sink almost all their Cannon in Morasses and Rivers, for want of Horses to draw them. This Army, once so flourishing, was diminished to twenty-four thousand Men, and these ready to die with Hunger.

In this Condition one Officer only complained, to whom said the King, *I suppose you are uneasy at being so far from your Wife; but, if you are a true Soldier, I will carry you so far, that you shall scarce be able to hear from Sweden once in three Years.* A Soldier had the Boldness with some Murmurs to present a Morfel of black and musty Bread to the King, in the Presence of the whole Army, the only Nourishment which they then had, and of which they had not a sufficient Supply. The King received the Bread without Emotion, eat it quite up; and then answered the Soldier coldly, *It is not good, but it may be eaten.*

The King who was impatient to strike a Blow of Importance, and to oblige the Enemy at last to stand their Ground by giving them no Repose, decamped on the ninth from *Kutilwa*, and took the Road of *Ogtirki*. As he passed through the Village of *Kukri*, he met Colonel *Tschamerdin* with a Detachment of the Enemy's Dragoons, who retreated with the utmost Expedition; but were pursued by the *Valoches* and five Squadrons quite under the Walls of *Ogtirki*. We killed a good Number, and took some Prisoners.

The Enemy, fearing they should be besieged in *Ogtirki*, presently set Fire to the Suburbs, and marched their Horse to *Krasnakut*, where eight Regiments of Dragoons were posted, some in the Town, and some without the Gates; and ten other Regiments at half a League Distance, in the little Town of *Horodniza*.

The King halted at *Kukri*. The Artillery which from *Czinkow* had marched with the other Troops to *Casmin*, took the Road of *Kukri*, where they

they arrived the next Day, having first burnt *Casmin*, *Kusmin* or *Kamien*, for it is the same Place under different Names.

At *Kukri*, the Prince of *Wurtemberg* received his Commission of Colonel, from the King's own Hand. His Majesty likewise ordered a Sum of Money to be paid him towards his Equipage; and he bought that of *Wrangle* his Predecessor.

The tenth, Lieutenant-Colonel *Funk* was detached with some hundred Horse to reconnoitre *Ogtirki*. He reported that their Garrison consisted of three Regiments of Foot, and that all their Horse had marched towards *Krasnakut*.

On the eleventh, his Majesty detached Major-General *Hamilton* with four Regiments towards *Olesna*, to burn the Town. He carried it on his Arrival Sword in Hand, and put most of the Garrison to the Sword, taking the rest Prisoners, with the Waivode of the Place, and then set Fire to it.

The King advanced on the Road to *Krasnakut* the same Morning early, followed by his *Drabans*, the Regiments of Horse of *Cruus* and *Smoland*, several Regiments of Dragoons, and the Foot-guards, *Dahl-Carlers*, and the Regiment of *Skaraborg*, with the Artillery. At the half way, the Enemy had an advanced Guard of thirty Horse, six of whom the *Valoches* killed, and took the rest.

The King pursued his March towards *Krasnakut*, whence the Enemy at his Approach retired on the other Side of the Town, and drew up in order of Battle near a Mill and a Cloyster. The *Valoches* having begun the Skirmish, the King advanced with the Ca-

valry to support them, and passing thro' the Town he found some Squadrons of the Enemy, who ran away full Speed, after having given one Volley.

As soon as the King had passed the Town, and found himself in Sight of the Enemy, he drew up his Troops on two Lines, with which he advanced towards them, who were retired a good Distance from the Town. The Enemy then, not daring to face him, began to set themselves on a Gallop towards *Horodniza*, which is half a League from *Krasnakut*. As they soon ran into Confusion, the hindmost were defeated, and several of them killed, not only on the Road to *Horodniza*, but within the Gates, Suburbs and Streets of the City, where these Wretches, who by reason of the Croud could not save themselves fast enough, were cut to Pieces; so that the Streets were all covered with dead Bodies.

The *Russians* lost on this Occasion upwards of a thousand Men, with some Trophies; on our Side, no more than twelve of the Guards, and an hundred and twenty Horse and Dragoons were either killed or wounded. General *Ronn*, who had been posted near this Town with ten other Regiments, retired the same Night six Leagues farther to *Bialorod*, which is situated within *Russia* itself, *Krasnakut* being in the *Russian* *Ukrain*.

His Majesty on the twelfth advanced half a League to *Moroska*, giving Orders to burn *Krasnakut* and *Horodniza*, and to carry away all the Inhabitants with the Women and Children.

The thirteenth, the Army proceeded two Leagues to *Colomak*, having first

first burnt *Moraska*: terrible Showers of Rain mixt with Thunder and Lightning fell on that Day. *Colomak* being situated on the Frontiers of *Tartary*, old *Mazeppa*, who was on this Expedition with the Cossacks, would pay his Court to the King, being near him, on Horseback, to congratulate him on the Progress of his Arms; saying to him in *Latin*, that we had but eight Leagues to *Asia*. His Majesty, who was perfectly acquainted with the Map, answered smiling, *Sed non conveniunt Geographi; but Geographers do not agree*: which Answer made the good old Man blush.

About the fourteenth, the Winter, which had for some Days abated of its Rigour, became all at once supportable; the Weather being now soft and serene enough, after one of the most violent Seasons ever felt in that Climate: but at the same Time the Waters began to swell in so extraordinary a Manner, that those Rivers which we had before easily passed, being all frozen, presented us now the Prospect of a whole Country overflow'd.

This Change obliged his Majesty to return into the *Ukrain*, there to wait for a better Season, and one more commodious for the Operations of the War, in a Country so full of Rivers. Orders were given to General *Craus*, to advance before with some Regiments, the King following himself the next Day with the rest of the Army. We proceeded three Leagues to *Kublinika*; at our Departure from whence, the King commanded the Burning of *Colomak*.

This March was very laborious for the Foot, who were always in Water, the Plain through which they passed in

several Places resembling a large Lake, the Rivers had so violently overflowed the Country. The Artillery especially, underwent great Fatigues in this Rout, and so did the Baggage; which caused his Majesty to order a great Number of useless Waggon's to be burnt; that is to say, those which the Troops used for the Carriage of their Provisions.

This was a fatal Day to the Regiment of *German* Dragoons under Colonel *Albedybl*, who was quartered at *Raschow*, or *Raschowska*, some Leagues from *Lutinka*, where Major-General *Sparr* was posted. The Enemy, under the Command of *Scheremetzoff*, began their Attack on an hundred and twenty Dragoons, who had been ordered to have an Eye on the Horse; and having surrounded them on all Sides, put them to the Sword after they had made all possible Resistance. *Scheremetzoff* advanced next with twelve Regiments towards *Raschow*, where *Albedybl's* Regiment, after a valiant Defence, were in part cut to Pieces, and the rest made Prisoners, with the Colonel himself; three hundred Horse only, with the Major, broke through Sword in Hand, and having made their Way through several Squadrons, came to *Sparr* at *Lutinka*.

The Enemy laid their Hands on all the Horses of this Regiment, and of part of another, together with their Baggage. It was feared, that *Scheremetzoff*, after this Action, would push his Point, and go to *Hadiacz*, with a View of rendring himself Master of the Baggage; but he attempted no more, and returned to his Quarters.

The King hastened the seventeenth from *Rubliska*, where the Regiment of Guards was obliged to pass the first

Night in the open Field, not being able to cross the Waters, which were every Day increasing. This Disappointment occasioned Orders from his Majesty to that Regiment, to go two Leagues round in search of a Bridge, while the Artillery, the *Dahl Carlers*, and the Regiments of *Smoland* and *Cruus*, passed near *Kalentajo*, which was burnt.

His Majesty, with the *Drabans* and the rest of the Troops, passed the Water near *Rublinka* the eighteenth, after having first set Fire to that Town, which is the last in the *Russian Ukrain*. They advanced a short League to a River, where his Majesty halted till they laid over a Bridge. The Regiment of Guards found the Bridge over which they were to pass in a very ruinous Condition; they presently refitted it, and having passed over, returned to join his Majesty.

The nineteenth, the King returned to *Opuczno* with the *Drabans*, having proceeded only half a League on that Day. The March was very tiresome to the Regiments, who were to cross all these Waters, that had rendred the Ground unfirm, and the Passes and Defiles extremely deep and difficult. As soon as his Majesty was returned, the Enemy who had followed us a good while, posted themselves opposite to us on the other Side of the River *Warskla*.

The twentieth, Major General *Hamilton* returned with his Detachment, and *Cruus*, set out from *Opuczno*, for *Budiczin*. The King remained some Time at *Opuczno*, where *Rank* and *Roos* were in Garrison, and put Part of the Regiments which he had taken with him in his last Expedition into

Quarters, on the Side of *Pultowa*, namely the Guards, *Cruus's*, *Hamilton's*, the *Ostrogoths*, the *Smolanders* and the Regiment of *Skaraborg*; he then fixed his Head quarters at *Budiczin*, whither he repaired a little afterwards.

Major-General *Creutz* marched from *Lochwica*, or *Lochowitz*, with his Column, to draw nearer the King. The *Russians*, commanded by *Scheremetsov* failed not to harrass him during this March, and attacked his Rear-guard, who received them so briskly, that they afterwards suffered him to continue his March very quietly; he had however great Difficulty to pass the Waters, and was obliged to burn several Waggon's loaded with Baggage, of which he had the Charge.

At the same Time his Majesty having sent Orders to *Hadiacz*, to bring up the heavy Baggage; the Garrison marched out, having first destroyed all the Works of Defence, and passing through *Lutinka* and *Burki*, arrived the twenty-seventh at *Opuczno*, without any Disturbance from the Enemy.

All the *Swedish* Army was now assembled between the two Rivers of *Pziol* and *Worskla*, and extended itself from *Lutinka* to *Opuczno*, being the Space of twelve *Polish* Leagues; where they waited a more favourable Season for Action, and till the Grass began to grow in the Fields. The King employed this Time, without any Relaxation, in visiting and reviewing his Regiments. On the first of March, *Klint* departed, and the third, his Majesty quitted *Opuczno*, and advanced a League to *Budiczin*, where he had fixed his Quarters.

The Enemy's Horse made some Motions,

tions, and drew nearer on the Side of *Worskla*, throwing some Troops into *Kutylva*. *Fittinghof*, a Captain in *Taub's* Regiment, who had been detached towards *Worskla*, was attacked by a Party of the Enemy; which he received so well, that he put them to Flight, killed several, and made others Prisoners.

Scheremetoff, on another Quarter, was advanced nearer to *Pziol*, in the Neighbourhood of *Krasnapole*, with all the Foot, having placed a Garrison in *Hadiacz* as soon as it was quitted by the *Swedes*; so that we were now surrounded on all Sides by the Enemy, a Circumstance which made our Provisions dear. One of their Parties on the tenth shewed a Desire of attacking Colonel *Helm*; but he kept so well on his Guard, that they durst not execute their Purpose.

The 12th all our Cossack Ladies arrived at the Head-quarters; and the next Day the Prince of *Wursenberg* set out for his Regiment, which was at *Kowalufka*, five Leagues from the Head-quarters.

The King's Approach having given Umbrage to the *Zaporovian* Cossacks, of whom we have spoken above; they writ to *Mazeppa*, to acquaint him that they had sided with the Czar's Army, and that they wished to know the Designs of the King of *Sweden*, who had come so far to trouble them.

Mazeppa had already writ to these People, at the Time that he declared for the King of *Sweden*; but the Express who was charged with the Letter had been taken by the *Russians*: He now answered all the Heads of their Letter, and informed them of the Justice of the King of *Sweden's*

Designs, who, being a formidable Conqueror, came to deliver them from the Yoke and Slavery which the Czar was preparing for them. He animated them at the same Time, to follow his Example, and to lift themselves under the Banners of a Prince who was their Protector, and whom Heaven had fixed on as the Person who was to render them free and happy; and lastly, that this Letter might make the greater Impression on their Minds, he sent one of his Colonels and Judges, a great Orator, who was charged to expound the whole to them at large.

The *Zaporovians* being wrought on by these Means, sent immediate Deputies to *Mazeppa*, to declare to him that they would take the same Side with himself. The Deputies brought at the same Time a Letter from their *Hettman* to the King. They had Audience of his Majesty the 19th, and having obtained an Answer the next Day, they departed well satisfied, and instantly began their Hostilities against the *Muscovites*.

The *Russians* being informed of the Proceedings of the *Zaporovians*, detached Colonel *Cambel* towards the Town of *Torodginska* with three thousand Dragoons, to attack the *Zaporovians*, who were to pass that Way in order to join us. The *Russian* Dragoons were divided into several Parties, to scour the Country, and hinder the *Zaporovians* from passing; but these to the Number of eight thousand men attacked Colonel *Cambel* in the Town, killed a great many of his Party, and took one hundred and fifteen Prisoners: So that of the three *Muscovite* Regiments scarce four hun-

dred with their Colonel were saved.

The *Zaporovians* continued their March, having at their Head their *Hettman*, named *Ottoman Kakzovy*, who advanced towards the King's Quarters, followed by some hundreds of the Chiefs of his Country. He was received by *Mazeppa*, half a League from *Budiczin*; the next Day he had an Audience of the King, whom he addressed in *Latin*; testifying to him the Joy which the *Zaporovian* Nation felt at his Majesty's Arrival, that they besought his Protection, giving God Thanks that he suffered them at length to enjoy that Liberty, at which they had so eagerly aspired; he afterwards kissed the King's Hand, and was treated at Court with the principal Officers who sat at two Tables.

The next Day the *Zaporovians*, being assembled in a Greek Church at *Budiczin*, took an Oath of Fealty to *Mazeppa*. The *Pisars* were the first after the *Hettman* who swore; they afterwards made all together the Sign of the Cross, and kissed the Gospel and the Crucifix. The same Day they had an Audience of Leave of his Majesty, and the next Day departed from *Budiczin*, to continue their Hostilities against the *Russians*.

The 31st Mr. *Sandul*, Colonel of the *Valoches*, departed for *Bender*, to treat with the *Seraskier Turk*, touching the Recruits of the *Valoches*. The same Day the *Russians* took in *Czin-know*, a Lieutenant, with sixteen Dragoons, of Prince *Wurtemberg's* Regiment, who had been detached to gather up Victuals. These Accidents, which happened to us from Time to Time, were unavoidable; for being obliged to fetch our Forage and Pro-

visions a great Way off, the Regiments could not avoid sometimes the Loss of little Detachments, which were sent out to raise Contributions. The Prince of *Wurtemberg*, who was the most exposed, desired his Majesty's Permission to approach nearer to the Head-quarters, which having obtained, he came and encamped with his Regiment at *Burky*.

We learned that Day, that the Czar had detached General *Goltz* with nineteen or twenty thousand Men beyond the *Dnieper*, to go and join *Siniawski* in *Poland*, who opposed King *Stanislaus*, and caused there great Trouble and Confusion. We learned further that there were five thousand Men in *Pultowa*; that *Rann* was at the Head of the Troops beyond the *Worskla*, designed to cover the Frontiers of *Russia*, and that *Scheremathof* commanded the rest of the Army, consisting chiefly of Foot, and was posted about *Hadiacz* and *Krasnapole*, along the River of *Pziol*. As to the Czar, we knew he was at eighteen Leagues Distance from his Army at *Woronitz*, where he was building Ships.

The 3d of April, his Majesty, attended by *Mazeppa*, Count *Rheinschild*, and some other Officers of Distinction, came with a Detachment of Horse under *Pultowa*, to reconnoitre the Place, of which the King resolved to make himself Master, on *Mazeppa's* Advice, that on our penetrating into *Russia*, we might have a Place in our Possession through which the Succours might pass which were expected from *Poland* to join his Majesty.

Pultowa is situated on the River *Worskla*, which falls sixteen Leagues lower into the *Boristhenes*. This Town

Town belonged to the Cossacks, but the *Russians* were then Masters of it. Many of the Inhabitants had retired hither with their Effects at the Approach of the *Swedes*; so that it was full of Riches, Corn, and all Sorts of Provisions.

There was in the Town a Garrison of five thousand Men, under the Command of General *Allart*, who had under him a Colonel named *Kellen*. This General had taken Care to re-establish the Fortifications, and to add some new Works, so that it might well pass for a pretty good Fortress in that Country. His Majesty, after having reconnoitred the Ground about it, which the *Worskla*, winding about into several Branches, renders somewhat marshy, returned to *Budiczin*, where he arrived the next Day in the Evening.

On the 13th an Action happened at *Jokolki*, near the *Worskla*: General *Ronn* having attacked General *Stakelberg* at the Head of several Regiments, was repulsed with Loss, after a very obstinate Fight, in which Colonel *Gyllenstierna* was wounded.

The 18th, a Lieutenant of the Artillery deserted from *Pultowa* to *Budiczin*. All that Day a great Quantity of Snow fell, which being soon melted by the Sun, rendered the Roads very bad. The Army now remained quiet in their Quarters.

The 21st, three Captains of our *Valloches*, with a good Number of their Men, went over from us to the Enemy.

The 24th, his Majesty made an Excursion to General *Creutz*'s Quarters, where there was an Alarm on some Motions made by Marshal *Schereme-*

ibof's Troops, by which it was apprehended that he designed to attack General *Creutz*; but this came to nothing, and the King returned the same Evening. This Day Major-General *Axel Sparr*, was ordered to march with his Division to the King's Quarters.

The 25th, some Regiments of *Sparr*'s Column came from *Lutenka* to *Budiczin*. They were the next Day followed by the other Regiments of Foot of his Division, which, including the Garrison of *Hadiacz*, made up eight Regiments. *Sparr* began his March with these Regiments, that of the Artillery, and all the Baggage of the Army, towards *Pultowa*, to invest that Place. General *Scheremetz* at the Head of twelve thousand Men observed his March; but seeing their fine Order and the Precautions which *Sparr* had taken, he did not dare to attack him, and he arrived safely before the Town, without the Loss of a single Man.

The 28th, the Regiment of *Dahl-Carlens* decamped and marched to *Pultowa*; and the next Day his Majesty followed himself with the *Dracons*, some Regiments of Horse, and the Regiments of Foot of *Wermland*, *Westerbothn* and *Calmar*, which encamped at a good Distance from the Town; so that almost all our Foot were arrived, excepting two Regiments which remained at *Budiczin*, with the Dragoons of *Taub* and *Ducker*, under the Command of Major-General *Roos*, to keep that Post through which the Enemy was absolutely to pass, if he would attempt to relieve *Pultowa*.

The 1st of May, *Klint* returned, and

and the same Day the Trenches were opened before *Pultowa*; and we had Advice that the Enemy were drawing Troops together near *Opuczno*.

The 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th, the Trenches were carried on, but with a very few Men, in order to husband our Forces, which his Majesty thought not proper to expose before this Place, of which we hoped to be quickly the Masters, without much Loss.

The sixth, Major-General *Roos* seeing the Enemy's Forces encrease on the other Side of *Opuczno*, made an Entrenchment all along the *Worskla*, flanked with some Works, to dispute the Passage of this River: the Enemy made a brisk Fire on our Workmen, of which several were killed.

The seventh, Major-General *Roos* brought up some Cannon to play on the opposite Bank, detaching at the same Time Major *Lood* with two hundred and fifty Men to maintain the Post.

The eighth, the Enemy past the River over a Bridge which they built below *Opuczno*, with Foot and Horse to the Number of twelve thousand Men, who attacked our little Entrenchment, and forced it by their great Superiority of Troops, making Major *Lood*, with some other Officers, and about seventy Foot-Soldiers Prisoners; the rest having saved themselves after a brave Defence of several Hours together.

Major-General *Roos*, being informed of the Motions of the Enemy, before the Attack began, drew the Regiments of Dragoons to the Quarters of *Budiczin*; to these were likewise joined two Battalions of Guards, the Re-

giments of Horse of *Scania* and *Horn*, and the Dragoons of Prince *Wurtemberg* and *Meyerfeld*, who hastened thither from their Quarters. His Majesty came up himself with Count *Rheinschild* and many other Generals, and arrived just at the Time when the Enemies retired towards the Bridge to pass it, and when Colonel *Duker* sallying out of the Town to pursue them, attacked their Rear-guard so furiously, that they were repulsed towards the River, where more than two hundred Men perished. The Grofs of their Troops having afterwards readily repast the Bridge, destroyed it, and retired a full Gallop to *Kutalva*, leaving behind them all their Materials and Tools which were to be used at the Siege of *Opuczno*, with the two Cannons which they had just taken in the Entrenchment; but they carried off a Pair of Colours in the Beginning of the Attack.

The ninth, all the Regiments returned to *Budiczin*, after having stood all Night under Arms, to see if the Enemy would return to the Charge. As to the Garrison of *Opuczno*, after having set fire to the Town, they followed the rest of the Troops.

The eleventh, all the Troops decamped from *Budiczin*, and proceeded two Leagues to *Czuki* near *Pultowa*.

The twelfth, we approached the Moat by way of *Sappe*, and made a Lodgment, whilst the Enemy was intrenching themselves behind the Rampart. *Charles Poff* conducted this Attack with the Grenadiers of the Guards, who behaved very well.

The fourteenth, Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild* departed hence for the Command of his Regiment of Horse about *Czuki*,

Czuki, where we had the Advantage of Forage; for which Reason the Cossacks kept themselves here and scoured the Country, there being near six thousand *Zaporovians*.

The sixteenth, the Enemy made many sham Attacks before Day both above and below the Town, with several Discharges of small Shot, while twelve hundred Men commanded by Brigadier *Gallowin*, with Fascines made a Bridge over the Morass, where the Peasants who were perfectly acquainted with the Ground had led them: They all entered the Town unperceived. The King thinking they would attempt a Battle, hastened to his Regiment of Guards, and ordered a great Number of Troops to advance; but as soon as the Succours were entered the Town, *Menzikof*, who commanded these sham Attacks, retired instantly, being content with his Success in having conveyed in those Troops, and likewise assured a Communication with the Town by a Redoubt mounted with Cannon, which he had raised near the Bridge.

The same Day two *Tartar* Couriers arrived in the Camp. *Mazeppa* sent them to the King, with Propositions from the Han of the *Tartars*, who designed to join us. Towards the Evening the rest of the Regiment of Guards arrived in the Camp, and were posted on the Side of the Cloyster.

The seventeenth, his Majesty gave Orders to raise a little Redoubt on the Foot of the Mountain, on which *Pultowa* is situated, and near the River, at the same Place through which the Succours had entered into the Town. The Enemy who were posted on an opposite Piece of rising Ground, la-

boured at an Entrenchment to incommodate us, and the next Day caused two Battalions to defile down the Hill on the Bank of the River, opposite our Redoubt. These Troops gave a Volley of small Arms on our Guard posted there, which returning it in the same Manner, obliged them to return back behind their Entrenchment.

While these Things were doing on this Side, the Enemy made a Sally with eight hundred Men, commanded by Brigadier *Gallowin*; but they were so stoutly received by Major-General *Roos* and the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, that half of them were killed or wounded; the Brigadier was made Prisoner, and the rest with Difficulty enough saved themselves towards the Town.

The nineteenth, the Enemy made great Motions on the other Side of the *Worskla*, where Prince *Menzikof* drew together a Body of Troops, which appeared desirous of attempting to pass the River and attack us, his Majesty mounted instantly on Horseback, and caused all the Regiments of Foot to defile on the Side of the Cloyster, and draw up in Order of Battle on two Lines. The Enemy had besides pushed their Works that Night with great Vigour, which gave us further Reason to think we should come to Blows with them; for which Reason, Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild* drew nearer with the Horse, to be ready to receive the King's Orders; but the Enemy seeing the Disposition of our Troops, which were ready to receive them, durst not pass, and contented themselves with keeping us all that day under Arms.

The twenty-first, the Regiments of Foot of *Roos*, *Rank*, *Ulfspär* and *Wejherbohn*, came up with the Camp.

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Major-General *Creutz* arrived likewise from his old Post, where he had been with his Regiment of Horse Guards, and posted himself at a short Quarter of a League Distance. The same Day the Enemy discharged more than sixty Cannon from their Entrenchments.

The twenty-second Brigadier *Gallowin* attempted to escape by endeavouring to corrupt the Centinel, who refused his Bribe, and publicly declared his Offer; for which the King gave him sixty Crowns to reward his Fidelity.

The twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth, nothing remarkable past, and the Siege went slowly on; we endeavoured to spring some Mines, but they were discovered. We lost in these Days, a Major, an Engineer, a Captain and a Lieutenant, who were killed in the Approaches: the worst was, that our wounded Men seldom recovered, on account of the sudden Gangrene which attended their Wounds, occasioned by a terrible Heat.

The twenty-seventh, *Scheremetzoff* came from *Oltwa* on the *Pziol*, where he had hitherto remained, to join *Menzikoff*, by passing the *Poluxar* and the *Worskla*. The Enemy now began to entrench themselves very carefully on the other Side and to fortify their Camp, after having filled up the Morasses and the Breaches of the *Worskla* with some Millions of Fascines, over which they carried on their Works, which they armed with Cannon and Mortars: their Lines extended along the River, and on the other Side round their Camp.

The same Day, the Governor of *Pultowa* sallied on our Workmen in

the Trenches, and drove them Home to the Regiment of *Dabl-Carlia*, where a Lieutenant of this Regiment was killed, with some Soldiers and *Zaporovians*; but as soon as this Regiment advanced to support the Workmen, the Enemy retreated in Haste, with the Loss of some Men killed and wounded. The *Zaporovians*, who had hitherto done good Service in the Trenches, returned thither no more with a good Heart.

On the twenty-ninth, the Enemy drew their Line downward hence to the River; to which we opposed another Line on our Side along the *Worskla*, reaching from the Town of *Pultowa* under the Hill beyond the Cloyster, very near the Bank, flanked with Works on each Extremity; in the middle were two Redoubts near a little Rivulet, which winding between *Pultowa* and the Cloyster, falls into the *Worskla*; several of our Regiments of Foot incamped behind to watch the Motions of the Enemy.

The thirty-first, a Party of the Enemy's Valoches and Calmucks attacked our Valoches near *Czaki*; but were so well received, that after many of them were killed the rest ran away full Speed: Our Valoches made ten Prisoners in this Encounter, amongst which were two of our Deserters. The next Day a Festival was celebrated in the Enemy's Camp, on which Account they made a great Discharge from their Ordinance.

The first, second, and third of *June*, were past in looking on each other, and on the fourth, a large Detachment of the besieged going forth to forage on the Side of the River, his Majesty gave Orders to march the Guard, who

drove them back; but the Besieged soon returning with more Troops, attacked our Guard with all imaginable Fury, who defended themselves in like Manner, without giving one Step of Ground; the Fire, after enduring a good while, ceased on the Enemy's Part, who beat a Retreat, when they saw *Swedish* Succours arriving: The Besieged re-entered their Town with the Loss of several hundred killed and wounded. This Day they began new Works near the River, more to the left, to cover their Bridge of Communication. The same Day, the Czar arrived in their Camp with a good Number of Troops; and their Deserters assured us, that they had thirty Regiments of Foot, as many of Dragoons, and upwards of fifty thousand Cossacks and Calmucks.

The sixth, a Party of the Enemy, consisting of some hundred Horse, without reckoning Cossacks or Calmucks, approached on the Side of *Czuki*, to reconnoitre the Camp of Velt-Marshall *Rheinschild*, who being advertised of the Visit, sent out some Horse to chase them, and these returned with several Prisoners. The same Day a Valoche, who had been taken Prisoner by the *Russians*, escaped, and brought us Word, that the Czar had resolved to attack his Majesty's Army in three different Places; however, he executed nothing at this Time. A large Body of the Enemy's Cossacks attacked a great Number of Peasants of our Party, who were entrenched in a Wood near *Cobilak*, half Way between the *Borishbents* and *Pultowa*, but were so well received, that they were obliged to retire with considerable Loss. *Mazeppa* gave a large Re-

ward to these Peasants.

From the seventh to the thirteenth, nothing remarkable past, except that the Enemy continued to push on their Works, and that we put our Lines in a very good Condition.

The thirteenth, the Czar drew a new Line, and the next Day threw four Bombs into the Town, in which were only contained Letters for the Governor.

The fifteenth, the Enemy attempted to pass the River with many Troops, and attacked the Column under General *Cruus*, which by their Superiority in Number they had the good luck to dislodge, they plundered his Baggage, and burnt what they could not carry away; at the same Time they delivered more than a thousand *Muscovites*, with their Colonel, who were Prisoners under the Guard of *Cruus's* Regiment; but before their Retreat, the *Swedes* killed one hundred and seventy of their Detachment, which was commanded by General *Heinsoben*. The same Day there was an Alarm at Count *Rheinschild's* Quarters at *Czuki*, as well as at *Pultowa*, where the Governor raised new Works towards the River and the Bridge of Communication, near which we saw many *Muscovite* Troops who did not however undertake any Thing.

The sixteenth at Midnight, the Enemy threw four Bombs with Letters into the Town. The Governor then gave a Signal, that he had received them. At the same Time the Enemy past the River in the Night with several Troops near a Village of *Pietroska*, on M. *Rheinschild's*; Side and before Day-break they had raised a Parapet of seven Bastions, upon which they

H h h

presently

presently posted themselves and displayed their Colours, carrying on their Entrenchment the whole Day.

Count *Rheinschild* after having ordered General *Creutz's* Division, which was the nearest, to approach, with two Regiments of Foot, drew up his Troops in Order of Battle, and waited the King's Orders. The Prince of *Wirmtenberg* very narrowly escaped being taken Prisoner on this Occasion; for being at too great a Distance to reconnoitre the Enemy, he had been surrounded and taken Prisoner, if some Officers and Dragoons had not hastened to his Assistance, and delivered him from the Pursuit of the Enemy. The *Russians* made a Feint to pass the Bridge of Communication, a quarter of a League lower under *Pultowa*: the King having approached them to reconnoitre their Motions, had the Misfortune to receive a Shot which pierced through the Boot of his left Leg, entering in a little above the Toe, and going out at the Heel. He took at first no Notice of this Wound, and continued some Time to give Orders to his Men with the utmost Tranquility, in Contempt of the sharpest Pains, till the Blood running in great Abundance, declared his Wound: he nevertheless exprest no Emotion, and returned an Hour after slowly to the Camp, where they were obliged to cut off his Boot, his Leg being extremely swelled.

Count *Piper* and the Generals were much frightened at this Wound. The King observing this solemn Silence, asked *Neumann* his Surgeon the Reason of all their Consternation; who answered his Majesty plainly, that the Wound was very dangerous, for that

some few Marks of a Gangrene already appeared: at which this Prince, far from betraying any Symptoms of fear, replied; *There is nothing in that, cut it away, cut it away.* And causing him to make very deep Incisions, which he beheld with more Tranquility than the Spectators, he supported this horrible Operation with a Constancy of Mind very extraordinary. There was only this violent Method to save the King's Foot, which must otherwise have been cut off. The Expertness of the Surgeon having prevented the Gangrene, the King soon found himself able to bear a Litter, though the Cure went but slowly on, both on Account of the excessive Heat, and an intermitting Fever which much incommoded his Majesty.

About Noon, the Enemy made a Sally with twelve hundred Men or thereabouts, and attacked us with great Fury in our Approaches; but the Regiment of Guards who then were in the Trenches being drawn up, soon obliged them to return. Towards the Evening the rest of the *Muscovite* Army passed the River, and entered into their new Camp. His Majesty having ordered Count *Rheinschild* to raise some Works, we began to go about them, whilst several Regiments advanced to reinforce the Count. At the same Time the Garrison of *Pultowa* continued to extend their Lines on the Side of the Communication with the Enemy, even to the Foot of the Hill.

On the eighteenth the Enemy carried on their new Works near *Pietrof-ski*, directly opposite to the Line which we had drawn against them. That Day their Gabions were set on Fire,

Fire, which occasioned great Confusion: in the mean Time they pushed on their Approaches vigorously, under favour of a dreadful and continual Fire both from their small Arms and Cannon. They ranged their Horse along the River, on the other Side, and made a Feint to pass, to hinder which, his Majesty ordered our Guard near the River to be reinforced, where a Major-General mounted every Day. This Day the Soldiers enquired News of the King, and appeared very much disturbed.

The nineteenth, the Enemy brought up more Troops in their new Entrenchment of *Pietrofski*, on Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild's* Side, where they raised seventeen Redoubts along the River. The Velt-Marshal who had with him nothing but Horse, having presently sent back the two Regiments of Foot, quitted *Czuki*, and approached within a quarter of a League of *Pultowa*. Few of the Enemy's Troops were in their Works on the other Side the River opposite to *Pultowa*; and every thing was easy.

The twentieth, we had an Alarm in Count *Rheinschild's* Quarters, several Squadrons amounting to about six thousand Horse, besides Cossacks, advanced in order of Battle, and made a Show of attacking us. The Count putting himself immediately at the Head of his Horse, rode a Trot to meet them; and having overthrown them Sword-in-hand, broke, dispersed, and routed them, pursuing them a whole League close at their Heels, and without giving them Time to recover themselves.

The Enemy's Loss was considerable in this Rencounter, especially in their

Flight, and we reckoned above five hundred dead on the Spot, and in the Road. We took an Officer of Note, with some Soldiers, who told us, that *Menzikof* and *Scheremethof* were in their new Camp, with ten thousand Foot and thirty Regiments of Dragoons; that *Volkonski* had conducted this Regiment, and that General *Ba-ver* was present, but entirely fuddled: we found likewise the Czar's Picture, which that General had lost in his Flight. This Day we saw a great Dust in the Enemy's Camp on the other Side of the River, by which we knew they were in Motion; and they had besides very few Men in their Works on that Side.

The twenty-first, the Enemy had abandoned their Works and their Lines opposite to us. Major-General *Sparr*, who mounted the Guard the next Day near the River; detached some Troops to ruin and burn their Works, which was executed. News was brought to the King, that the Enemy had drawn all their Forces to *Pietrofski*, and had left no Troops on the other Side of the *Worskla*. His Majesty was not very well this Day, which gave us an Apprehension of some fresh Inflammation; but towards the Evening he grew better. We understood from some Deserters, that the Czar had yesterday told General *Ba-ver*, in the Presence of several People, that the King of *Sweden* was wounded in his Foot; that it was believed in the Enemy's Camp, that we should be attacked in a few Days by all the Czar's Forces, and that there were seven hundred Saxons in the City of *Moscow*, who had deserted from the *Swedish* Army of *Lubeker*, which were now

sent to *Cremelin*, to defend it in Case of an Attack, the Inhabitants of that Capital being under deadly Fears.

The 22d News arrived in the Night that the Enemy was in full March to give us Battle, for which his Majesty gave Orders very early to the whole Army to prepare. The Velt-Marshal, after having remained some Time with the King, went forth, and put himself at the Head of the Cavalry, which were ranged in Order of Battle, whilst the Infantry came up, and formed a Line of a Quarter of a League in Length, having the Horse for their Wings.

All the Baggage was left together in the Rear of the Army, with some Regiments and *Zaporovians* to cover it. Some Troops had Orders to remain in our Trenches and Redoubts near the River, to defend them. As for the King he was carried in his Bed on a Litter by two Horses, with some *Drabans* and Squadrons who marched by his Side to guard him.

The Army thus ranged in Order of Battle, stood some Hours together in Expectation of the Enemy; his Majesty having at first ordered them to carry him to the Head of his Foot, where they took down his Litter, a Circumstance which extremely animated his Troops.

Mazeppa came to the King now, and reported to him, that some *Tartar* Deputies were arrived at *Gobilak* with a *Turkish* Escort. Soon after Secretary *Klinkostrom* arrived, with Colonel *Sandul*, and the *Tartar* Deputies, which were the Captain of the Guards of the *Han* of the *Tartars*, the Voyer-General, and some Murfcs, all Offi-

cers. These being conducted into the King's Presence, made their Obedience, while Colonel *Sandul* presented to Count *Piper* an Answer of the *Seraskier* *Bashaw* of *Bender*, touching the *Valachian* Recruits, and *Klinkostrom* gave him a Letter from the *Han* of the *Tartars*.

This Letter of the *Han* purported in Substance, That the *Tartars* were ready to mount their Horses against the *Russians*, when they were informed that his Majesty had made Peace with the Czar, after having three Times demanded it; that the *Russians* who had spread this News, had added, that the King had demanded the Czar's Sister in Marriage; that the Ministers of that Prince had moreover offered large Sums of Money to the *Han* of the *Tartars*, to hinder him from entering into the Interests of the King of *Sweden*, and to persuade him to embrace the Czar's Party; but that the *Han*, thro' the extreme Veneration which he bore towards the King of *Sweden*, had refused their Offers, being thoroughly resolved to run all Hazards with his Majesty.

The King, in the mean Time perceiving that the Enemy did not come, nor had any Desire to attack him, ordered his Army to separate; his Majesty with the Foot marched towards the Cloyster, of which we have before spoken, which is on a Hill opposite to the Town, from whence it is only divided by a Valley. Here the Foot posted themselves, whilst the Velt-Marshal with the Horse, marched on the other Side of the Town, where the King had hitherto been. As to the Baggage, it remained where it was, because

because it was not known whether the Enemy would attack us the next Day.

The 23d nothing remarkable passed, except that towards the Evening a Body of Cossacks and Calmucks proceeded towards his Majesty's Camp to reconnoitre us; our advanced Guards fired at them. Towards Night a Deferrer from the Enemy brought us an Account, that the Czar was drawing all his Forces on this Side the River, and that General *Heinschen* only remained on the other with some Regiments, and was posted below the Town opposite the Velt-Marshal. The Enemy carried on their Intrenchments without ceasing.

On the 24th we were advised, that the Enemy drew nearer, always intrenching themselves as they advanced.

The 25th *Gyllenkrok* was ordered to remain on the other Side of the Town, where the Trenches were, to conduct the Attack. He had with him the *Zaporovians*, who worked not willingly in the Trenches; so that *Gyllenkrok* had much Difficulty to bring them to it. They complained, that they only were always commanded to work, and not the *Swedes*, and said, that they were not our Slaves.

The 26th the Enemy made great Motions, approaching still nearer and intrenching themselves. *

* Here ends the Author's Journal, who had the Misfortune to be killed by a Cannon-Shot at the Battle of *Pulhwa*, on the Side of the King's Litter.



ADDITIONS



ADDITIONS TO THE HISTORY OF CHARLES XII. King of SWEDEN.

NUMBER I.

An Exposition of the unjust Proceedings of King AUGUSTUS, with respect to the Estates of Poland, which gave Occasion to the Grand Confederacy entered into against him.



FREDERICK AUGUSTUS, Elector of Saxony, was no sooner raised to the Royal Dignity, than he introduced his Saxon Troops into Poland, to make himself Master of those who were of an opposite Faction. As these observed that their Country was began to be harrassed by the March of these Troops, and by furnishing them with Winter-

Quarters at the same Time as it was on the Point of being exposed to a Civil War, by the Efforts which this Prince made to reduce the Dutchy of *Lithuania*, and by the Haughtiness with which he carried himself, they took a firm Resolution to oppose those violent Measures, and to stop their Current.

The Pope, who foresaw to what an Extremity the Affairs of *Poland* would be reduced, if the Minds of the People continued exasperated in this Manner,

Manner, sent a Nuncio, called *Pau-lucci*, to offer his Mediation, which both Sides accepted. In Consequence of this, a Treaty was concluded at *Lowiecz*, in Presence of the Primate and some other Senators, between King *Augustus* and the opposite Party then named *Rolloscz*. This Treaty contained a great Number of Articles, and is printed in the *Polish* Tongue. Amongst others, there was one, by which it was agreed to call a General Diet, to settle a good Understanding and Quiet in the Kingdom. This Diet was called soon afterwards, namely in 1699, and published under this Title, *Comitia Generalia Pacificationis Regni: A General Assembly for the Pacification of the Kingdom*. At this Diet the whole Republick, seeing the Misery into which the Kingdom would be plunged, if they did not stick close to their Laws, declined coming to any Resolution, because the *Saxons* had no longer Pretence to remain in *Poland*; since *Augustus* had been unanimously recognized by the Treaty of *Lowiecz*, and a Peace was concluded with the *Turks*; so that we had no more to do with any foreign Powers.

The Republick could no longer bear to see these foreign Troops, which were not in her Service, to ravage and destroy her Territories; nor would she, who had been accustomed to the Enjoyment of perfect Liberty, submit to the Reproaches of having held a Council under the Power of a foreign Force: so that after a thousand Arguments on the Foundation of our Laws, King *Augustus* seeing at last that if he did not yield to the Demands of the Republick, he should be obliged to discover those Designs of Sovereignty,

which he had formed immediately on his Accession to the Throne, gave universal Assurance, that one Part of his Troops were already on the Frontiers, in their Way out of the Country, and that he would without Delay give Orders to the rest to evacuate the Kingdom, reserving only twelve hundred Men for his Guard, agreeable to the *Pacta-Conventa*.

The Republick, charmed at this Condescension with which King *Augustus* only intended to amuse her, assured this Prince by an express Law of every thing he desired for his Support.

His Majesty obliged himself on his Part not to trouble the publick Repose any more with these Troops; but on the contrary, if they were not gone in six Weeks, or if any should persist in staying longer, that every one might be permitted to fall on them, and treat them as Enemies of the Country, pursuing them in any Manner with Impunity, without incurring his Majesty's Displeasure, or becoming guilty of the Crime *lese majestatis*; but that such Treatment of them should be deemed a lawful Action, and authorised by the Laws.

After this solemn Agreement, the Diet was continued, and many Laws tending to procure and confirm the publick Welfare were concluded. The Diet at length ended successfully, and all the World began to look on our Nation as one of the happiest on Earth, which had a King who delighted in doing good, and was at Peace with all his Neighbours.

But Affairs remained not long in this Situation: for scarce were these fine Hopes conceived when a Change happened.

happened all at once, which no one had any Reason to suspect. The Mask which had been so agreeably put on to impose on the Republick, soon fell off, at the News of the taking of *Dunamunde* by *Flemming*, and that only half of the *Saxon* Army was departed, tho' it had promised never to re-enter into *Poland*.

The Republick, which was now separated, was offended at these proceedings, and in the Resolution which she had taken to oppose the Designs of the Court, she found no other Means than to beseech the King to convene a Diet instantly; but the King, far from granting their Request, held only a *Senatus Consilium*, at which the Primate and upwards of thirty Senators assisted; none of which, except four *Saxon* Partisans, would intermeddle with, or hearken to the War begun with the King of *Sweden*.

However, the King pursued his Enterprize with Obstinacy, attempting to besiege *Riga*, and continually throwing Oil into the civil Fire which he had kindled in *Lithuania*, and which he laboured by a thousand Practices to spread through the rest of the Kingdom.

Poland, seeing herself by these Means reduced to the Brink of Ruin, began to stir; and particularly the Palatinates of *Posnania* and *Kalisz*, who sent their Deputies from the Dietine of *Skroda* to intreat the King, That he would forbear violating the Pacta-Conventa, and the Laws made against his Troops; that he would desist from the War with *Sweden*, begun without the Knowledge of the Republick; that he would endeavour to extinguish the Fire kindled in *Lithuania*; and lastly, that

he would call a General Diet, to consider of the publick Affairs.

On these Representations the King called a General Diet, where the Republick began to make their Complaints, by representing that the good Understanding and Interview twice repeated with the Czar of *Muscovy* against the Laws of the Country, gave sufficient Assurances of that fatal Yoke which was preparing for them; that, as all this was done without her interfering, she was resolved to enter into no Deliberation on any Point whatever, before she had obtained a Redress of all the Grievances which were the Subjects of her Complaints. It was answered on the Part of the King, that this could not at present be done, and that his Majesty must first bring the Enterprize he had undertaken to an honourable Issue; that he would however call a General Diet in a little Time, and would then endeavour to satisfy the Republick on all her Pretensions. The Time of the Diet being come, the Estates assembled; and demanded Satisfaction of the King, for the Laws which had been violated with Impunity. His Majesty, instead of rendering them Justice, proposed only that they would consent to the single Enterprize against *Sweden*, without giving any forcible or just Reasons which might induce them to agree to so extraordinary a Demand.

The Republick now perceiving that the Face of Affairs was not changed, and that she was in the same Situation as before, separated again without having concluded any thing, either for the Good of the Country, or the Satisfaction of King *Augustus*; who, seeing that it was impossible to engage the

the Republick to give her Consent to such Enterprises as would be extremely pernicious to her, began to change the ordinary Course of Affairs; and instead of assembling Diets, he had now Recourse to particular Councils, which were held at *Thorn* and *Mariembourg*.

On this Occasion all the Palatinates of the Kingdom protested, and began, by often repeated Deputations, to solicit the King, that he would not introduce an unheard of Novelty into *Poland*, to which they could never give their Consent.

This Prince, finding that this Method would not succeed, called a General Diet at *Lublin*; and as the Palatinates of *Poznania* and *Kalisz*, desired likewise to send their Deputies thither, they held a Dietine at the usual Place at *Skroda*; most of the Members whereof interesting themselves in the publick Welfare, would not consent to the War with the *Swedes*. The *Saxon* Partizans, who were there, protested maliciously against all that passed in this Assembly: so that they were obliged to separate without coming to any Conclusion.

The Members of this Dietine were scarce retired, when new *Universalias* appeared, published by the *Saxon* Partizans of these two Palatinates, to convene another Dietine; whither a great Number of the Nobility repaired, notwithstanding the Want of the usual Formalities in publishing the said *Universalias*.

The *Saxon* Partizans, fearing lest

their irregular Conduct would be censured, thought proper to absent themselves; nor did one of them go to the Assembly, which, being desirous to improve the precious Moment that offered, laboured with extraordinary Care and Zeal for the Tranquility of the Kingdom, and sent twelve Messengers, all Parsons of the first Distinction, to the Diet of *Lublin*; who, at their Arrival, soon perceived by the Clamours of the *Saxon* Partizans, that they would not admit them, but would sooner cut their Throats than suffer them to have a free Voice; and indeed, tho' they did not take away their Lives, they drove them insolently out of the Assembly, as if they had been the greatest Criminals, or most infamous of Men.

These Gentlemen, so shamefully driven away, failed not, at their Return, to publish a strong Manifesto, particularising all their Grievances against this enormous and unheard of Proceeding; of which they likewise complained bitterly in a Dietine summoned at *Skroda*, but which was broke up by a *Saxon* Partisan. The Nobility were enraged at this Usage, and hence began their Confederacy at *Warsaw*, which afterwards increased to such an Height. The Cardinal's Manifesto, and the Instruments of the Confederacy itself forgot none of those Acts of Injustice, committed by *Augustus*, against the Estates of *Poland*, of which they gave a very circumstantial Detail.

NUMBER II.

An Extract from the Apology of Feld-Marshal Flemming for the first Invasion of Livonia by the Saxons, translated from the High-Dutch.

AFTER the Project, concerning *Livonia*, had been laid at *Warsaw*, Mr. *Paikul* and Major General *Carlowitz* repaired to *Muscovy*; at which Time I concerted with Mr. *Paikul* the Manner of regulating that Body of Troops, which was then at *Polanga* in *Lithuania*, in Order to facilitate the Execution of the projected Design, while I followed the King to conclude the Alliance with the King of *Denmark*, which was already negotiating. The Death of the late King of *Denmark* retarded this Business; for none of the Intelligence, which was expected from that Quarter, arrived. Upon this Change I offered to go myself into *Denmark*, but the King thought proper to send Count *Bottmar*, with whom, by his Majesty's Order, I conferred on that Affair, and gave him all kind of Instructions. Count *Reventlau* arrived at this Time at *Dresden*. To remove all Umbrage from Mr. *Welling*, who was in that City, I concluded an Alliance with the Count; which was done in eight Days, or rather eight Nights. We had not Time to transcribe a fair Copy of the Articles, Count *Reventlau* being obliged to set out for *Vienna*; since he had no other Pretence for remaining at *Dresden*, than to pay his Respects to his Majesty. I was pleased at this Opportunity of gaining Time, to reflect a

little at my Leisure on the Points of the Alliance, and to find out (as I did) somewhat to insert in the secret Articles more to the Advantage of the King of *Poland*.

His Majesty was not ignorant in what manner his Troops were paid, and that they were in general on a very indifferent Foot, through the new Regulation made under *Lowenhaupt's* Direction, who had stripped them of their Horses, Provisions, and every Thing necessary for an Expedition. As this could not be publicly remedied without giving Umbrage, it was necessary underhand to remount the Troops and put them in a good Condition; for this a deal of Money was wanted. I treated without his Majesty's Knowledge, with Count *Reventlau* on this Head, who consented, at my Instances, to procure me an Advance on the Revenues of the Post-office, which his Majesty afterwards approved.

Some time after this I received Advice from Mr. *Paikul*, of Mr. *Paikul's* return, and that there was an Appearance of undertaking the Affair with Success. I resolved to write to Mr. *Paikul*, to make a Beginning; but I was dissuaded from it, because Mr. *Paikul* was little known among the Troops which he was to command, and had not yet had Time to beget any Confidence in them; besides which,

which, it was alledged, that the ill State of the Troops might prevent the Success of the Enterprize. Lastly, they gave me Hopes of being speedily dispatched, which caused me to acquiesce, without neglecting any thing in the mean Time, which might contribute to the happy Issue of the Affair. I afterwards received a Letter from Mr. *Paikul*, touching the Arrival of Mr. *Paikul*; and by which he desired me, as I might be detained longer in Saxony, to send him Orders to begin the Business, after first giving an Account thereof to the King. Upon which I sent my Brother to *Paikul*, with the Orders he desired.

Carlowitz and *Paikul* were now arrived in *Lithuania*, and communicated the Design to the Colonels, who offered to execute it; on which Account they assembled their Troops, and marched towards *Riga*, where they put themselves on their Guard on all Sides, as we shall see hereafter.

Carlowitz and *Paikul* went to *Liepzick*, to give an Account of their Negotiations, having with them the Treaty concluded with the Czar. *Paikul* observed, that he despaired of Success in the Enterprize, since they had not begun at the Time appointed, &c. &c.

I told *Paikul* there was but this Alternative, either to abandon the Affair, or to pursue it vigorously; to this his Majesty agreed, but thought it had gone too far to be retracted. *Paikul* was of Opinion, that we should undertake it anew, when Opportunity offered, of which I informed the King, as *Paikul* did not dare appear at Court on *Welling's* Account.

I gave his Majesty little Hopes,

who, after having considered the Plan of *Riga*, seemed willing to content himself with the taking of *Cobrun*, after which we might make a Bridge of Boats, and put ourselves in a Condition of gaining by an open War what we could not carry by Surprise.

It was necessary to secure the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, on which Account a Treaty was concluded, stipulating the March of the *Saxon* Troops through his Country.

I now set out for *Lithuania*, having sent before the Quarter-master of my own Regiment, with Money and Bills on *Dantzick*; and ordered the rest of the *Danish* Supply, to be sent me without Delay.

I could then have heartily wished to have executed the Design on *Riga*; but I found it not practicable, as well by reason of the Precautions which had been taken to put this Place in a good Condition, as the general Discontent of our Troops, especially the Officers, who, though very brave Fellows, protested against this Enterprize, which they looked on as the Invention of *Paikul* or *Paikul*, in the latter of whom they acknowledged they had very little Confidence.

Hence I took an Opportunity of conferring with *Carlowitz*, *Paikul* and *Paikul*. They were all three ardently disposed to pursue the Design on *Riga*; but I insisted on the Execution's being impossible. *Paikul* and *Paikul* agreed with my Opinion: *Carlowitz* was at first strenuous for the Attempt, but at length submitted to us.

It was concluded to surprize the advanced Guard, and attack *Cobrun*, as I had advised. They were for em-

ploying no more than five hundred Men, but I commanded a thousand, and my Regiment of Dragoons.

The Report which was made to us by those who had reconnoitred the Fort, changed these three Gentlemen's Opinions, and they would have desisted from the Attack, and have contented themselves with barely entering into the Country; but I remained stedfast in my Resolution, and employed all Manner of Means to animate the Officers and Soldiers. It is not necessary to shew how I seconded Mr. Paikul, in those wholesome Orders which were given through the Country to gain the Affection of the People, or how we beat the Regiment of Horse of the Nobility of the Country.

I had a Conference with Mr. Paikul about *Dunamund*, and we judged: First, That it was a Place of the greatest Importance. Secondly, That it must be absolutely attacked in the Winter, or never thought of. Thirdly, We gave Attention to what we heard, namely, that ones of the Courtines had been utterly thrown down

to build Caserns; since which, they had not had Time to rebuild it, and that that this Part was now defended only by a single Palisade. Fourthly, That the Garrison was very small, and little able to support an Attack. Fifthly and lastly, We knew that we could take Advantage of the low Flanks to scale the Place; all which Reasons determin'd us to attack it, and Mr. Paikul shewed great Impatience to enter upon what he thought infallible.

At last being determined on the Attack, I commanded a Body of a little more than six thousand Men, the rest having perished where they had been, without fighting. The Attack was to be made by two thousand, and, in this case, one thousand were to be used as a Body of reserve. I had yet Foot enough to make the Bridge and defend the Fort, and was superior to them in Horse. His Majesty had already received an Account from me of the Execution of the Attack on *Dunamund*.

NUMBER III.

An Abridgement of the Campaign which the Swedish Army made in Finland, Anno 1708, under the Command of Major-General Baron Lybecker.

AS soon as the Major-General had received his Orders from the Senate of *Sweden*, concerning the Invasion which he was to make on *Ingria*, as well to draw the Enemy from that Side, as to hinder them, if possible, from disturbing his Majesty's

March to the *Ukrain*, all our Forces in *Finland* to the Number of twelve thousand Men, as well Foot as Horse, were put in Motion, and departed the tenth of *August*, N. S. from the Town of *Wiburg*.

The next Day it unluckily began to rain,

rain, which continuing fifteen Days without ceasing, made the Roads almost unpassable, and consequently the March extremely difficult and laborious. At last, after they had surmounted all Obstacles, and were arrived at a Place named *Keltis*, situated two Leagues from the *Neva*, the Army which had pitched their Camp, learnt from their Parties which had been sent to *reconnoitre* the Enemy, that they were posted on the other Side the *Neva* with five thousand Men, to oppose our Passage over the River, to which Purpose they had raised a small Battery of four Field-pieces. Upon this Advice, Mr. *Lybecker* detached immediately Colonel *Henry Hastfer* with two thousand Men, having with him Pontons for the Passage, with Orders to attack and dislodge the Enemy. As soon as Mr. *Hastfer* had arrived at the River, which in this Part is very rapid, he embarked sixteen hundred Foot under the Command of the Lieutenant-Colonels *Stiernstråle*, *Krusenstierna*, and *Clas Skog*, who notwithstanding the continual Fire from the two *Russian* Gallies, and from the Batteries on the opposite Side, crossed the River, and attacked the Enemy with so much Bravery, that after a bloody and obstinate Fight which lasted an Hour, they put them to Flight, with a dreadful Slaughter.

This Action being over, and the Army being drawn down to the River, they continued to pass for thirteen Days together. They then marched in several Columns from *Tusma* to *Ingris*. The Major-General having received Advice that the Enemy had some Magazines near *Duderdorff*, about three Leagues from *Ingris*, filled with Sol-

diers Cloths and Provisions, he put himself at the Head of three thousand Horse, and set out in the Morning to surprize and seize on those Magazines: but as this Country is full of Defiles and of difficult Passes, the Horse were very much put to it to surmount them, and were thereby retarded in their March. Being, at last arrived near a great Defile named *Karbula*, where the Enemy had three hundred Dragoons, the *Swedish* Van-guard, consisting only of forty Dragoons, attacked them so fiercely on a Gallop with Sword in hand, that they did not give them Time for a single Discharge, and pursued them close at their Heels, killing some of them, and taking twenty Prisoners.

The General after this Rencontre, finding his Men extremely fatigued, made them halt to give them a little Breath, their Horses being so fatigued that they could go no farther; but having heard a Moment afterwards that the Enemy had set Fire to those Magazines, from whence they were only at one League's Distance, he ordered his Troops to return to their Camp. The Army, marching in excellent Order, passed near *Petersbourg* and *Cronstadt*, and came to a Place called *Heilibusch*, where they pitched their Camp. Here the General on his first Arrival, which was the 13th of September, called a grand Council of War, to consider what was to be done in so advanced a Season, and when the Army was so fatigued by continual and laborious Marches: It was at length resolved, to send Major *Schlippenbach* with a Brigantine from our Fleet at *Revel*, to know of the Lieutenant-General of that Name, if the Army

Army could by any Means be subsisted during the Winter in the Province of *Esthonia*.

Till the Answer was brought back, the Army having passed half a League from *Kapuria*, encamped at a Place called *Weska*. The General detached two thousand Horse to *Kapuria*, where Brigadier *Friset* was advantageously posted with some thousand Men, having before him a large Trench armed with *Obusiers de Frise*, a Parapet, and some Field-pieces. As soon as our Horse were in Sight of the Enemy, they dismounted and attacked them in the Instant with such Force, that notwithstanding the Enemy's Fire, and their advantageous Situation, they were overthrown after half an Hour's Fight, and forced to fly in Disorder. They did not think proper to pursue them, and after they had taken at this Place the Enemy's Chancery, the Detachment returned and joined the Army. Amongst their Papers was found the Plan of an Operation against the *Swedes*, which consisted in marching against them upwards of twenty thousand Men drawn from different Garrisons, and which were already in Motion to cut off our Retreat.

As the Season was already very far advanced, and the Cold began to grow very rigorous, it was resolved to march the Army towards the Sea, to embark the Troops on board our Fleet, which was to transport them into *Finland*. The General had preferred this Reso-

lution to any other, because the Passage into *Esthonia* on *Narva* Side, appeared to him at first more difficult than it really was. However, the Army being repaired to the Sea-side the tenth of *October* near a Place called *Kolkaspa*, where our Fleet lay at Anchor, began the Embarkation, which lasted fifteen Days, during which, without any Necessity, and from the Effect of a Panick Terror which had no solid Foundation, the General ordered all the Horses to be killed, which amounted to five thousand, and which were massacred accordingly, to facilitate our Retreat. The Rear-guard composed of four hundred *Saxon* Foot, and commanded by Major *Seulenburg*, being on the Point to be embarked as the others had been, was attacked by the Enemy, against whom they defended themselves with wonderful Bravery for several Hours, but were at length for the most Part slain, and the rest made Prisoners. The Fleet sailed with the Army to *Biorokoo*, four Leagues from *Wiburg*, where they landed in *Finland*. This was the unhappy Issue of an Enterprize, which had at first appeared so advantageous, and which had certainly produced the greatest Consequence, if it had been conducted with more Vigour and Prudence. It had now no other Effect than the Loss of Numbers of the Inhabitants of that Country, who having declared too soon for their ancient Masters, were all carried into Slavery.

*A Relation of the Battle of Pultowa, with some Reflections
on the two preceding Campaigns.*

WHEN the late Charles XII. was in Saxony, he would have been very glad to have made a Peace with the Czar, if that Prince had been then inclined to conclude such a one, as in a Conjunction so glorious for Sweden, might have been the least reasonable.

It is true that the Czar did offer one; but the Condition *sine qua non*, was not relished by the King, his Enemy absolutely resolving to keep the Port of *Petersbourg* on the *Baltick* Sea, which could not be yielded to him without entirely overturning the whole System of our Politicks.

Besides this, the Czar was too deeply engaged with the Emperor, *England* and *Holland*, who continually fomented this War, in order to give a Diversion to the Courage of the young *Swedish* Conqueror, whose Friendship for *France* was much apprehended by them. Several Letters were intercepted about this Time, advising the Czar, to expose and ransack his Provinces and Estates, sooner than give up the least Article of his Pretensions.

Charles XII. who saw himself at the Head of the finest and most warlike Army that perhaps ever was, elated with his great Successes; and in no Humour to have Conditions prescribed him, departed from *Saxony*, to impose reasonable ones on his formidable Enemy, and such as might for the future secure the Repose of the North, but especially to shut up the *Russians* within their ancient Bounds.

It is however certain, that his Majesty left *Germany* with Regret, where he wished to remain to be the Mediator between *France* and the Allies; but the Destiny of this brave Prince was written in Heaven, and he was drawn against his Will into a Chain of Difficulties and Misfortunes, which almost inevitably attended him, and against which he had Occasion for all his Courage to support him, as we shall see hereafter in this Relation.

As soon as the King came into *Poland*, the *Russians* gave Ground to him, always retreating backwards, burning, plundering and ransacking all that they met with on their Way, without ever coming to a decisive Battle. Our Army having in this manner passed through *Poland*, sometimes coasting along the Borders of *Prussia*, the King put them into Winter quarters in the Grand Duchy of *Lithuania*, where he chose the little Town of *Radoszowice* near *Wilna* for his Headquarters.

The Time being come for opening the Campaign, it was uncertain what rout they should take to pursue the Enemy; for there were two which might bring them to him. The first was that of *Polotsko*, whence it was easy to turn to the Side of *Novogorod*, and there to join the Armies under Count *Lowenhaupt* and General *Lybicki*; but after having deliberated on this Affair in the Council of War, it was found impossible to submit these three *Swedish* Armies in that Province.

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The Czar moreover had not abandoned his Resolution, of burning and destroying all the Country through which we were to pass, a Project which he could easily execute in that Part of his Dominions. We might have easily turned towards *Livonia*; but that poor Country as well as *Esthonia* and *Ingria*, had suffered so much, that they had not wherewithal to subsist the least Army, the adjacent Parts being yet in a Condition less capable of furnishing us with Succours, either for our Foot or Horse. It was not less inconvenient to march to the City of *Moscow*, passing through the Dutchy of *Twer*, by reason of the continual Woods which are in this Dutchy and that of *Novogorod*, through which there are only two Roads, which besides the great Number of Defiles and Morasses, might have been easily rendered impassable by the Enemy, the first leading directly to the Town of *Twer*, and the second through that of *Tiffina*.

All these Difficulties appeared unsurmountable, it was therefore resolved to think no more of this Rout, especially as we flattered ourselves that General *Lybecker* had sufficient Forces to invade the Provinces of *Novogorod* and *Pleskow*, the Czar being obliged to employ the chief Part of his Army to oppose that of his Majesty.

After this Rout was rejected, it was deliberated whether we should take that of *Smolensko*. Here were the same Difficulties with Regard to the Wood, which is of a considerable Length and full of Morasses, through which the Army must defile several Days together. This Wood begins at *Smolensko*, and extends to the Town

of *Mosako*, which is but a very little Way from *Moscow*. The greatest Difficulty was, that after we had, notwithstanding all Obstacles, penetrated through the Wood, the Czar had destroyed the Country to that Degree, that our Army would have found neither Provisions, Forage, nor Winter-quarters. And besides all the other Reasons which induced the King equally to reject these two Routs, there remained another great Obstacle to surmount, which was particular to the former Rout, namely, that the Towns of *Pleskow* and *Novogorod* must have been both taken before we advanced further; and if we had taken the latter, we were indispensably obliged to make ourselves Masters of *Smolensko*, which Siege might have much delayed our March.

All this engaged the King to propose another Expedient, which was to take the Rout of *Mobilow* and *Kritzowa*, and thence through the Woods of *Severia* to *Starodub*, a small Town of this latter Province. The Czar, on the Recommendation of *Mazeppa*, Hettman or General in chief of the Cossacks, had trusted the Government of the Province and that of the Town of *Starodub*, to a Colonel whose name was *Skoropatski*, who had a Regiment of some thousand Cossacks; but which, as well as their Colonel, depended on the Orders of the Hettman. The King was the rather induced to take this Road, by the new Alliance which he had concluded privately with *Mazeppa*, who having had little Reason to be pleased with the Czar, had long ardently wished to shake off his Yoke, and throw himself under the Protection of the King of *Sweden*, whose great Reputa-

Reputation had made a strong Impression on him. King *Stanislaus* and the Crown of *Poland* were comprised in this Alliance. The Articles which *Mazeppa* presented to the King of *Sweden*, to obtain his Friendship and Protection, were the following.

‘ First, That he would engage to receive his *Swedish* Majesty into the Province of *Severia*, and to deliver up to him all the Fortresses, viz. *Starodub*, *Novogrod* or *Novogorod*, *Serviersky*, *Blin*, *Bransk* and others, which had formerly belonged to the Great Dutchy of *Lithuania*, and which served at present as Frontier Fortresses of that Dutchy. This Province was now governed in chief by the Great-General *Mazeppa*, who had settled here, by the Czar’s Order, Colonel *Skoropatski*, whose Regiment, as they say in the *Ukrain*, depended on *Mazeppa*.

‘ Secondly, That his Majesty might take up his Winter-quarters in this Province, till *Mazeppa* had drawn together all the Army of the Cossacks, and brought the Cossacks of *Bialogorod* into the Alliance, with those likewise of the River *Don*, who were all dissatisfied with the tyrannical Government of the *Russians*; for the Czar was by little and little stripping them of all their Privileges.

‘ Thirdly, That *Mazeppa* should endeavour to bring the *Chan* of the Calmucks, named *Ajuka*, into the same Design.

‘ Fourthly, That as soon as *Mazeppa* had acquitted himself of what was contained in these three Articles, his Majesty would put himself in Motion, and march directly to *Moscow*,

‘ whilst *Mazeppa* on his Side should join him with all his Troops, and those of the Cossacks of *Bialogorod* and *Don*, with the Malecontent Calmucks. That as to what concerned the Subsistence of the *Swedish* Army, *Mazeppa* obliged himself to draw Provisions from the *Ukrain*, and the Provinces of *Bialogorod*, which are some of the most fertile in the whole World. That by taking of these Measures, they would oblige the Czar to retreat northward of the Town of *Moscow*, and the River *Volga*, where the Country is not near so fruitful as that on the South, and in no wise sufficient to subsist an Army so large as his: this together with the Fears of the *Russians* that they might be obliged to make Head against us in the open Field, though they were 3 Times our Superiours in Number, would put the *Swedish* Army in a Condition to give Laws every where, whilst the Czar must be infallibly lost, and his Army wanting Subsistence, and a great Part of it discontented, would be obliged, according to all Appearances, to disband themselves, or submit to the Conqueror.

Whilst these well-concerted Projects gave, humanly speaking, all imaginable Hopes of Success, King *Stanislaus*, having with him a Body of the *Swedish* Army, commanded by Major-General *Craffau*, neglected nothing on his Part to gain over the rest of the *Poles*, who under the Title of Confederates, stood out yet against him in divers Provinces. It was resolved that as soon as that King should have reduced these Malecontents to a Submission, Orders should be given to the *Po-*

lish Troops, to enter *Russia* by two different Ways, that the Crown Army should penetrate on the Side of *Kiow*, and that of *Lithuania* should attack *Smolensko*. Lastly, we flattered ourselves, that Major-General *Lybecker's* Invasion of *Ingria* at the Head of 12000 Men, would complete the Czar's Distress, and demolish him without any Resource, that General being to make himself Master of that Province, to burn *Petersbourg*, and afterwards invade the Provinces of *Novogorod* and *Pleskow*, that his Army might in case of Necessity be reinforced by Detachments drawn from the Garrisons of *Riga* and *Revel*; which would have been very easy without exposing these, if *Lybecker* had had more Prudence and good Fortune in his Expedition.

The Alliance concluded between *Mazeppa* and the *Poles* was founded on the following Articles.

First, That *Mazeppa* should punctually execute all that hath been mentioned above, and to which he was bound; namely, to deliver the Province of *Severia* to the King of *Sweden*, with all its Fortresses, &c.

Secondly, That he should promise to be ready to march with the whole Army of Cossacks, on the King's first Orders.

Thirdly, That he should attempt to bring the Cossacks of *Bialogrod*, as well as those of *Don*, with *Ajuka*, *Chan* of the *Calmucks*, into the same Alliance.

Fourthly, That he should restore all the *Ukrain* to the *Poles*, which together with *Severia*, and the Provinces of *Kiow*, *Zschernikow* and *Smolensko*, were to return under the Po-

lish Government. As a Recompence for which, they promised *Mazeppa* the Title of Prince, with the same Conditions under which the Duke of *Courland* possessed his Country, with the Palatinates of *Witpesky* and *Po-
lossko*.

A Day was then appointed, before which *Mazeppa* was to impart all these Conditions to his Colonels, and to engage them to a voluntary Consent, by representing to them the undoubted Advantages which they would receive by recovering their former Liberty, of which the *Russians* had only left them the Shadow.

Such were the Conditions of this Treaty, which was conducted so artfully, and kept so secret, that no one had the least Knowledge of it, except the King of *Sweden*, King *Stanislaus*, *Mazeppa*, Count *Piper*, a certain *Polish* Senator whose Name I have forgot, and the Archbishop of *Servia* or *Bulgaria*, who was banished his Country for what Reason I know not. This last conducted the whole Affair, and went continually during the Negotiation between the *Swedish* Army and that of *Mazeppa*, being the less liable to Suspicion, as he was a *Greek* by his Religion and banished, moreover dressed in the Habit of a Mendicant, begging Charity from Town to Town.

All these Projects were so well concerted, and so dexterously conducted, that every reasonable Man who had examined them, must have foretold, humanly speaking, a successful Issue for *Sweden*; and that the Czar must before the End of the Year have been necessitated to accept such Conditions of Peace as the King of *Sweden* would.

would have imposed on him.

But as the Ways of the Almighty are unknown to us, he often permits the wisest and most prudent Counsels to be confounded, and produce a quite different Issue from what we flatter ourselves with, as indeed it fell out in the Event of this March to the *Ukrain*, which was in the End fatal to *Sweden*.

When *Charles XII.* undertook this Expedition, he had an Army of about twenty Regiments under his Command; *Sweden* never saw so considerable a Force, nor, as I imagine, could that Force have been conducted with more Prudence, good Counsel and Wisdom, than it was in the Closet of *Charles XII.* at the Beginning of this Negotiation, and of the Year 1708. Never Kingdom had at the Head of her Armies, a more brave and active Prince, or indeed a better Soldier than *Charles XII.* and never King had a more warlike Army, Troops better disciplined or more faithful, than those were at that Time. Notwithstanding which we miscarried, and it seemed as if Heaven was at once willing to humble *Sweden*, and punish it by the fatal Campaign in 1709, and at the same Time to raise *Charles XII.* above all the Monarchs and all the Heroes which had preceded him, by giving him an Opportunity of demonstrating in the Face of the whole Earth, that admirable Constancy and Firmness of Temper, which shone forth in his Adversity, and set off those other infinite great Qualities which this Prince possessed.

It is surprizing to reflect on the Occurrences of those Times. In Reality, we had scarce left *Saxony*, when all

the Elements declar'd against us. During the Summer in 1708, it rained continually, and in the Beginning of 1709, we had a Winter so severe and extraordinary, that the Memory of Man had known nothing like it. Add to all this, that the *Swedish* Generals, who commanded separate Bodies of the Army, committed divers Mistakes, and were almost unsuccessful every where, by which the main Body and the Army which his Majesty commanded in chief suffered very much. Nevertheless, his Majesty never appeared greater, or more magnanimous than at this Time. He saw his Army mouldering every Day by Fatigue and continual Labour, by Skirmishes and Battles, tho' they always got the better; and notwithstanding that Hunger, Misery and Cold, destroyed them daily in great Numbers, it was impossible for him to recruit them, by reason of his Distance from *Sweden*. In Contempt of all these Misfortunes, his Majesty continued to push the Enemy, who was at least four Times as strong, obliging them to secure themselves behind Rivers and Morasses, or to entrench themselves up to their Teeth; whilst our own Troops, amounting in the whole to no more than twenty thousand Men, including the sick and wounded, were divided into several little Bodies for their better Subsistence, and never permitted to entrench themselves.

In 1708, when *Charles XII.* quitted his Winter-quarters to take the Field, his Army was composed of the following Regiments.

Horse. The *Drabans*, the Horse-
K k k 2 Guards,

the Regiment of the Nobility, the *Ostrogots*, the Regiment of *Nyland*, the Regiment of *Smoland*, the Regiment of *North-Scania*, the Regiment of *South-Scania*, the *Tremannings of Cruse*.

Dragoons. The *Dragoon-Guards*, *Buchwald's*, the Prince of *Wurtemberg's*, *Meyerfeld's*, *Duker's*, *Taub's*, *Hielm's*, *Gyllenstierna's*, *Albedybl's*.

Foot. The Regiment of *Guards*, Of *Upland*, *Westmanland*, *Sudermanland*, *Dalcarlia*, *Westerbotn*, *Wermland*, *Scataborg*, *Ostrogotia*, *Calmar*, *Cro-neberg*, *Jonkioping*.

Besides these Regiments, his Majesty had likewise a suitable Train of Artillery, with a Part of the Regiment of Artillery, some hundreds of *Einspanners*, who always guarded the King's Baggage and that of the Chancery, with some Companies of *Valoches*, with Mr. *Kanifer*, Aid de Camp General, and Colonel *Sandul*, at their Head.

His Majesty had left in *Poland* to support King *Stanislaus*, Major-General *Crassau*, at the Head of the following Regiments.

Dragoons. *Crassau's*, *Muller's*, *Marschall's*, *Zulich's*.

Foot. The Regiment of *Horn*, or of *Stetin*, *Eckeblad's* Regiment at *Elbing*.

In *Pomerania* and the Dutchy of *Bremen*, there were the following Regiments, several of which had Orders to join *Crassau*, in case of Necessity.

Horse. The Regiment of *Pomerania*, Commanded by *Wolfrath*, — Of *Bremen* by *Horn*, the Regiments of

the Nobility of *Pomerania* and *Bremen*.

Foot. The second Regiment of *Stetin*, Commanded by *Stuart*; the Regiment of *Stralsund*, by *Schultz*. — Of *Wismar*, by *Ridderbielm*, the Regiment of *Palmquist*, — Of *Breitbolitz*, *Foreigners*, one Battalion in the Dutchy of *Deux-Ponts*, at *Stade*, the Battalions of *Gyllenstierna* and of *Welling*.

His Swedish Majesty had given Orders to the following Regiments to remain in Sweden.

Dragoons. The *Westrogots*, that of Count *Aschenberg*, the *Tremannings* of Count *Leyenhufwund*, — Of *Gyllenstierna*, the *Femmannings* of *Hiersta*, the Regiment of *Babus*, *Ramsward's*, afterwards *Cruse's*, two hundred Dragoons in *Femptland*.

Foot. Two hundred Foot, of the Regiment of *Guards*, under *Hamilton*, in Garrison at *Stockholm*, the Regiment of *Vonder-Notb*, — of *Femptland*, — of *Biorroborg-Lebn*, one Battalion of *Wormland*, the Regiment of *Westgiotadabl*, — of *Elfsbourg*, — of *Gothembourg*, Commanded by *Kohlar*, — of *Zinclair*, — of *Malmö*, the *Blue-Guards* or the Regiment of *Landserona*.

Some Time before the King opened his Campaign in 1708, he ordered Major-General *Lybecker* to pass the *Niewa*, and penetrate into *Ingria* with his Army at a certain fixed Time. His Army was composed of the following Regiments.

Horse. *Tisenhausen*, *Abolebns-Fordubling*, *Niland's*, *Wiborg's*.

Dragoons

Dragoons of *Hartfebr.*

Foot. The Regiment of *Tavasthus*, Commanded by *Hartfebr*, one Battalion of the Regiment of *Narva*, in the Garrison at *Kexholm*, *Osterbotn-Fordubbling*, *Biorneborg's*, *Abolebn's*, *Nyland's*, *Tavasthus*, *Wiborg-Lebn's*, *Savolax*. This last Regiment was composed of Saxon Prisoners, which King *Augustus* had left with the King of Sweden at the Peace of *Alt-Ranstadt*. They were Commanded in chief by Mr. *Schommer*. The other principal Officers were *Stralborn*, *Boye*, *Zeulenberg*; &c.

As to the Passage of the *Niewa* by *Lybecker*, as I was not present at it I shall pass it by. For the same Reason I shall not mention the useless and fatal Expedition of that General made into *Ingria*: I call it fatal, not so much on Account of his Loss, which was only of his Horses, which were killed very unnecessarily to hasten a Retreat, in which the Enemy made some hundred Prisoners; but I call it chiefly fatal, because the *Russians* after the Retreat had the Liberty to withdraw their Troops out of *Ingria*, and to reinforce the Army which they brought against Count *Lowenhaupt*, which by this Means became so much his Superior, that they attacked the Count with Advantage and Success at the bloody Battle of *Liesna*. In effect, *Lowenhaupt's* Loss on this Occasion drew after it the Defeat of our Army, and brought our Kingdom to the Brink of Destruction, as we shall afterwards see.

But, before we go farther, I shall here put down the List of those Regi-

ments which composed *Lowenhaupt's* Army; and I shall afterwards mention the Orders that the King sent him on the Rout, which he was to hold with his Troops in order to join his Majesty.

Horse. The Regiment of the Nobility at *Riga*, — of *Abolebn*, — of *Carelia*.

Dragoons. The *Finland* Dragoons of *Fogen*, the Regiment of *Wennerstedt*, *Schlippenbach*, *Schreiterfeld*, the Squadron of *Skog*.

Foot. The Regiment of *Helsingland*, — of Count *Lowenhaupt* — of *Banner*, the Battalion of *Bergou* of *Stal*, — of *Biorneborg*, Commanded by Major-General *Stackelberg*, a Battalion of *Abolebn*, by the Count *de la Gardie*, one Battalion of *Osterbotn*, one Battalion of *Nyland*.

Horse. The Regiment of the Nobility of *Esthonia*.

Dragoons of *Broms*.

Foot. 1 Battalion of *Mellyn*, — of *Lowen*, — two of *Wyke*, — one of *Palen*, the Battalion of *Schengel*, — of *Carl Adam* of *Stakelberg*, *Clot Hilbord*, the Battalion of *Wiborg*, — of *Savolax*, — of *Osterbotn*, — of *Nieroth*, *Mengden*, *Becker*, the Battalion of *Ofel*, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Sass*.

This was the formidable Force of Sweden in 1708. When his Majesty had appointed *Mazeppa* a Day to acquaint his Colonels with his Alliance with Sweden and Poland; he informed him likewise of the Day in which he had resolved to pass the *Dnieper*, or *Boristhenes*, and at the same Time sent Orders to *Lowenhaupt* to put himself in Motion at a certain Day, and bring up

up his Army to join him, with Provisions for some Months.

It is not known whether those Orders did not lie too long in the Chancery before they were sent, or whether the Courier did not loiter too much on the Road, or indeed whether the Count, who was otherwise a very prudent and experienced General, being intirely ignorant of the Alliance concluded with the Felt-herr *Mazeppa*, did not believe that it was more necessary to amass Provisions and other Things needful for pushing the War on with Success in so desolated a Country according to his Majesty's Orders, than to hasten his March; which, if he had begun on the Day fixed by his Majesty, he could not have compleated his Orders relating to the Provisions, which he executed with extraordinary Care and Application. Whatever was the Occasion of it, the fatal Delay of *Lowenbaupt's* March beyond the Day fixed, was the real Cause of the Misfortunes which afterwards befel the King of *Sweden*.

After the King had quitted his Winter-quarters, forced the Passage of *Benixza*, and beat the *Russians* at the Battle of *Holocozin*, he drew directly to the *Dnieper*, where he expected to be presently joined by the Count *de Lowenbaupt*; but, as the Time fixed with *Mazeppa* was expired, and the King continued near the *Dnieper* in continual Expectation of *Lowenbaupt's* coming up, *Mazeppa* sent to acquaint his Majesty that he had declared to his Colonels the Alliance which he had concluded with a View of shaking off the *Russian* Yoke, and begged him not to delay his March, lest some of his Colonels should change their Minds,

and discover all that had passed to the Czar.

His Majesty was now reduced to an Uncertainty, not knowing what Means to follow. On the one Hand he saw plainly, that if he waited for *Lowenbaupt*, all that great and fine Scheme which he had so carefully concerted with *Mazeppa*, could not produce the hoped for Success; and on the other, he felt too sensibly the extreme Necessity he was in of this Conjunction, without which *Lowenbaupt's* Army would be in danger of being lost. At last, he chose rather to expose that Army, than to lose the Advantages which he hoped to draw from the Alliance concluded with the *Cossacks*; for he was persuaded, that if he neglected so favourable an Opportunity as this to weaken the great Power of the *Russians*, he should never find such another.

The King believed moreover, that if Count *Lowenbaupt* should be attacked by the *Russians*, he had a sufficient Number of Troops to repulse them; pretty well knowing of what force the Czar's Army was, which was to act against him. As his Majesty was not yet informed of the fruitless Expedition of *Lybecker*, he could not foresee the Reinforcement which the Enemy could now draw from *Ingria*, to render their Army so much superiour in Number to the Count's.

I shall not stay here to give the Particulars of that General's March, of the Attack on him by the *Russians*, the glorious Defence of his Army at the Battle of *Liesna*, where six thousand *Swedes* sustained the Efforts of thirty thousand *Russians*; a whole Day without giving an Inch of Ground; nor

nor shall I say any thing of the prudent Conduct of this General, after the Action, in bringing off the rest of the Army safe to the King; all which is very well set forth in the Memoirs of *Gustavus Adlerfelt*. I shall content myself with following the King's Army in the laborious March which they had undertaken towards the *Ukrain*.

After that Prince had passed the *Dnieper* near *Mobilow*, he made a Feint of intending to draw towards *Smolensko*, in order to engage the Czar to draw all his Troops on that Side, and by that Means to give *Mazeppa* Room to act with more Liberty and Success in the Provinces of *Severia* and the *Ukrain*, under Favour of the *Swedes*. His Majesty still believed that he should at last oblige the Enemy to stand their Ground by pursuing them without Cessation; but all in vain, their first Maxim being always to retreat, and burn, and destroy all the Places through which we were to follow them.

It is proper to mention, that the Country on the other Side the *Dnieper* is called the Palatinate of *Mixieslaw*, which belongs to *Poland* and *Lithuania*, and that this Province, if I may be allowed the Expression, is all covered with Morasses. As the continual Rains in 1708, had rendred all the Roads almost impassable, even those which were at other Times the best, it may be imagined what the Army must suffer in a Country so full of Morasses as this; especially as the Czar made his Advantage of them, retreating always through them, passing from one to another to cover his Retreat, burning all the Towns and Villages,

and intirely destroying the whole Country.

Notwithstanding all these Obstacles the King pursued the Czar so briskly, that no Day passed without some Battle or Skirmish between the two Armies, as may be seen in the History of this Prince; but as his Majesty found himself under a Necessity of instantly joining *Mazeppa*, after having followed the Enemy for some Time beyond *Mobilow* on the Side of *Smolensko*, he made a Counter-march, and passing the River of *Sossa* near the Town of *Krizowa*, the Army entered the great Woods of *Severia* which lie between *Krizowa* and the Town of *Starodub*.

It is impossible to express what the Army suffered on this Rout, and Posterity will have a Difficulty to believe it. Most of the Regiments had consumed the Bread which they had taken with them from their Winter-quarters, and as soon as the King had passed the *Boristhenes* they had no Opportunity to get any more, all that Country having been entirely sacked and destroyed. All that they had to sustain Life was some Cattle which we had carried with us when we took the Field; but these poor Animals for want of Pasture, and by the terrible Marches which they had made, were so lean and weak that they were with Difficulty kept alive. The Flesh however of these Cattle distributed with great Economy without Bread and without Salt prevented the Army from dying with Hunger on this dreadful Rout, where the Troops were almost always in the Water passing over those long Morasses, and where their Misery was increased by not finding tolerable

up his Army to join him, with Provisions for some Months.

It is not known whether those Orders did not lie too long in the Chancery before they were sent, or whether the Courier did not loiter too much on the Road, or indeed whether the Count, who was otherwise a very prudent and experienced General, being intirely ignorant of the Alliance concluded with the Felt-herr *Mazeppa*, did not believe that it was more necessary to amass Provisions and other Things needful for pushing the War on with Success in so desolated a Country according to his Majesty's Orders, than to hasten his March; which, if he had begun on the Day fixed by his Majesty, he could not have compleated his Orders relating to the Provisions, which he executed with extraordinary Care and Application. Whatever was the Occasion of it, the fatal Delay of *Lowenbaupt's* March beyond the Day fixed, was the real Cause of the Misfortunes which afterwards befel the King of *Sweden*.

After the King had quitted his Winter-quarters, forced the Passage of *Benzena*, and beat the *Russians* at the Battle of *Holocozin*, he drew directly to the *Dnieper*, where he expected to be presently joined by the Count *de Lowenbaupt*; but, as the Time fixed with *Mazeppa* was expired, and the King continued near the *Dnieper* in continual Expectation of *Lowenbaupt's* coming up, *Mazeppa* sent to acquaint his Majesty that he had declared to his Colonels the Alliance which he had concluded with a View of shaking off the *Russian* Yoke, and begged him not to delay his March, lest some of his Colonels should change their Minds,

and discover all that had passed to the Czar.

His Majesty was now reduced to an Uncertainty, not knowing what Means to follow. On the one Hand he saw plainly, that if he waited for *Lowenbaupt*, all that great and fine Scheme which he had so carefully concerted with *Mazeppa*, could not produce the hoped for Success; and on the other, he felt too sensibly the extreme Necessity he was in of this Conjunction, without which *Lowenbaupt's* Army would be in danger of being lost. At last, he chose rather to expose that Army, than to lose the Advantages which he hoped to draw from the Alliance concluded with the *Cossacks*; for he was persuaded, that if he neglected so favourable an Opportunity as this to weaken the great Power of the *Russians*, he should never find such another.

The King believed moreover, that if Count *Lowenbaupt* should be attacked by the *Russians*, he had a sufficient Number of Troops to repulse them; pretty well knowing of what force the Czar's Army was, which was to act against him. As his Majesty was not yet informed of the fruitless Expedition of *Lybecker*, he could not foresee the Reinforcement which the Enemy could now draw from *Ingria*, to render their Army so much superiour in Number to the Count's.

I shall not stay here to give the Particulars of that General's March, of the Attack on him by the *Russians*, the glorious Defence of his Army at the Battle of *Liesna*, where six thousand *Swedes* sustained the Efforts of thirty thousand *Russians*, a whole Day without giving an Inch of Ground;

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nor shall I say any thing of the prudent Conduct of this General, after the Action, in bringing off the rest of the Army safe to the King; all which is very well set forth in the Memoirs of *Gustavus Adlerfelt*. I shall content myself with following the King's Army in the laborious March which they had undertaken towards the *Ukrain*.

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ble Water to quench their Thirst.

Before his Majesty began his Rout on that side, he had ordered Major-General *Lagercrona* to go before with some thousand Men, and to make himself Master of the Fortresses of *Severia*, which are *Starodub*, *Blin*, *Novograd*, *Seweerski*, &c. which, according to the Convention with *Mazeppa*, were to be delivered to the King's Troops by Colonel *Skoropatski* as soon as they appeared before them; but unhappily *Lagercrona* suffered himself to be misled by a Traytor, who conducted him out of his Way cross the great Wood; so that he did not enter into *Severia* till some Days beyond the Time appointed, and two Days only before his Majesty entered it himself with the rest of the Army.

This Delay was a Misfortune so much the more fatal to our Arms, that *Skoropatski*, who otherwise, as I very well knew, was perfectly a good Swede in his Heart, and was so to his Death, having heard in the mean Time of the Battle with Count *Lowenhaupt*, entirely changed his Mind; not only on considering as he did the Consequences which he presently foresaw from the Battle of *Liesna*, but also weighing the Accounts which he had received of the unhappy Expedition of *Lybecker*, and principally relying on what he positively knew of the miserable Condition of his Majesty's Army, which being destitute of every Thing, mouldered away by Hunger, Fatigue, and long Marches, which they were obliged every Day to make. On all these Reasons apprehending that the *Swedish* Affairs were in an ill Situation, and not being willing to expose himself to the Czar's Venge-

ance, of which he stood in fear, he thought the surest and most advantageous Step which he could take, would be to discover to the Czar the Alliance which *Mazeppa* and his Colonels had entered into with *Sweden*; fearing, no doubt, lest some other should prevent him, and then he should have no Favour to expect at the Czar's Hands. He therefore acquainted him with all that had been done to his Prejudice, and having at the same Time ordered all the Gates of *Starodub* and the other Towns to be shut, which according to the Convention were to be delivered to Major General *Lagercrona*; he admitted the *Russian* Troops into all these Places, which Major-General *Island* brought thither with all Expedition.

The King now entred into *Severia*, and saw himself outstripped by the Enemy, which gave him the greater Uneasiness as his Army were absolutely like to want Subsistence, the Peasants and other Inhabitants being retired into the Towns with all their Cattle, and the Country left a perfect Desert. Nor was it possible for his Majesty to return by the Way he came, not being strong enough for that, tho' his Army was reinforced by the Remains of that of *Lowenhaupt*. On the other Hand, his Design of marching from *Severia* directly to *Moscow* could not be executed, it being too dangerous to leave so many Fortresses of this Province in Possession of the Enemy behind him. No other Resource then remained, but to march into the *Ukrain*.

If *Mazeppa* had at that Time had more Steadiness, the King's March would have perhaps been more successful. But he now began to waver, at

first believing that he might regain the Czar's Favour, and therefore left the King of *Sweden* some Time in *Severia*, without appearing resolved to admit him into the *Ukrain*; whilst the Czar, who was irritated at this Hettman, sent a Part of his Army with great Expedition into the *Ukrain*, to surprize *Mazeppa* at *Baturin*, the Place of his Residence. He happily escaped the Misfortune of being taken, but could not avoid the entire Ruin of that Town, which was carried by Storm, plundered and burnt. This Loss was the more considerable, as there was in that Place a great Magazine of all Sorts of Ammunition, of Powder, Cannons, as well of Brasses, as Iron; but above all a great Quantity of Provisions, which, in this Country, as well as in *Russia*, are very scarce and dear.

This was extremely regretted, as we may easily believe, by an Army half-starved like ours; and *Mazeppa* had sufficient Reason to repent of his Delays: but the greatest Loss in Reality was the Destruction of the Magazine of Powder, Lead, Cannon and Musket-balls, which was carried off and destroyed by the Enemy at the sacking of *Baturin*. The great Necessity we had of this, is easily to be imagined; for what Goodness could be in our Powder which we had brought with us from *Saxony*, and had been often wet and dried again; on which Account only it is astonishing that we gained so many Battles, tho' to say the Truth, our Troops used their Swords more than their Fire-Arms.

Mazeppa, after the Ruin of *Baturin*, at last retired to the King's Army, bringing with him some thousand Cos-

sacks, which were all that he could bring over to his Party, and threw himself, tho' a little too late, into his Majesty's Protection. The King now resolved to pass the *Desna*, and advance into the *Ukrain*. I will not enter here into a particular Account of that Passage, or the Defeat of the *Russians*, who endeavoured to oppose it; I will only say it was an Action worthy of great Admiration, as may be seen in the Memoirs of *Gustavus Adlerfelt*.

When the King had entered the *Ukrain* with his Army, he presently put them into Winter-quarters, and took up his own at *Ronne*, a little Town. We were scarce distributed amongst the Cities and Towns of this delicious Country, but the Army forgot all they had suffered by Hunger, Thirst, and all kind of Misery, in a March of six Months, or thereabouts. We found in Abundance all Sorts of Provisions, as Bread, Beer, Strong-waters, Wines of *Crimea* and *Wallachia*, Mead, Honey in great Quantities, Cattle, with Forage, both Hay and Corn for Horses and Beasts of Burthen.

Our Troops refreshed themselves considerably in the short Interval of their Winter-quarters; so that the sick, the wounded, and those who were half starved and worn out with Fatigue, became visibly restored, and the Horses regained their Strength and Vigour.

We did not long enjoy these Advantages. Some Days before *Christmas* 1708, so rigorous and hard a Frost began, that the Memory of Man could produce nothing equal to it; and this was the more insupportable, as in the *Ukrain* the Country is all flat, and the Plains so very even, that

the whole resembles a vast Sea.

The Czar, who always waited on us, took the Opportunity of this dreadful Winter to harraß and disquiet us without ceasing. He often said, he would venture ten *Russians* for one *Swede*, as the War was in his own Country, where he could always find what Recruits he wanted, an Advantage which the King of *Sweden* had not. He put himself therefore in Motion in the very severest Part of the Winter, making a Shew of attacking those Regiments which were the farthest posted from the Head-quarters. This engaged the King to give Orders to the whole Army to hold themselves in Readiness to march to their Assistance.

This terrible March, which cannot be equalled in History, was undertaken in *Christmas* Holidays, when the Winter raged with the greatest Rigour and Severity. The *Swedes* Loss was very considerable, but the *Russians* by their own Confession lost three Times as many. Many died of Cold, but a great Number lost the use of their Limbs, as Feet, Hands, Arms, &c. several of which were obliged to be cut off.

The King however did not content himself with having repulsed the *Russians*, but pushed and attacked them in their own Quarters, and had, amongst others, a very sharp Engagement with them at a Place called *Krasnakut*, where the *Russians* were beaten and pursued close at their Heels for some Leagues together. His Majesty afterwards made himself Master of a little Town called *Wieprick*, where the Garrison after three Assaults surrendered at Discretion. All these Actions

being known, I shall not stop to give a particular Account of them, nor of the small Fights, Rencounters and Skirmishes which we had almost every Day with the Enemy, with whom we were continually engaged, notwithstanding the excessive Rigour of the Winter; so that doubtless there never was a more severe and dreadful Campaign than this. I shall only observe, that in all these Fights, notwithstanding the ordinary Superiority of the Enemy, we had almost continually the Advantage, and put them to Flight; the King being always present in Person, or hastening immediately to the Place of Action, unless it happened in a Quarter too distant from his Majesty.

At the Approach of the Spring the King assembled his Army between the Rivers of *Pfoll* and *Worskla*, both which empty themselves into the *Dnieper* or *Boristhenes*. At the same Time he invested *Pultowa* with a Party of his Foot, whilst the Horse were ordered to encamp several Regiments together for the Conveniency of Forage at some Leagues Distance from *Pultowa*. It was the King's Maxim rarely to encamp his Army together. The *Russians* on the contrary, tho' five Times stronger than we were, had never the Courage to divide their Camps; but held themselves always together, forming but one Body of an Army, and taking Care to be well entrenched.

The Reason which induced his Majesty to encamp his Troops commonly in several small Bodies, at a little Distance from each other, was to keep his Camps clean and free from contagious Distempers, which generally attend Armies that are long shut up in one

one Camp. And to preserve all these different Bodies, who were defended by no Entrenchment from the Insults of the Enemy, he held them always in Play, by sometimes greater, sometimes less violent Attacks, never giving them Time to recollect themselves, but keeping them in continual Apprehension of new Efforts on our Part. This Maxim was of such admirable Use in this War, that though we often suffered some Losses in the frequent Battles which were fought, the Amount came not near to those of the Enemy, who were obliged to keep themselves continually on their Guard, and being shut up as hath been said in the same Camp, suffered extremely by Distempers and Stenches, by which they actually lost great Numbers.

When the King invested *Pultowa*, he might have instantly made himself Master of this ill-fortified Place, but this was not his Majesty's Intention: for he could have drawn very little Advantage from the Possession of it, if it had been delivered up to him. His true Design in besieging this Town, was only to amuse the Enemy, and to conceal from them the Weakness of his own Army: for as it was impossible for him to penetrate further into *Russia* with so small a Force, so neither would he return back. He waited therefore before this Place for the Succours which King *Stanislaus* was to bring him at the Head of the Crown Army, and for Major-General *Crassau*, with the Body of the Army under his Command; he flattered himself so much the more with the speedy Arrival of these Reinforcements, because he had heard no News of them for some

Months, and therefore believed them on their March; but he afterwards found himself very much deceived in his Guess. Those however who have any Knowledge of the Affairs of *Poland*, will not condemn the King for having some Reliance on those Succours: for as *Poland* from the Time he quitted it was delivered from the *Russians*, he imagined King *Stanislaus* had had sufficient Leisure to reduce the Confederates, and re-unite them to his Party. They are not, perhaps, absolutely in the wrong, who throw all the Blame on General *Crassau*, who by his stubborn Conduct continually opposed King *Stanislaus*, the Palatine of *Kiovia*, and all the *Polish* Nation, and who by that Means rendered all the good Instructions of *Stanislaus* useless: for my Part, I submit the Decision of these Matters to the Judgment of every impartial Man, who knows but ever so little of the Affairs of those Times.

Instead of an Army which we expected would come to our Assistance, Secretary *Klinkostrom* arrived with Colonel *Sandul*, some Weeks before the fatal Battle. The former brought Dispatches to the King on the Part of *Crassau*, with an Account that King *Stanislaus*, and that General were both in the higher *Poland*, with a mutual Misunderstanding between them. *Sandul*, whom the King had sent into *Walachia*, returned with an Assurance of the little Hopes which we had to expect any Thing from the *Turks*, who expressed no Inclination to break with the Czar in our Favour. In this Extremity, his Majesty had no other Resource than to give Battle to the *Russians*: for if he had the Happiness

to succeed, he might then with Glory and Safety take the Rout to *Kiovia*, pass the *Boristhenes* in the Neighbourhood, and cross a fruitful Country, proper for the Refreshment of his Troops, and thence might pass towards *Volbinia* into the Heart of *Poland*; on the other Hand, if he should be so unfortunate to fail, he should however lose no more than he certainly must in his Retreat from the *Ukrain*, without fighting with the Enemy, who would then with Forces so superiour to ours, fall continually upon us, harass us, and oblige us to make a retreating Fight with Disadvantage. Moreover, if the King would have retreated without giving the Enemy Battle, he could not have taken his Rout through *Kiovia*; but he would have been forced to have past the shortest Way over the *Boristhenes* at *Perevoloczno*, at the same Place where his Majesty passed after the Defeat at *Pultowa*. This would have had all the Air of a shameful Flight, and have entirely discouraged his Army, which would have been then obliged to throw themselves into the Desert, and make their Retreat by the same Rout, thro' which his Majesty afterwards saved himself on the Side of *Walachia*. Add to all these Inconveniencies, those which the Army must have suffered in that dreadful Desert, where for Want of Subsistence, they would likely have disbanded themselves, especially when they had an Enemy at their Heels, whose Courage would be considerably elevated by a Retreat so nearly resembling a general Rout. The safest Way therefore was to prepare for the Battle, and to draw the Enemy to it, whatever Price it cost.

His Majesty carried the Siege on slowly, the better to husband his Troops, and continued his Approaches on the Side of the River *Worskla*. I have above remarked, that if his Majesty had been desirous of being presently Master of the Place, he might easily have accomplished it, and he would then have opened his Trenches on the other Side. As to the Enemy, they were posted with all their Army opposite to the River, and continually endeavoured to pass over Troops, and throw them into *Pultowa*, but were always beaten and repulsed, unless when Brigadier *Gallowin*, the Brother-in-law to *Menzikof*, had the Happiness to enter there by a Stratagem; but he was made Prisoner some Days afterwards in a Sally which he commanded.

The Czar now sent *Renn* with seven thousand Dragoons, to encamp at a little Distance from the main Body of the Army; to surprize whom, the King detached Major-General *Cruus* with his Regiment of Horse, that of *South-Scania*, Part of the *Ostrogosbs* and *Gyllenstierna's* Dragoons, to which some thousands of Cossack Foot called *Zaporovians* were joined, commanded by their General, *Kossoby*.

This Expedition might have succeeded very happily, had it not failed through the Fault of General *Cruus* himself, who marched too slowly in the Night, that he might not separate himself from the Cossack Foot; nay, he might have retrieved this, for he came up with *Renn's* Camp by Break of Day, when there was at the same Time so thick a Mist, that one could not see at twenty Paces distance, without mentioning that *Renn* had sent away

away a great many of his Dragoons for Forage: but instead of attacking them, and pushing the Foragers home to their Camp, when he might have entered with them, and have defeated this whole Body of seven thousand Dragoons, who expected no Attack, and were all sunk in Sleep, he threw away his Time in drawing up his Horse in a Line, by which Means, he gave Time to the *Russians* to mount their Horses, and come out of their Camp, marching in different Columns, who falling with Fury on this single Line of *Swedes*, easily broke through and rode away, without our being able to follow them. Those *Swedish* Squadrons, who were separately engaged with an entire Column, were absolutely broke to Pieces.

Renn had the good Fortune by these Means, and by the Fault of *Cruus*, to escape a great Danger; and if he had had Courage enough, when he saw his Enemy disconcerted, to pursue his Point, he must have entirely defeated this Detachment, being double their Number; but he attempted nothing of this kind. The ill Success of this Expedition was a Misfortune which we ever afterwards very severely felt, and we were soon sensible of our Mistake.

When the *Russians* saw they were in no Condition to pass the *Worskla* opposite to *Pultowa*, and to throw in a Reinforcement on that side, they decamped in the Night, and after making a great many false Attacks in the Morning at different Places, they made a Feint of attempting to pass their whole Army over the *Worskla*, to the Side where our Troops were. But before I mention the Passage of their Army, I shall speak of the Detach-

ments which the King had dispersed on the *Worskla*, from *Pultowa* to *Perewoloczno*, a little Place where this River empties itself into the *Boristhenes*.

The first was posted a little below *Pultowa*; the second at *Starazanscara*, where Major-General *Meyerfeld* lay encamped with his Regiment; the third at a Place called *Belitz*, where Lieutenant-Colonel *Thomas Funck* commanded a Body of Dragoons; and on the *Boristhenes*, at the Mouth of the *Worskla*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Silwerhielm* was stationed with five hundred Horse.

The same Day that the *Russians* passed the *Worskla*, they made, as I have said, several sham Attacks, but especially at two Places; the one above the Town where they passed, and the other below it. The King then divided his Army into two Bodies, and gave the Command of the greater to Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild*, who was to oppose the *Russians* in their Attempt to pass above the Town; and his Majesty putting himself at the Head of the other Body, marched directly up to those that made a Shew of intending to pass below *Pultowa*. Whilst his Majesty, who was always indefatigable, was reconnoitring them on Horse-back, a miserable Cossack posted on the other Side of the River, which at that Part is not very large, fired his Fusée at him; the Bullet penetrated through his Boot, and broke the Bone of his Foot. These poor Wretches have long Guns by them called *Tourk*, carrying five hundred Paces, with which they did us a great deal of Mischief, but never more than by this Accident, which compleated all our Misfortunes.

Count *Rheinschild*, finding the Enemy had already passed the River, and began to entrench themselves, resolved to attack them instantly, before they had Time to fortify themselves better; but having few Foot with him, he dismounted his Dragoons, and so marched to the Enemy, his Foot and dismounted Dragoons being interlined with the Horse. Just as he was on the point of beginning the Action, he received the fatal News of the King's Wound, which immediately suspended his Measures, and obliged him to rejoin the King with all his Troops, not knowing what was the true State of his Condition. This Retreat of the Count's, gave the *Russians* an Opportunity to perfect their Works, and aggravated the ill Situation of our Affairs; for it was this very Entrenchment which the King caused to be attack'd on the Day of that bloody Battle which ensued.

The Enemy's Army consisted of eighty thousand regular Troops, twenty thousand Cossacks, and as many Calmucks. Ours amounted to no more than twenty thousand Men, including the wounded and the sick, of which latter we had a great Number who had lost their Limbs with the Extremity of the Cold, and were by that Means incapacitated for Service.

I have above observed, that when his Majesty left *Saxony*, his Army was composed of twenty-eight Regiments, none of which had been recruited during two subsequent Campaigns, in which they had maintained the sharpest and most terrible War which is perhaps to be read of in History. When Count *Lowenhaupt* joined us, all his Foot were distributed amongst our

Regiments, and as to the three Regiments of Horse of *Abolehn*, *Carelia*, and of the Nobility of *Riga*, with the three Regiments of Dragoons of *Wernerstedt*, *Schlippenbach*, and *Schreiterfeld*, they remained on their own Establishment: so that those six Regiments joined to the twenty-eight which came from *Saxony*, brought his Majesty's Army in the *Ukrain* to thirty-four Regiments.

It may not be amiss here, to enter into a short Discussion on this Head, in order to confound the malicious Relations of our Enemies. If we reckon every Regiment in general to have been from five hundred to six hundred strong, which is the utmost, it will reduce the whole Number to about twenty thousand Men. It is indeed true that some Regiments of Foot, and particularly the Guards, were rendered perfectly complete by *Lowenhaupt's* Foot; but on the other Hand several Regiments, of both Horse and Foot, did not consist of more than two hundred Men, which is very easy to believe, and indeed to prove, when we consider the great Numbers of Engagements we had had with the Enemy, in which, though we were for the most part successful, we must nevertheless have lost a great many Men. The Distempers caused by Fatigues and want of Provisions in those terrible Marches which we were obliged to make, caused likewise a dreadful Havock among our Troops, without saying any Thing of the Winter, which of itself destroyed great Numbers.

We may then conclude, according to this Calculation, that the whole Army could not amount to more than

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I have said, including the Sick, &c. I could, if it was necessary, and if I was not unwilling to dwell on so sorrowful a Narrative, compute the Strength of each Regiment in particular, as they stood a few Days before the Battle, and that without any Fear of Mistake, as I was then a Major, and saw every Day the Lists of the whole Army; but I will dismiss this Article, with remarking what little Truth there is to be given to the Reports which our Enemies then spread: for if we give ourselves the Trouble to look into the Gazettes and Mercuries of those Times, and above all the Accounts set forth by the *Russians*, which were all full of Rodomontadoes, it would be impossible that a single *Swede* could have remained even before the Battle of *Pultowa*, though our Army had consisted of a hundred thousand Men. Whence we must conclude, that we ought absolutely to reject all the Stories which the *Muscovites* spread abroad to our Disadvantage, during the whole War, especially with regard to the Circumstances of the Battle of *Pultowa*.

This Battle was fought on the twenty eighth of *June*, O.S. and which is something remarkable, on the same Spot where formerly *Ediga*, one of *Tamerlane's* Generals, had totally routed the Army of *Withfold*, Great Duke of *Lithuania*, Anno 1399.

When this Battle begun, the *Russians* had not only perfected their grand Entrenchment, but had raised a great Number of Redoubts, at the Head thereof; under Cover of which, they intended to carry on their Approaches to the besieged Town. Between these Redoubts, which were well furnished

with Men, and the Entrenchment, the Czar had encamped all his Horse, while his Foot lay covered behind the Lines, which were guarded by a numerous Artillery.

As soon as the King saw their Design, he drew all his Army into one Camp near *Pultowa*, having the Town on one Side, and the *Russian* Entrenchment on the other, and a little Village called *Sakie*, which hath a better Title to give Name to this famous Battle than *Pultowa*, by which it is commonly called. His Majesty left the Detachments which were posted along the *Worskla*, to the *Boristhenes*, in the Situation wherein I have above described them.

During the little Time that the whole Army kept together, the Enemy made two Attempts with their Horse to fall on our Camp; but retreated hastily each Time behind their Redoubts, as soon as they saw our Picket mounted to attack them. Our Troops always suffered much in their foraging, by the *Russians*, who never failed to harrafs them on those Occasions, tho' they always drove them back with great Vigour behind their Redoubts. Eight Days before the Action, the King being impatient to put an End to these Skirmishes by a general and decisive Battle, brought all the Army out of their Camp, and ranged them in a Line of Battle, making a Feint of attacking the Enemy; but it was postponed that Day, for I know not what Reason.

Some have said, that the Enemy intended to attack us that Day; but finding our Army drawn up in such fine Order to receive them, they withdrew behind their Entrenchments. At last,

last, on the twenty-eighth of *June* O. S. this great Battle was fought, which will be always memorable, by the extraordinary Inequality between the Armies, and which notwithstanding all possible Disadvantage on our side, would nevertheless have succeeded happily, if the King had not been wounded, and if some of our Generals had better performed their Duty.

His Majesty drew up the Army early in Battalia, amounting at the utmost to no more than ten or twelve thousand Men. We left some of our Regiments behind to block up *Pultowa*, several others were placed for a Guard over the Baggage, and some were ordered to remain with *Mazeppa* and the Artillery, to preserve them from the Insults of the Cossacks, *Russians*, and Calmucks, who during the Action, made two Attacks on the Baggage and on the Cannon, but were repulsed each Time with little Difficulty or Loss on our Side.

The Battle was now begun, and that with considerable Success. We drove the Enemy without any great Efforts or Loss behind their Redoubts, which we past in the midst of a violent Discharge, both from their small Arms and Cannon, which latter played incessantly on the Spaces between the Redoubts. All the *Muscovite* Foot which were found there were put to the Sword, and their Horse were driven in such a Manner, and so near absolutely routed, that instead of making a Stand near their grand Entrenchment, they rode full speed beyond it, and made Use of all their endeavours to repass the *Worskla*.

What a Misfortune was it for us,

that the King was not now able in Person to command on Horse-back, and to be present every where according to his Custom? This Battle, which he would infallibly have won, would have been infinitely more glorious for him, than the Battle of *Narva*, and all that he had done before; and we should have avoided all the Misfortunes, which we have been exposed to since that Day.

Our Miscarriage was partly owing to General *Roos*, who, through I know not what Infatuation, committed one of the grossest Errors, by engaging unadvisedly among the Redoubts, and then with most unwarrantable Obstinacy attempting to carry them Sword-in-hand one after another, instead of passing through the intermediate Spaces, as the King had done with his Column. *Roos* assaulted these Redoubts with great Fury, and carried several of them, his Foot in Reality working Miracles; but he effected this with so great a Loss, that the Ground was all covered with dead Bodies; and what finished our Ruin was, that *Roos* by this Blunder was cut off from the rest of the Army without any Possibility of rejoining it.

In the mean Time Major-General *Schlippenbach*, who was with *Roos*, seeing the distressed Condition of this Column, quitted it in the Company of Captain *Palmfeld*, and went to find out the King to acquaint him immediately with what had happened. *Palmfeld* had the Happiness to join his Majesty, but *Schlippenbach* fell into the Hands of the *Russians*, who having recovered their Courage, and seeing the Plunder which *Roos* had committed, presently sent a large Detachment under

under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Rensel*, which entirely cut off that unfortunate Party from the rest of our Foot in the following Manner.

Roos, who was now too sensible of the enormous Error he had made, and not knowing how he might rejoin his Majesty, had detached Captain *Funck* to discover whether those were not the King's Troops, which were advancing at a Distance, and which were indeed those under *Rensel*, in full March to inclose him. *Funck*, who mistook them for *Swedes* by seeing Mr. *Schlippenbach* amongst them, on which Account he drew too near, was taken Prisoner by the Enemy; so that *Roos* had no Answer till *Rensel* fell upon him and surrounded him on all Sides.

Whilst this was doing, the King having passed the Redoubts, put all the Enemy's Horse to Flight, as we have said, and cut a large Body of *Muscovite* Foot to Pieces. His Majesty then made all his Army halt on the Plain which was between the Enemy's grand Entrenchment and the Redoubts, and drew up again in Order of Battle. At the same Time to complete the Affair, the King thinking *Roos* was ready to join him, made a Party of his Horse and Dragoons dismount to attack the Entrenchment, till *Roos's* Column, which he impatiently expected, was come up. Whilst his Majesty was making the Disposition for this Attack, he perceived *Rensel's* Body of Foot at a Distance, and not doubting but that it was *Roos's* Party, he detached Adjutant-General *Gyllenklo* to *Mazeppa*, to press him to bring up the Troops which he had

with him, together with the Artillery, to assist in and support the Attack of the Entrenchment.

This had been the King's Resolution on the Morning before the Battle began, for he feared that if he had then stayed to bring up the Ordnance he should have lost too much Time, and delayed the Execution of his Design of passing hastily through the Redoubts. But when *Gyllenklo*, as he drew nearer to *Rensel's* Body, perceived they were not *Swedes*, he returned hastily to inform his Majesty, who was much astonished, and more shocked soon after at hearing that *Roos* was taken Prisoner, most of his Men dispersed, and all the Prisoners killed with horrible Inhumanity.

It was now that this great Prince, who was always intrepid, without discovering the least Emotion, in spite of his Wound, and the Situation to which he saw his Affairs reduced, gave immediate Orders to begin the Attack of the Entrenchment with those few Foot which remained with him, whilst the Horse and Dragoons remounted to support this Handful of Men.

Before we continue the almost incredible Account of this famous Battle, it will not be improper to make a few Remarks.

Count *Rbeinschild*, who, notwithstanding the Censures of his Enemies, was certainly a great General, had proposed to the King as soon as he had passed the Redoubts, to wait in good Order till *Mazeppa* came up with his Troops, the Artillery and Baggage, to push with more Safety and Success an Enemy half defeated and almost routed, but yet powerful

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and so much the more formidable as he yet retained several Advantages over us.

The Opinion of Count *Piper* was unfortunately preferred at this Season to the sage Advice of so experienced a General. He told the King, *That he must strike the Iron whilst it was hot, and not give the Enemy Time for Consideration.* The Misunderstanding between this first Minister and Count *Rheinschild*, which had subsisted ever since the Battle of *Fraustadt*, which the latter had gained in 1706, was a great Misfortune to *Sweden*, for it was the Occasion of rejecting all the wise Advice which he had given. But let us draw the Curtain over such disagreeable Scenes, and return to the Rehearsal of this unhappy Battle, which hath cost *Sweden* so many Tears, and for which almost every Family there wore Mourning.

During the whole Time that the Horse and Dragoons were employed in dismounting by the King's Command, in Expectation of being joined by *Ross*, the *Russians* made a dreadful Discharge from 120 Pieces of Ordnance, most of them of the largest Size, with which their Entrenchments were guarded, but without doing us much Mischief. As soon as his Majesty had given Orders for the Attack of their Entrenchment, we saw all their Foot advance out of their Lines to oppose our Design. Our Foot being then put in Motion, marched bravely up to the Enemy, under the Command of Count *Lowenhaupt*, with Orders to begin the Attack, and to penetrate into the Entrenchment, whilst the Horse, which marched in the Wing, fell on the Enemy's Foot

with Design of putting them into Confusion. Our Foot were so few, that the Line which they formed made no Appearance when compared to the Enemy's. They nevertheless attacked with such Fierceness, Vigour and Resolution, that at the first Shock they staggered the Enemy's Line, and the Regiment of Guards possessed themselves of the Cannon which was planted against them. But most of the other Regiments were less successful, some of them especially suffered greatly by the Enemy's Artillery, particularly the Regiment of *Calmar*, which was almost half destroyed by a single Discharge; and at the same Time lost their Colonel *Ranck*, who was killed on the Spot. The same happened to that of *Upland*, which at the first Shock lost their Colonel *Stierbok*, their Lieutenant-Colonel *Post*, and their Major *Anrep*.

All this might have been yet remedied, if the King had not been wounded; but as he lay on his Litter, with his Sword in his Hand, and it being impossible to convey him quick enough from one Place to another to distribute his Orders, there was in Reality no true Command on that Day in the Army, and Confusion at last beginning to arise, every one would act according to his Caprice.

If all our Squadrons had done their Duty as well as the gallant Count *Torsten*son did at the Head of his, I make no doubt but we had yet gained the Battle. He attacked the *Russian* Foot with such Fury at the Head of his own Company of *Nyland*, that he was on the Point of penetrating into the Enemy's Entrenchment; but not being seconded, as he ought to have been,

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he was killed with his whole Party, after they had performed Miracles of Bravery.

Colonel *Hielm* likewise broke thro' the Enemy's Foot; but the rest did not follow so fine an Example. In short, that wonderful Activity which had appeared in our Troops when the King himself led them before he was wounded, and when he used to fly to all Quarters to animate them, was not observable on this Day. In a Word, his Wound was the Source of all our Misfortunes, and the real Cause of the Loss of this bloody Battle.

The Enemy continued, during the whole Action, to make a dreadful Fire from their Cannon. One of which having broken and overturned the King's Litter, his Majesty wounded as he was, was forced to mount his Horse, with his Leg swathed in Bandage, and without his Boots. His Majesty now seeing the Impossibility of gaining the Entrenchment, gave Orders to the Troops to retreat, and march towards the Place where the Baggage was. Some say, that the King's Horse was at this Time killed under him, and he was obliged to mount another.

Velt-Marshal *Rheinschild* and the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, were now taken Prisoners. Count *Piper* endeavoured to reach the Regiments which had been left before *Pultowa*, but he was made Prisoner before he came to them; those Regiments having retreated towards the Baggage, after an Attack from General *Rensfel*.

As soon as the King came up to his Baggage, he waited not only for the Arrival of the Troops who returned by little and little from the Action,

but he stayed yet some Hours longer, to see if the Enemy had any Mind to pursue him, and attack him in the open Field: but the *Russians* had not the Courage to give him this Satisfaction; and contented themselves with what they had gained by the Assistance of their Cannon and Entrenchments.

The King was not inclined to quit his present Encampment, hoping to have a second Trial with the Enemy; but on the strong Instances of *Mazeppa*, who was afraid for his own Person, and on the repeated Entreaties of his faithful Generals and Officers, he at last suffered himself to be prevailed on, and after having had his Foot new dressed, he entered calmly, without shewing the least Emotion, into a Post-chaise with *Mazeppa*, and marched with the Remains of the Army, Artillery and Baggage, with the Sound of Trumpets and Kettle-drums along the *Worskla*, directly towards the *Boristhenes*: this March was performed in excellent Order, without the least Loss of any Kind, and so gallantly, that it bore no Resemblance to a Defeat. The Enemy's Troops made several Shows of attacking us, but on the Rear-Guard's facing about to receive them, they had never the Courage to execute their Intentions. The next Day the Army arrived at the *Boristhenes*, twelve Leagues from *Pultowa*.

Such was the Success of the famous Battle of *Pultowa*, of which so much has been spoken and written in the World, always to the Advantage of the *Russians* and the Disadvantage of *Charles XII*. If we reflect on the unhappy Consequences of that bloody

Day, we must confess that they have been very fatal to us, in the Loss which *Sweden* has since suffered; but if abstracted from all the Consequences of that Battle, we consider only the Circumstances of the Action itself, and have Regard only to Bravery and true Glory, the Honour must be always placed on the Side of the *Swedes*, who with a Body of between ten and eleven thousand Men almost starved and destitute of every Thing, with an Intrepidity and Courage which have been scarce ever equal'd, attack'd an intrenched Army of upwards of an hundred thousand Men provided with every Thing both for their Subsistence and Defence; whom our Troops not only forced to give Ground, but would have absolutely overthrown and conquered, even by the Confession of the *Russians*, if the King's Wound had not prevented him from giving Orders himself. Moreover, the Enemy's Loss was as great in the Morning when the Battle began as ours was at the End. I do not find in the *Swedish* History a Battle nearer resembling this, than that where *Gustavus* the Great attacked the Intrenchment of *Wallenstein*, near *Nurenbourg*, where the Loss of the *Swedes* and *Imperialists* was always equal; but when *Gustavus Adolphus* retreated with his Army after the Battle, it was yet sixty thousand strong, and he had his Way open to him on all Sides; but when *Charles XII.* retreated from before *Pultowa*, he had in all, including the sick and all his Detachments, no more than about fourteen or fifteen thousand Men, without any Place of Retreat where he could place this handful of Men in Safety, and he was near three

hundred Leagues distant from his Kingdom; notwithstanding which, this brave Prince was so far from losing Courage, that he yet breathed nothing but the Spirit of Battle, and if he could have mounted his Horse, tho' never so little, we should perhaps have had our Revenge near the *Boristhenes*, when the Enemy followed us thither.

If the *Muscovites* had gained so compleat a Victory, as they pretended, why did they not immediately follow the Remains of the Army which attended the Baggage, and why did they not possess themselves of our Cannon and Baggage, if we had been so absolutely beaten as they had reported? For this must have been very easy for them to do, if they had gained a compleat Victory. But as they knew us too well to attack us in the open Field, so it is certain they never marched but in great Bodies, and suffered us very quietly to pursue our Rout to the *Boristhenes*.

To confess the Truth however, we suffered sufficiently by the Consequences of this Battle; for it occasioned the Loss of *Revel*, of *Riga*, and the rest of *Livonia*, which the Enemy conquered with great Ease, by reason of the Plague which caused a general Desolation; and we may truly say that Fortune hath miraculously seconded the Czar in all his Enterprizes; but no one can agree, without blinding himself, to all those Disadvantages which have been placed to our Account, by reason of the Battle of *Pultowa*. The *Swedish* Nation hath certainly not lost her ancient Valour, nor the Reputation of her Arms; the

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Judgment of which we leave to Posterity.

The *Muscovites* were not better Soldiers at the Battle of *Pultowa*, than they had been the preceding Year at that of *Holofzin*; nor can any one say, that they have become braver since that Time. This last Action was not less wonderful in its kind, than the Battle of *Narva*; and the King gave here very sensible Tokens of his powerful Genius for War.

On the twenty-ninth of *June*, Old Style, *Charles XII.* arrived with his Army on the Banks of the *Boristhenes*; the whole amounted, including the sick, maimed and wounded, to about sixteen thousand Men; the rest having been killed or taken Prisoners in the Battle.

We had not one General killed, but six Colonels met with that Fate; the first was Count *Torstenfon*, Colonel of the Regiment of Horse of *Nyland*; he was a young Nobleman of about thirty-three Years of Age, but already consummate in the Art of War, and had besides a very cultivated Genius: if he had lived longer, he would have equalled if not surpassed his Grandfather the Great *Leonard Torstenfon*, who was a Felt-Marshal of the *Swedish* Armies in our Wars with *Germany*. The young Count had served ever since he was fifteen Years of Age in the *Saxon* Troops in *Hungary*. The King knowing his Merit, had trusted him with a separate Body of several Regiments from the Time we had entered the *Ukrain*; and he gave Proofs on all Occasions of a Conduct worthy a great General, till he gloriously lost his Life at this Battle.

The other Colonels killed in the

Field, were *Stiernbok*, who commanded the Regiment of *Upland*; *Siegroth*, who had the *Dahl-Carlars*; *Ulfspärre*, of the *Westrogoths*; *Weydenbiem*, of that of *Sudermant*; *Rank*, of the Regiment of *Calmar*; and, *Buchwald*, of that of *Jonkioping*; all Foot.

Amongst those of the Court and Chancery Mr. *Olof Hermelin*, Counsellor of the Chancery, a Man of great Abilities; *Gustavus Adlerfelt*, and *Hirschenstierna*, Secretary to the King, were all killed on the Spot.

We long hoped that *Hermelin* was not dead, but that he had been taken Prisoner. It is certain that his Name was in the first List of Prisoners which the Czar sent to King *Augustus*, with his Relation of this Battle; but in all the others he is reckon'd amongst the dead. It is however pretty extraordinary, that three Priests pretended to have buried him, and each of them in a different Place; it is probable, that they were all deceived, the great Heat having caused the Bodies of all those who were killed to swell so violently, that their Faces could not be known. Whilst I was a Prisoner in *Muscovy* in the Year 1713, a Cossack Colonel assured me, that he had spoke to *Hermelin* in 1712, through a Hole of a deep Dungeon, in a little Town situated between the *Ukrain* and the City of *Moscow*, the Name of which I have forgotten.

Amongst the Prisoners of Distinction, were Count *Piper*, Count *Rheinschild*, the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, the Major-Generals *Schlippenbach*, *Roos*, *Stachelberg* and *Hamilton*.

Major-General *Meyersfeld*, who is actually now Velt-Marshal, Senator and Governor of *Pomerania*, had the Mis-

Misfortune some Months before the Siege of *Pultowa* to break his Leg: he obtained a Passport of the Czar to pass safely through *Poland*, in case he should fall into the Hands of some Party of *Russians* or confederated *Poles*, and he designed to go into *Germany* in order to get himself cured. Upon the Strength of this Passport his Majesty sent him from *Stara-Zianscara*, which is situated between *Pultowa* and the *Boristhenes*, where he had been posted to demand of the Czar some Particulars which I do not now call to Mind; all this did not prevent *Meyerfeld* from being put under Arrest: The Czar pretending, that as the Passport had been given some time before the Battle, it could not be of any Validity; however, he was presently released on his Parole, but on Condition he would send back in his Place some *Russian* General made Prisoner by our Troops.

On the *Boristhenes* *Charles XII.* halted, with the Remains of his Army, near a Town called *Perevolocsna*, where the *Worskla* empties itself into the *Boristhenes*: His Majesty's Intention being immediately to pass the *Worskla*, which is not very wide in this Place, and to attend on the other Side the Motions of the *Russians*, if they had any Inclination to attack us, and afterwards to take the Road of *Crim*. This Project was the more easy to be executed, as we had with the Baggage not only sufficient Horses for all the Foot, but likewise for all the Servants, Boys and Sutlers.

The King having taken this Resolution, ordered all the Baggage to be burnt, and all the Ammunition-bread, consisting of large Biskets, to be di-

tributed amongst the Soldiers, with which every Regiment was provided for six Weeks. The Military Chests, which were guarded by several Regiments, were to be conducted into two Places, and the Money distributed among the Officers to serve them in Case of Need, and which were to be placed to the Account of the Wages which were due to them.

After his Majesty had given out these Orders, the Generals of the Army came to him, and desired him with the most earnest Entreaty, to convey his sacred Person to a Place of Safety, representing to him the Danger of his Wound, which would not permit him to follow the Army and support Fatigue. They promised him on their Side punctually to execute all his Orders, provided he would secure himself from those Dangers to which the Army must be exposed. These Intreaties prevailed on the King, who at last determined to pass the *Boristhenes*; but before his Departure, he expressly enjoined *Lowenhaupt* to follow in every Circumstance those Orders which he had given for a Retreat towards the *Crim*.

After the King had made all these Dispositions, he passed the *Boristhenes* about Midnight, having with him the Regiment of Foot of *Sudermanland*, which had been in the Trenches before *Pultowa*, during the Battle. The Detachment of Lieutenant-Colonel *Funk*, which had been posted at *Belitz*; and that of Lieutenant-Colonel *Silfwerhielm*, which had been posted as we have said before near *Perevolocsna*, likewise attended his Majesty. The Regiment of *Sudermanland* amounted to two hundred Men, *Funk's* Detach-

Detachment to eight Hundred, and that under *Silfwerhielm* to five hundred; besides these, the *Drabans*, with the *Einspanners* commanded by *Anrep*, also followed his Majesty. Several Generals and Officers, amongst whom some were wounded, were named by the King to follow him, together with the Court, Chancery, &c. The General or *Hettman* *Matzeppa* had already passed the River with a good Number of Cossacks.

Count *Lowenhaupt*, who had received his Orders with full Power to act as he found it most convenient for the Service of his King and Country, had with him no more than two Major Generals, *Creutz* and *Cruus*, when the King quitted the Army, his Majesty having taken the rest with him.

The King had no sooner passed the *Boristhenes*, than his Orders for immediately burning the Baggage and distributing the Money, were no more thought of. As the Troops were extremely fatigued, they went quietly to repose themselves, as soon as the Guards and Pickets were placed for the Security of the Army.

The next Morning they were awoken'd by the *Knees* *Menzikof*, who had followed us at the Head of all the *Muscovite* Horse, and driven our Pickets and advanced Guards from the Hill where they were posted; I say Hill, because the Army was encamped in a Valley near the *Boristhenes*. *Menzikof*, after this first Expedition, sent to *Lowenhaupt* to offer him a Capitulation.

I have said above, that the Army, including the sick and wounded, might have amounted before the King's Departure to sixteen thousand

Men, amongst which near five thousand were in no Condition of fighting, by reason of their Wounds, Distempers, &c. and about fifteen hundred followed his Majesty; so the Remainder of the Army which were able to act might make in all between nine and ten thousand, which was near the Number of Troops the King had with him on the Day of the Battle of *Pultowa*, when he attacked the *Muscovite* Entrenchment.

This Army, small as it was, shewed all imaginable Eagerness to come to an Engagement; it did not appear to them impossible to beat the *Russian* Horse, before they were joined by the Foot which followed them in full March, and then after they had overthrown the Enemy they would have been in a Condition to follow the Plan and the Orders of his Majesty; but ill Fortune, which had resolved our Ruin, prevented our burning the Baggage and distributing the Money in the Evening as the King had ordered, by Means of which every Thing was thrown into Disorder and Confusion. Several were desirous to preserve the valuable Baggage and Money, which they had gotten in *Poland* and other Places, and Regard was had to their Representations, especially to those of *Cruus* and *Creutz*, who were chiefly interested. Indeed we may say, that God had abandoned us, and that Disorder and Giddiness had conspired to deliver us up to our Enemies.

To compleat our Misfortune, *Lowenhaupt* was obliged to pay great Deference to the Advice of *Creutz* and *Cruus*, because he was yet little known amongst our Troops; it is true he

he had commanded a Party of the Army before the Battle of *Liesna*, but he had since received no other Command save what he had a few Days only before the Battle of *Pultowa*. However this be, he might have exerted more Vigour on this Occasion, where he should have put all to the Risk; and all the Officers of the Army, who had ever so little Penetration, could not help attributing the Blame to him. Both Officers and Soldiers were in the utmost Indignation at his Proceedings, to which they could not be accus'd of having given their Consent, since they were not informed of the Articles of Capitulation, till after they had been settled.

Count *Lewenhaupt*, after having intirely agreed with *Creutz* and *Cruus* to

surrender to the Enemy, called together, for Form only, all the Colonels and Commanders of the Regiments, as well as the oldest Officers, to declare to them their Intentions; and tho' most of them were of Opinion to give Battle and follow the King's Plan, no Regard was had for their Representations, but they followed the Opinions of those who had already concluded and settled the whole Affair.

In Consequence of this Resolution, *Creutz* and *Cruus* were sent to the Enemy, to capitulate as well as they could with the Knes *Menzikof*. The Articles of Capitulation are so well known, that it is needless to insert them here.

A JOURNAL of the King of Sweden's Retreat to Bender after the Battle of Pultowa.

AFTER we had been repulsed at the Attack of the *Muscovite* Entrenchments, on the twenty-eighth of July 1709, new Style, his Majesty halted with the Remains of the Army near the Baggage, to wait for the Return of his Troops from the Battle, and to see if the Enemy would bring themselves to attack us in the open Field; but the *Russians* attempting nothing, the King, after having dined and stood several Hours together in this Place, which was but half a League from the Field of Battle, yielded to the repeated Intreaties of his Generals, and gave Orders to his Army to decamp and march towards the *Boristhenes*.

The Army was put in Motion be-

tween two and three in the Afternoon with the Sound of Kettle-drums and Trumpets, and marched gallantly in Sight of the Enemy along the *Worskla*, and between that River and that of *Psiol*, directly to the *Boristhenes*. The King advanced but a few Leagues this first Day, being seated with *Mazeppa*, in a Chaise which belonged to Baron *Sittman*, a Lieutenant-Colonel, and Aid-de-Camp General of the King of *Prussia*; the Baron was charged with the Affairs of his Master, and had a considerable Time followed the Army as a Volontier.

The Army having decamped the next Day at Nine in the Morning, continued their March both that and the following Day, without the Enemy's

my's having had the Courage to pursue them; they indeed made several Shews of harassing our Army, but retreated as soon as we put ourselves in a Posture of Defence.

In this Manner we arrived on the eleventh of July at the *Boristhenes*, near a little Town called *Perevoloczna*, which the Enemy had burnt; his Majesty was of Opinion instantly to pass the *Worskla*, which was neither wide nor deep in this Place, and to march with the Army towards the *Crim*; but his Wound hindering him from supporting the Fatigue, and being besides absolutely incapable of bearing his Horse, he yielded to the Entreaties of his Generals, who begged him to secure his sacred Person, whilst they would punctually execute his Orders with Regard to this March.

The King now took a Resolution to pass the *Boristhenes*, giving Orders to about one thousand Horse and Foot, without reckoning the *Drabans*, the *Einspanners*, the Court, the Chancery and the Cossacks, to follow him thro' the Desarts into *Turky*; but as he had neither sufficient Boats nor Wood to build them, he found himself very much embarrassed on this Account. However, the Enemy not appearing, we had Time enough to search for them along the *Boristhenes*, and at length found a sufficient Number of Boats and Canoes to begin the Transportation, which we continued in Safety till the twelfth of July; by which Time about two thousand Men were passed over, tho' we proceeded but slowly, because the *Boristhenes* was so wide in this Part, that we were an Hour at least in passing and repassing.

The Horses which we wanted were carried over in great Numbers by the Current, and as we took great Care to put those at their Head which were the best experienced Swimmers; the others followed them so well, that they all arrived at the other Side. The *Tatarian* Horse did us good Service on this Occasion, as did the Cossacks; for as many of them were very good Swimmers, they stripped themselves naked, and throwing themselves without Saddles on their Galloways, they encouraged a great Number of the Horses to follow them; and when those on which they were mounted were tired, they threw themselves into the Water and swam by their Sides, holding them at the same Time by their Bridles. In this Manner, these People passed over a great Number of Horses without much Labour, which would have given us a great deal of Trouble, if we had been obliged to make them all swim by the sides of the Boats or Canoes.

As to the Baggage, no one took more with him than was necessary, and they only carried over a few Caleshes, which were well tied together on the Canoes, to serve for his Majesty, old *Mazeppa* and some Cossack Ladies.

Mazeppa went over about six in the Evening, but his Majesty did not pass the River till the Middle of the Night between the eleventh and twelfth of July, in a Canoe, having some Servants with him, after giving Orders to Count *Lowenbaupt* to burn all the Baggage of the Army, and to march towards the *Crim*. As *Mazeppa* had left behind him two small Casks full of Ducats, his Majesty sent Mr. *Neugebauer* in the Night, to fetch them; who soon returned with this Money,

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which was afterwards of great Assistance to us.

In the mean while the Enemy having pursued our Army, Count *Lowenhaupt*, instead of executing his Majesty's Commands, surrender'd himself by Capitulation, against the Representation of most of the Officers in the Army.

We had Notice ever since the Morning of the Arrival of the *Muscovites*, by the Report of the Fire which we heard far off, and about Noon we were informed by the Return of our last Boats, that *Menzikof* was posted with all his Horse near our Camp, and that he expected to be soon joined by the Foot. We now thought the Battle inevitable, not knowing any Thing of the Measures which *Lowenhaupt* was taking towards a Capitulation, nor of his Resolution to surrender. That the Enemy might be prevented from immediately pursuing us, his Majesty ordered all the Boats to be destroyed, to prevent the Enemy from making Use of them.

By these Measures we secured ourselves for some Days from the Pursuit of the *Russians*; but we had other Enemies to combat with, which were the Defart, Hunger, Thirst, the Heat of the Days and the Cold of the Nights, which equally threatned us with Destruction. As this Defart which we were to pass was of a vast Extent, and almost every where without Water; we surveyed our Situation with Horror in so hot a Season, and where we were in Want of every Thing.

In this sad Condition we begun our March the twelfth of *July*, new Style. All the Army was on Horseback except the King, who was in a little *Tar-*

tar Chaise, resembling our Caleshes. This Prince had on his Side Major-General *Hard*, who had been wounded at the Battle of *Pultowa*. *Mazeppa* was in a Coach with some Cossack Ladies. A profound Silence reign'd every where, and no one knew which Way to turn in order to pass the Defart; the Troops were at length divided into two Columns, the one of which being composed of *Swedes*, followed his Majesty; and the other, consisting of Cossacks and Valoches, had *Mazeppa* at their Head.

The Defart, which we were to pass, is called by the neighbouring People, which are the *Poles*, *Tartars* and *Cossacks*, *Dzike-Pole*. The Land is at first of a marshy Kind in some Places and covered with Reeds, afterwards it becomes more dry and sandy; but at last presents the Prospect of an open Champaign, without Trees, and covered with Grass: here and there are some Hills, on which there are excellent Pastures.

We soon found a Road, which leads towards the Frontiers of the Palatinate of *Braslaw*, but we quitted it to march directly across the Defart towards *Turky*, without seeing the least Path through which Men had ever passed. However, our Cossacks conducted us like Pilots in an open Sea, and knew all the Vales and Rivulets, and all the Morasses which lay in our Way. *Mazeppa* himself was not ignorant of any Part of this Defart, having often crossed it with the Cossacks in the last War between *Russia* and the *Turks*, towards the End of the last Century; when he had incessantly scoured the Country as far as *Oczakow*, and it was he who in all likelihood advised the King

King to take this Rout.

These Guides conducted the *Swedes* in such a Manner, that the two Columns which took different Roads joined the first Evening near a Morass covered with Reeds; here the Men and Horses refreshed themselves, after having horribly suffered for Want of Water during the extream Heat of the Day. They now laid aside all Delicacy, and their Thirst surmounting their Disgust, each satisfied himself with drinking this troubled and muddy Water, with which some of them filled Bottles for the next Day, our Guides having assured us that we should not find any more in a great Way. As to the Horses, we turned them to graze; but the Men suffered through the Want of Provisions: and what incommoded us most in this Rout, was, that we were continually obliged to remain in the open Air, there being neither Hut nor Cottage in these Parts. It may be not improper to mention, that there is neither Wood nor Shade in this Desert, but towards the Evening we could shelter our selves from the Sun behind the Hills, which are pretty large in some Places. The rest of the Day we were exposed to the fiery Rays of the Sun, which darted perpendicularly on our Heads in this vast Champaign.

After our Horses had foraged, we gave one another the Signal without making use of Trumpets, and afterwards continued our March as before till Midnight, when we halted to give our Horses some Rest, which were much fatigued and very hungry; however, we could not suffer them to graze during the Night, lest they should run away, which would have obliged great

Part of our Men to walk on Foot, and would have rendered our Situation yet more melancholy; some however being overcome with Fatigue, having dismounted to take a little Sleep, their Horses taking the Advantage of that Time to graze, some of them ran away, and left their Riders in a most dreadful Perplexity. After two Hours Repose we renewed our March the thirteenth of *July*, at two in the Morning; If we had suffered in the Day through the violent Heat, we underwent in the Night besides our Fatigue as piercing and extraordinary Cold, which lasted till the Sun appeared on the Horizon; and we remark'd on this Occasion, that the Cold was the most violent an Hour before Sun-rising, but as soon as the Sun began to dart his Rays we presently felt their Force, and at the End of an Hour or two the Heat became so excessive, that as we had during the Night great Difficulty to preserve our selves from the Cold, so no Cloths were thin enough for the immoderate Heat of the Day. However, as disagreeable as these two opposite Extremes were, especially the Heat, which was not qualified by the least Breath of Air; we had reason to thank God that the Season was not Rainy, for in that Case we could not have resisted the Fatigue, and should very likely have perished all together.

We continued our March quietly till Noon, when we came to a Water, which obliged us to stop to give some Pasture to our Horses, which was very good in this Part, and the Water better than that of the preceding Day, which afforded us great Support.

As to Provisions, the greater Part of
N n n 2 our

our People were without them; notwithstanding which they resolutely held out, with having Recourse to Food which could not but be in the highest Degree distasteful. Some Tartars only, who were used to eat Horse-flesh, cut the Throats of those Horses which were unable to keep up, and dressed them in their own Way; they chose out the best Bits, which they dried by the Sun, or else laid them under their Saddle to make them more tender and easy to digest, which Sort of Food their Hunger made them eat with the greatest Appetite in the World.

After having halted two or three Hours at this Place, we all remounted our Horses and continued our March till midnight, when we rested again for some Hours. In this Manner we performed our whole Journey from the *Borishenes* to the *Bog*.

The fourteenth of July we found in this Desert in several Places very wide and long Spaces of Land all covered with a particular Kind of Cherries; these grew on very small Shrubs, about the Thickness of the smallest Birch-trees, and not higher than the Grass; they were of the Bigness of common and wild Cherries red and very sharp: the Cossacks eat them very greedily, which gave our Men an Inclination to taste them, who finding them very good, took with them a large Quantity of these small Shrubs, each of which bore two or three Cherries, and served them on the Road for Refreshment. These Cherries resembled the *Chamaecerasi*, mentioned by *Pliny*, and those which grow in *Switzerland*; to which they give the Name of *Mountain Cherries*.

We saw besides in this Country se-

veral Sorts of Game, as Hares, wild Sheep, and a Sort of Partridge, some of our Men killed some of them, the Cossacks having assured us they were good to eat, and they came to us very agreeably in our present Scarcity; but the chief Question was, how to dress them: for the vast Desert did not produce a single Stick of Wood, with which we might make a Fire. However, as Necessity is the Mother of Invention, we thought on a Way, which was to make Use of Horse-dung, which we dried in the Sun, and afterwards burnt to roast our Game with; tho' the Heat of this Fire was not sufficient to make the Flesh of our Sheep very tender, yet those who eat thereof affirmed that the Taste came very near up to that of the Roe-buck; but these Animals did not in the least resemble our Sheep, being leaner, higher, bow-neck'd, and their Wool of a black Colour.

The fifteenth of July, we passed through a Road which led from the Palatinate of *Bracław* into the *Ukrain*. The Cossacks there met a Peasant, who drove a Waggon loaded with Salt, in order to convey it to the *Ukrain*; and as we were in Want of it, and did not care it should fall into the Enemy's Hands, they spared the Peasant the Trouble of carrying his Charge any further, by immediately buying it as well as his Horses.

The Scarcity of Provision was still very great, and as Hunger encreased more and more, it at last obliged several of our Men to accompany the Tartars in eating Horse-Flesh; and afterwards all our Men from the first to the last had Recourse to this Food, although they had yet some Victuals

left;

of it; but they conceal'd it, for fear of having unwished for Guests to partake of it.

In the mean Time we approached the Frontiers of *Turky*, altho' it was difficult to distinguish it in these Deserts. The Cossacks informed us, that it begun above half way between the *Boristhenes* and the *Bog*. And as we were ignorant in what Manner we should be received there with so great a Number of Men, his Majesty had already sent General *Poniatofski* with the Secretary *Klinkofstrom*, to the Governor of *Oczakow*, to give him Notice of his Arrival, and to desire him to take Care that when the King came to the *Bog*, every Thing should be ready for him to pass it, with all his Men; and that they might have Provision there, which he would buy with ready Money.

The Bashaw, or Governor, immediately answered, that without an express Order from the Grand Seignor, he could not agree to the King's passing; but upon the reiterated Remonstrances of *Poniatofski*, who in a very lively Manner represented to him that there was not a Moment's Time to be lost, he was pleased without Delay to send the King's Letters by Water to *Constantinople*. To these Letters he joined his own Representations, and at the same Time sent a Courier to the Bashaw or Seraskier of *Bender*, to ask his Advice how to act on this important Occasion, till he had received an Answer from *Constantinople*, which might arrive in four or five Days, if the Wind was favourable, *Oczakow* being situated upon the Black Sea.

The Seraskier answer'd him, that

he had nothing to do, but to furnish us with Provisions for ready Money, and to keep all the Barks and Men in Readiness to convey the King over the *Bog*; Time being extremely precious, as he knew the *Russians* had passed the *Boristhenes* in Order to pursue his Majesty.

Poniatofski and *Klinkofstrom* came back with this News, but they did not yet know the Seraskier of *Bender*'s Answer, which we afterwards learned, whilst we yet kept on our Way. We arrived in a Place, where the Ground being extremely sandy and dry, the Pasture was worth nothing; there was also in this Country a River, which was the only one we had seen since the *Boristhenes*, it was called *Ingulet Weli-ki*, that is to say, the Great, to distinguish it from another River which runs more to the left, and which is called *Ingulet Malinki*, or the Little.

We left the River on our right, and continuing our March from it, we set up our little Camp a League from the *Bog*, where we found Water enough; but its not being fresh, was a great Inconveniency to both Men and Horses. As we were very industrious in searching for fresh Water, our Cossacks, who were always in Motion, and who were perfectly acquainted with the Country, had the good Fortune to discover a Fountain of excellent Water, at a small Distance from the Camp. As it was feared so great a Number of Men would soon drain the Spring, Centinels were posted there to keep Order, and that the King might always have Water fresh and pure. The poor Horses, besides their bad Pasture, were still forced to drink dirty Water, which took its bitter Taste from the Neigh-

Neighbourhood of the *Euxin* Sea.

Here we saw Wolves all among us, one of which of a prodigious Size passed through the Middle of our Men, and had the good Fortune to escape them; and having spread a Terror thro' all our Men, he had full time to get out of Danger.

We were already on the Frontiers of *Turky*, which Country increased in Beauty the farther we advanced. We were told that in this delicious Country there are whole Fields covered with wild Melons; and we met with some Fields full of wild white Cabbages. Notwithstanding all these Advantages of the most fruitful Ground in the World, this Country is a Desert as far as the *Bog*, and there is not even the least Sign that it has ever been inhabited.

After reposing some Hours in this Place, we continued our March the sixteenth of *July* towards the *Bog*, where we arrived in two Hours Time. We incamped in a fine Meadow along the River, but there was very little Refreshment there, for Want of Water: for altho' there is some, yet many Leagues from thence as far as the Black Sea, the River had nevertheless already taken the muddy Taste. As to the Breadth of this River, which rises far off in *Podolia*, and which is navigable in *Poland*, it is a good quarter of a League in this Place. The *Turks* already expected us there with Impatience, that they might sell their Provisions; their Greediness after Money made them, as soon as they perceived us on the opposite Shore, row with all their Strength to join us.

It is easy to guess with what eagerness Men almost famished waited their

Arrival. As it was to be feared there would be great Disorders, the King placed Guards near the River to prevent any Confusion when the Barks drew to the Shore; and to take Care that his Majesty and his Court were first served.

The *Turks* at their Arrival knew very well how to turn this Impatience to their Profit, and they made an Advantage, like *Jews*, of the Condition they saw us in; and particularly when they saw we gave them Money, without even agreeing on the Price of their Provision, which they distributed to the poor famished *Suedes*, just as they thought proper. However, they were very well contented on both Sides, the *Turks* that they made a good Market of us, and the *Suedes* that they had satisfied the most pressing Hunger.

The Provision which they brought us consisted in Sheep, Fowls, Fish, Bread, Biscuits, Figs, several Sorts of Wine, Spice, Wood, &c. The Sheep were large, beautiful and extremely fat; the Fowls resembled the common Sort; the Bread and the Biscuit was very well baked, and of a good Taste, and the Figs were neither fresh nor whole, but cut, candied, and fastened by the dozen to Stalks of Straw, which we bought at first at a Groat a Dozen; but afterwards for the half of that Price.

As to Wine, they brought us different Sorts; but the greatest Part was the Wine of the *Crim*, very heady, not agreeable, and a little upon the red. They also brought us another Sort, which they said was *Greek* Wine; and that it was as strong as that of the *Crim*, but it was infinitely more agreeable. It was nevertheless necessary to take

take great Care, because it was easy to be overcome with the Strength of these Wines, and even before the Thirst was quenched. Our Men, who were very dry, felt the bad Effects of it, which at the first caused some Disorder. We found afterwards that this Drink was not only incapable of quenching Thirst, but even augmented it; for which Reason we ceased buying it. The Sheep and the Wood was reserved for the King, who had scarce eat any thing hot all the Time we were in the Defart.

We had some Difficulty in dealing with the *Turks*, because we had no Knowledge of either their Money or their Language, having no body amongst us who could speak it. They brought with them a *Jew*, who served for an Interpreter; but what signifies one Man amongst so many People, where the Croud and Confusion was so great? Their small Money consisted mostly in *Aspres* and *Parast*, of which they talked much; and ours were *Gros* and *Copekes*, having with us in small Silver only these two Sorts; the former *German*, and the latter *Russian*. As the *Copekes* were extremely small, the *Turks* at first made some Difficulty of taking them; but the *Jew* having instructed them in the *Saxon* Coin, and particularly the *Aritles* or *German* Florins, they took them with Pleasure; because they should get a great deal afterwards, by either melting or changing them. However, the Ducats pleased them better than any other Sort of Coin, and they even begged us to be provided with them; for altho' afterwards each Man stood on his Guard, we were nevertheless obliged greatly to give Way to the

Avarice of the *Turks*, who let slip no Opportunity of crying up the Value of their Goods, and of selling them as dear as possibly they could.

As his Majesty did not take so much Care of himself as of his poor Soldiers, he caused both Bread and Meat to be distributed amongst them; giving Orders that Oxen, Sheep, and other Food, should be bought to refresh them. A *Turk* coming forward at the Beginning with a Sheep and some other Provision which he presented to the King, this Prince ordered him twelve Ducats; which being reported to the others, they came in Crouds from all Parts, and laid at his Feet all the best they had to regale him. His Majesty still continued to give them Marks of his Liberality, which, joined to that grand and majestick Air which they saw shine in him, immediately inspired them with a Veneration for his Person; so that they are very much in the wrong who decry this Nation as extremely barbarous: for the *Turks* esteem Virtue, and shew, except some few Faults, as much, and, it may be, more Candour, Honesty and Charity, than many Christian Nations.

As it was not expedient to stay long on this Side the River, the Enemy being in full March to overtake us, his Majesty very much pressed the Passage, sending again to the Bashaw of *Oczakow*, to remind him of executing his Orders.

This Bashaw did not deny but that he had received Orders from the *Serafskier* of *Bender*, concerning the King and a small Retinue; but he said that these Orders made no mention of his Majesty's Troops, and consequently that he could only let the King with some

some Domesticks pass; that he was going to prepare all that would be necessary for this Passage, but for the Troops he could not dispense with the Orders from *Constantinople*. At the same Time he forbid, under the most rigorous Punishments, all the Watermen and Merchants who had brought us Provisions, to take any *Swede* aboard. There was only one little Bark which was always kept in Readiness for the King and some few necessary Attendants.

The King surprized at the Bashaw's Interpreting the Seraskier's Orders in this Manner, declared plainly, that he would not pass the River without all his Men, whom he would never abandon; and at the same Time he sent the Bashaw Word, that when he first asked Leave to pass, it was not for himself alone; and that the Seraskier's Orders, that he should transport him as soon as possible, must certainly include his Followers. But it was talking to a Man that was deaf, who was not at all inclined to favour the *Swedes*, altho' they did every Thing in their Power to gain him, both by Promises and Presents; which at first was all in vain, but afterwards upon our giving him a considerable Sum, he consented to our Demand, and even without receiving any farther Orders from *Constantinople*.

The Cossacks we had amongst us very much augmented his ill Humour, and were partly the Cause he was obstinate so long: for he would have been persuaded in Favour of the *Swedes* without our being at such an Expence, if the Cossacks, who were always suspected by the *Turks*, and particularly in this Country, had not been

with us. In this dangerous Situation we had no other Resource left, till we had prevailed on the Bashaw, but by great Promises, to engage the Merchants to transport the *Swedes*. We happily persuaded one, whose Boat could hold fifty, to promise to transport them the next Day for two Ducats each Man.

The *Swedes*, all Men of Distinction, who had bargained for this Passage, went in the Evening the seventeenth of *July* into the Bark, having employed all the Day in concluding their Bargain; they stayed there all Night, that they might go upon sure Grounds, and for fear the Merchant should change his Mind; but when Day broke, the eighteenth of *July*, they saw neither the Merchant, who had already received half the Money, nor his Rowers: those who were embarked resolved to take some *Swedish* Soldiers to row them over to the other Side without waiting any longer. When they arrived at the Middle of the River, the *Turk*, who was Master of the Bark, met them, having about twenty Men with him in his Boat, and cried out like a Fury to the *Swedes* to return to Land, and that otherwise they should instantly repent it. These Menaces made no Impression on the *Swedes*, and they even continued to row towards the opposite Shore. The *Turkish* Merchant to intimidate them, ordered his Men to make ready to Fire; our Men at the same Time put themselves in a Posture of Defence, and by that Means struck such an Awe into the *Massulmen* that they retreated, and arrived on the other Bank before the *Swedes*, who, being uncertain what the *Turks* would do at their landing,

ing, held themselves in Readiness for all Events, but the Affair went better than was expected; and except some few Abuses, which the *Swedes* pretended not to hear, the Affair was terminated without their being forced to come to an Engagement. The *Turks* contented themselves with obliging the *Swedes* presently to quit the Bark, into which they threw themselves with Precipitation, and rowed towards *Oczakow*.

The *Swedes* who were passed over, were very glad to find themselves in a Place of Safety; but they were very nearly concerned at the sad Fate of all the rest, because no *Turk* durst render them this charitable Piece of Service to transport them, being strictly forbid by the *Bashaw*; who however, being gained by Money as above mentioned, the *Turks* gave them Boats towards the Evening of the eighteenth of *July*; and we made so good Use of them that Day, and the next being the nineteenth of *July*, that we passed over a great Number of Men.

As to the King, who had his Bark in Readiness, he still continued to take Care to transport his Men, as well to encourage them, as to make the *Bashaw* fear he should run a great Risk if he did not speedily send more Barks to transport all the rest. The King appeared fully resolved to stay on that Side, till all his Men were transported. The *Turkish* Governor at last sent more Barks, but it was too late, the King had already passed, and the *Russians* arriving soon after, took Prisoners all those who remained on Land. The King's Train, after the Passage, was composed of the Hettman *Mazeppa*, the Major-Generals *Axel-*

Sparr, *Hardb*, *Lagercrona* and *Ponia-toski*; the Colonels *Ornstedt*, *Hierta* and *Dabldorff*; the Lieutenant-Colonels *Gyllenkrok*, *Ebrenschild*, *Funk*, *Silverhielm*, *Grothusen* and *Leyonbrink*; the Adjutant-General *Gyllenkla*, and of several other Officers of Distinction and Quality, with the Remainder of the *Drabans* and some Soldiers, amounting in all to four hundred Men, or thereabouts; besides some Cossack Officers.

As to the Court, it was composed of *M. Düben*, the Chamberlains *Thornschold* and *Klinstierna*; the Gentlemen of the Court, *Clüsendorff* and *Cronmark*, Bishop *Malmberg* the King's Confessor, who afterwards died at *Bender*, and who had succeeded Mr. *Nordberg* taken Prisoner at *Pultowa*; the two Masters of his Majesty's Pantry, a Butler, a Controller, a Cook, some Under-Cooks and Butlers, and several Foot-men.

The Chancery was composed of Mr. *Müllern*, Counsellor to the Chancery; Mr. *Fieff*, Counsellor of War; the three Chancellors *Bunge*, *Hylteen*, and *Von Kochen*, and some Clerks; which in all amounted to five or six hundred Men.

The rest might all have passed very easily from the Time we arrived at the *Bog*, if the *Bashaw* had not testified so much Ill-will towards us, and if he had furnished us in good Time with the Boats which were necessary, there being great Numbers at *Oczakow*; but the Obstinacy of this *Turk*, before he was brought over by Money, was the Cause that in the Afternoon of the nineteenth the *Russians* surprized the rest of our Men, immediately stopt some of the Vessels, and fired upon those

those who at their Arrival quitted the Shore to cross the River.

As the *Swedes* were not able to oppose Forces so much superiour, they were soon obliged to surrender themselves Prisoners; but as to the *Cossacks* who knew the Country perfectly well, they saved themselves by crossing the Desert, and were not long pursued by the *Russians*, who being fatigued as well as the *Swedes*, were not in a Condition to overtake them. Besides, the *Russians* had already sufficiently violated the *Turkish* Frontiers, and committed too many Hostilities upon the Grand Seignor's Territories, to venture at any further Excesses, which might draw upon them fatal Consequences, if the *Turks* should be incensed and take the Field to cut off their Retreat, for which Reason they speedily returned to the *Boristhenes*.

It was not then sufficient that these poor unhappy Men had already suffered the most horrible Miseries and Fatigues in passing the Desert, but they were forced to cross it a second Time as Slaves, and in a Condition much more sorrowful and deplorable. There were very few of them who arrived at the *Muscovite* Army; for the *Cossacks* informed us, that they had found a great many of them in the Desert, who were overcome with Hunger, Misery and Fatigue, the *Russians* themselves having repassed this vast Desert with great Difficulty. Those few of them who had the good Fortune to save themselves, were very much comforted when they saw the King in Safety, notwithstanding the Uncertainty of their Fate, being in a foreign Country, and at the Discretion of a People of whom the *Europeans* commonly form

very false Ideas. They nevertheless greatly regretted the Loss of their faithful Companions, and also of their Baggage, and all they had brought with them from the *Boristhenes* as far as the *Bog*; which the Enemy there seized and carried off. The greatest Part complained more particularly of the Loss of their Horses, of which very few had passed the River; so that even several Persons of Distinction were under a Necessity of travelling on Foot.

As soon as the Bashaw had begun to change his Conduct towards us, he ordered Provision and other Things necessary to be transported to our Camp. The *Turkish* Merchants came thither in Crouds, and brought us all Sorts of Commodities; and amongst others, Horses and Waggon, which they sold very dear to those who were able to pay for them, which however comforted our Men who were terribly fatigued and dejected. The King only, notwithstanding his Wound, and the sorrowful Spectacle he had just seen of his Men dragged into Slavery almost before his Eyes, preserved his usual Grandeur of Mind, and a Tranquillity quite uncommon and worthy of a Hero.

We then began to hope, that instead of the Desert through which we had passed, we should have the good Fortune to meet in our Rout Towns and Villages; but we greatly deceived ourselves in this Respect, we had not yet crossed all this vast Desert which still continued, so that in the Day we were exposed to an extraordinary Heat without being able to find the least Shade, and in the Night we had only the Ground for Matresses and Quilts, and

and the Sky to cover us. But as we at least found ourselves in Safety, in Regard to the Enemy who could no longer pursue us, all those who were able to be at any Expence, bought small *Turkish* Waggons, made in the Manner of the Country, namely, of the Length of a Man, very narrow and without any Iron, and so light that one Horse is able to draw them, they have four Wheels and a Board at the Top, of the Depth of a Span and a half, which is covered with Felt; we accommodated ourselves with these Carriages the best we could, and continued our March but slowly. In the Day these Carriages served us for Shelter in the Places where we encamped, in the Night we used them instead of Beds; when it rained, they were our Tiles; they at the same Time held our Provision, and into them we could retire and shelter our selves as *Diogenes* did formerly in his Tub.

It then appeared to us, that the Country itself obliged the Inhabitants to live there in the Manner of the ancient *Scythians*; for although this famous People have for a long Time ceased making any Figure in the World, their Manner of Living is yet so much practised in all this Country, that they still continue the same rambling and vagabond Life, without either Fire or fixed Habitation, continually decamping from one Place to another, without building either Towns or Villages.

It was a Spectacle equally melancholy and ridiculous, to see us in the Morning come out from under the Felts of these Waggons; nor was the Manner in which we drove them all Day less ridiculous. We nevertheless

travelled more conveniently in them through the Desert, than we did formerly on Horseback: the Fatigue of which became at last quite insupportable. As soon as we were provided with Necessaries to continue our Journey, we began the March; because the Place where we then were failed in good Pasture and fresh Water. We then drew directly towards *Oczakow*, still crossing a great Plain which bounded our Sight. When we saw his Majesty take this Rout, we were in Hopes he would fix his Camp near this Town, where we might refresh and repose our selves at our Ease; but this was neither the Intention of his Majesty, nor of the Bashaw: so that we turned suddenly on the Right of *Oczakow*, marching thro' uncultivated and uninhabited Fields, and encamped three Leagues from this Town.

However, this Town was of great Use to us; for the Bashaw gave some *Swedes* who were to buy the King's Provisions the necessary Passports, with free Leave to enter there. Several made Use of this Opportunity to buy a thousand little Things in the Town, which they wanted the more as the Distempers caused by the Miseries we had suffered, began to spread amongst us; and especially the Dysentery, which very few, except the King, escaped.

This Distemper immediately seized us after our Arrival at the *Bog*, and as soon as we began to eat what the *Turks* brought us thither; their heady Wine, the Figs, and all those candied Fruits, could not agree with that Quantity of Water with which we had loaded our Stomachs going thro' the Desert in

the excessive Heat, to which we had been exposed.

We stayed in the new Camp on this Side of the *Bog*, the twenty-first and twenty-second of *July*. His Majesty employed all that Time in consulting on the present Situation of Affairs; he was resolved to send somebody to *Constantinople*. For this Purpose he spoke to several Persons, but they refused being charged with this Commission, under Pretence that they neither knew the State of Affairs, nor the Customs nor Manners of the Country. His Majesty then sent for Mr. *Neugebaver*, a Native of *Dantzick*, and who having retired out of the *Muscovite* Service, had for some Time followed the Army in Quality of a *Voluntier*, with a convenient Pension. His Majesty spoke to him of it himself, and Mr. *Neugebaver* consulting only his Zeal for his Majesty's Service, immediately accepted the Employment. They without Delay dispatched his credential Letters, and the following Letter from the King of *Sweden* to the Grand Seignor.

To the most high, most powerful, most glorious and invincible Emperor *Achment*, Son of *Mahomet* the Fourth; Emperor of diverse Empires, King of many Kingdoms, Sovereign and Protector of several different Nations; whom God protect, and prolong your Reign.

THIS Letter, sign'd by our Royal Hand, is to give your Highness Notice of our Arrival in your Dominions; and to inform you of the Misfortune that happened to us in those of the *Czar*, af-

ter we had thus far as fortunately as justly chastised the Violation of the Law of Nations and the Faith of Treaties solemnly sworn to. After having forced King *Augustus* to renounce the Crown of Poland, of which he was rather the Tyrant than the King, gave that Nation a King from amongst themselves, who is a Friend to your sublime Port; after we had chased the *Czar*, his Ally and Colleague in Perfidy, from Poland, which he had set in a Flame, and pursued him as far as the Town of *Pultowa*, to give him Laws and break his pernicious Designs; Heaven has permitted our Army, diminish'd and fatigu'd by rough Marches, and wanting the most necessary Things for Subsistence, being suddenly overwhelm'd by a Multitude three Times more numerous and provided with all we wanted, in the End to lose the Battle.

Not being in a Condition, nor near enough our Provinces to raise a new Army, and being willing to escape falling into the Hands of a barbarous Enemy, we are come to seek in this Empire an Asylum against his Perfidy, under the august Protection of your Imperial Highness, with Means of immediately rejoining the Army we have left in Poland, under the Command of the worthy King, whom we have given to that Kingdom, to support him on his Throne, in Case that he whom we have by Force dethroned should attempt to re-ascend it, contrary to the Faith of Treaties which we have made with him.

What we propose to our selves besides this Asylum, and these Means, is the Friendship of your Imperial Highness; to whom we offer and promise in our Part the most sincere Attachment we are capable of. The first Proof we think ourself under

under an Obligation to give of this Attachment to your Highness, is to let you know that if we give the Czar, whose Ambition is no more guided by Courage than by Faith and Honour, Time to make Use of the Advantage our ill Fortune has given him over us, he will fall suddenly on some of our Provinces; as he and his Allies in Perfidy have done upon ours, beginning an unjust War, not only without any Declaration of it, but even in the midst of a Peace established in the most solemn Manner, at the Time when he assured us by our reciprocal Ministers, that he was sincerely resolv'd religiously to observe the Treaties, and desired us to do the same Thing on our Part. But the several Forts which this Prince has built upon the Tanais, and upon the Palus Mœotis, and his new Fleet, sufficiently publish his pernicious Designs against your Empire without alledging these Examples of his Perfidy. Things being in this Situation, we see nothing more useful or more proper to prevent the Danger with which this Prince threatens your august Empire, than an Alliance between your sublime Port and our Court, by Virtue of which your Highness will put us in a Condition of returning safely into Poland and our Provinces, under the Guard of a Body of your valiant Horse, and fortifying our Army which is under the Direction of a wise and faithful King, who will voluntarily enter into our Confederacy. Which being once procured, we will yet once more carry our just Arms as far as the Heart of Muscovy, to suppress the unjust Ambition of the Czar. Finally, we will never forget the Favours it shall please your Highness to confer upon us, and will seek all Opportunities and Means to give real Proofs of our Gratitude;

and we shall always think it a particular Honour and a real Pleasure to subscribe our self,

Your faithful Friend,

CHARLES, Son of CHARLES XI.

Mr. Neugehaver being furnished with his Instructions, began his Journey; but before his Arrival at Constantinople, the Turkish Emperor had already been informed of all that had passed, by an Aga, who having three Weeks before escorted Secretary Klinkostrom and Mr. Sandul, as above mentioned, to the Army before Pultowa, had been Eye-witness of the bloody Battle which was fought there, and as soon as we had passed the Bog went on before to inform the Grand Seignor of what had happened; and also to give him Intelligence of the King of Sweden's Approach, to put himself under his Protection.

The next Day, being the twenty-third of July, there arrived at the Camp a Turkish Officer, who was sent by the Seraskier of Bender, with Letters full of Politeness and Civility for the King; in which this Governor greatly condoled the Losses his Majesty had suffered, offering at the same Time to do him all the Service in his Power; and sending the King a Tent which came very seasonably, and which was immediately set up for his Majesty.

The Turk made but a very short Stay, and after he had received a handsome Present from his Majesty, he returned very well satisfied to Bender. At the same Time we continued our March

March on the Side of *Oczakow*, and we encamped as usual in open Field, without being able to discover on any Part either Villages, Houses or Cottages.

All this Country was but one dreadful Desert, known formerly by the Name of *Solitudo Getarum*, the Desert of the *Getae*: it is at present included under the general Name of *Tartary-Akerman*, and it extends itself from the North-west of *Ibmaeli* as far as *Oczakow*. There was not to be found the least Hut, but only some Horses which were guarded by the Tartars, who live to this Day without following any other Law than the Instinct of pure Nature; as did formerly the ancient Vagabonds, which were collected or come out from among the *Daci*, the *Getae*, and the *Scythians*, who overwhelmed the little *Scythia*, the *Taurica Chersonesus*, and the Banks of the *Palus Maotis*. They form *bordes*, a Sort of portable Village, with their covered Waggon, and some Tents called *O-bas*, which serve for a Retreat or Habitation for their Wives and Children. Finally, they live upon Horse-flesh and other Cattle, Cheese, Milk, and particularly Mare's Milk; and whilst one Part make frequent Inroads upon the neighbouring Nations with fresh Horses, the other Part feed those who want Rest, to refresh them; chusing for that Use the best Fields, and the finest Meadows, where their *Keddis* or *Hordes* remain as long as their Grass lasts.

It was with great Difficulty we went thro' this Desert, which is about twenty Leagues from *Oczakow*, as far as the *Niester*; and if the officious and interested *Mussulmen* had not had the

Goodness to follow us with all Sorts of Provision, and to set up a Sort of a Market on the Road, which we passed through, where we might be provided with every Thing necessary, and even buy Horses, we should never have been able to have supported the Fatigue of this Journey.

The Milk which the *Turks* brought us was not good, because of the bitter Taste which is caused by the great Quantity of Wormwood which grows in this Desert; so that we liked better to buy Water, altho' it was hot and disagreeable, by being brought a great Way in the Manner of the Country. This Water however was so dear, that very often one good Draught came to two *Gros*, or more. They also sold us Wine, but it was extremely strong, it did not go off well, because it caused an excessive Heat; besides, it could not at all quench our Thirst. They brought us several other Things; amongst others, excellent Filberts, which were not inferiour either in Goodness or Size to those in *Italy*. All this enliven'd the March, especially in the Places where we encamped; because a great Number of Merchants and Victuallers always assembled there.

When the King arrived at the Distance of a League from the Town, he gave Orders for us to encamp and stay there that Night, and the next Day, being the twenty-fourth of *July*. In this Place we observed in his Majesty, what no one had ever remark'd before, outward Marks of a deep Melancholy. The News he had just received of the Death of *Madam Royal* his Sister, the Duchess of *Holstein-Gottorp*, was the Cause of this Change. *Mr. Klinkostrom* had

had brought a Letter from the Queen Dowager, to inform him of this dismal News; but as he arrived before *Pultowa* some few Days after the King was wounded, Count *Piper* thinking it improper, in a Situation so dangerous for the King's Health, to discover to him his Sister's Death; strictly forbid *Klinkofstrom* to acquaint him with it, hoping to find a more favourable Time to tell him of the Death of a Princess, whom he had always tenderly loved. The Loss of the Battle of *Pultowa*, followed with great Disorders occasioned by our Retreat through the Desert, was the Reason his Majesty was not yet acquainted with this News; and they resolved to stay till we had passed the *Bog*, and then to communicate it to him; which, for several Reasons, could now be concealed from him no longer.

Mr. *Müllern*, Counsellor of the Chancery, was charged with this Commission. He endeavoured as much as possible to soften the Bitterness of this News, which could not but be a great Trouble to him. The King, notwithstanding all his Heroism and Greatness of Mind, was quite overcome, at hearing of the Death of a Sister who was so dear to him. Hitherto all the Losses he had suffered, had not been capable of moving his Constancy. He had always appeared indifferent, and with a serene and tranquil Countenance in the midst of all his late Misfortunes; but this last Blow quite cast him down, and altho' before, notwithstanding the Pain of his Wound, those who were familiar with him had never heard him fetch the least Sigh, he appeared so much oppressed by his Sister's Death, that he retired into his Tent, and

would neither see or speak to any Body.

As this Prince from his Youth had harden'd himself by Fatigue and continual warlike Exercises, it was generally thought, that he was in a Manner insensible of all that is called Tenderness, and that the most fatal Events were not capable of moving his Constancy and Firmness; or else, which is more probable, that he was subject to these Affections, but that he had so well conquered and brought them under, that he never let them appear outwardly, and that he always kept them deeply concealed in his Mind. Nevertheless, we saw with Astonishment, on this Occasion, what an Effect the Tenderness for a Sister so much beloved could have on a Heart otherwise the most firm and magnanimous, that perhaps was ever known.

Nevertheless this Prince, after he had given some Time to the first Sentiments of Grief, which Nature inspired him with, soon recovered that Greatness of Mind, which he had always shewn on all other Occasions; and submitted himself, with respect to the irrevocable Decrees of God. He did not delay returning an Answer to *Stockholm*. At the same Time he gave several Officers and Soldiers, who were either wounded or sick, leave to go to *Oczakow*, to be cured there; and to stay till such Time as they were able to come to his Majesty at *Bender*.

It is very probable the King would have preferred *Oczakow* to *Bender*, if the Bashaw had behaved with more Civility to him; but this Reason and some others at last determined his Majesty to quit the Neighbourhood of

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Oczakow: it was really very inconvenient, that the Dispatches which were sent to *Constantinople*, were always forced to go thro' the Desert, unless they sent them by Sea.

We decamped the twenty-fifth of *July*, after having stayed a Day and two Nights in the Neighbourhood of *Oczakow*; and encamped two Leagues from thence in the Desert. In this Rout, we were obliged for several Days to defend our selves against the continual Attacks of a new Enemy. A terrible Number of Locusts generally arose every Day before Noon from the Sea-shore, first in a small Number, but afterwards like Clouds, which obscured the Air, and made it so dark and thick, that the Sun appeared in all this vast Plain to be entirely eclipsed.

These Insects did not fly near the Earth, but almost of the same Height as Swallows, till they have found a Field to pitch on. We often met with these Insects in our Way, and rising they made a Noise like that of a Tempest; they afterwards fell upon us like a Storm, pitching on the same Plain where we were, and without any Fear of being trod under Feet by our Horses; when they arose from the Ground they covered us all over in such a Manner, that we could not see before us till we had passed the Place where they were. In all Places where these Locusts pitch'd, they made a terrible Havock, eating the Grass by the Roots; so that instead of that fine Verdour, with which the Country was before covered, there was nothing now to be seen but dry and sandy Ground. It could not be believed that so small an Animal could pass the Sea, if Expe-

rience had not so often convinced these poor People of it: for after having passed a small Arm of the *Euxin Sea*, coming from the Islands and neighbouring Countries, these Insects crossed great Provinces, where they destroyed every Thing, they met as far as to eat the very Doors of the Houses.

The next Day being the twenty-sixth of *July*, we continued our March still thro' the same Desert, or the *Tartary* of *Akerman*; and we encamped four Leagues from the Place which we had left the Night before. After we had stayed there that Night, we went the next Day five Leagues, passing near the Lake *Teligon*, and encamped upon the Borders of the *Euxin Sea*, which we coasted along all this Day. The Water is extremely clear, and especially near the Shore; so that it is falsely called the *Black Sea*, a Name which was formerly given it to distinguish it from the *White* and *Red Seas*, as there are the *White*, *Red* and *Black Russia*. In the Evening, as the King came to the Spot where we were to encamp, there arrived an Envoy from the Han of *Tartary*, who demanded an Audience of him. He immediately obtained it, and after he had given his Majesty a Letter from his Master, he made him a Present of a small *Tartarian Waggon*, which was drawn by four Horses, and in which there was a Tent. The King immediately answered the Han's Letter; and the Envoy having received a suitable Present, departed to the *Crim*.

The twenty-eighth of *July* we continued our March by the Side of the *Black Sea*. The Heat was excessive, and the Water beginning to fail, we suffered a great deal. We went four Leagues

Leagues that Day. The twenty-ninth and the Day following, having quitted the Sea and marched seven or eight Leagues from it, we came to a wretched *Tartarian* Village, having not seen a single House in twenty Days March from the *Boristhenes*. Nevertheless, the King forbade us Lodging there, that we might not incommode the Inhabitants; and we only took what they offered themselves, which was immediately paid for with ready Money. This Village, the thatched Houses of which rather resembled Caves under Ground than Houses, and the People appearing to us extremely miserable, was the most piteous Sight in the World. The thirty-first we went six Leagues, marching along the Side of the *Nießer*; and after we had passed the little River of *Kurkabun*, we at last encamped the next Day a League from *Bender*.

His Majesty here heard the News, that the Czar had sent to *Constantinople*, to demand the Delivery of *Mazeppa*; but that the Grand Seignor had generously refus'd it him, which gave this Prince great Pleasure. We stayed two Days in this Camp, where, contrary to our Expectation, arrived some *Swedes*, who at the Time that the *Russians* had surprized the others on the *Bog*, concealed themselves among some Reeds, and had found Means, after the Enemy's Departure, to pass the River, by the Assistance of the *Turkish* Barks, and afterwards to overtake us.

At our Arrival near *Bender*, we found the Seraskier had already made all the necessary Preparations for the King's Reception; and as soon as he knew that his Majesty was on his Way

towards that Town, he, with some Horse, came out to meet him half way. After he had made a polite Compliment to the King, he told him, that he had set up a Camp by the Grand Seignor's Orders near *Bender*, on the other Side of the River, for his Majesty and all his Men, where he would find all that he had thought could be necessary for him; and that he desired him to receive graciously the Pains he had taken on this Account. The King answered this Compliment in a very obliging Manner. Then this Seraskier and his Horse having surrounded the King's Coach, we began again the March, continuing to coast along the *Nießer*. At our Arrival before *Bender*, from which the River separated us, they fired all the Cannon there round the Fortress, at several different Times. When the King entered the Camp, he found there a magnificent Tent; which was pitched for his Majesty. Before this Tent were ranged, on both Sides, two Companies of Janisaries, who sounded their warlike Musick to do Honour to his Majesty. After the King had entered the Tent, and given Thanks to the Seraskier, the latter returned to the Town with his Retinue; but he left the Companies of the Janisaries, with an Aga, for the King's Guard. This Seraskier took Care before his Departure, that the principal Officers and all the Court were well lodged in fine Tents, which had been pitched for them, and where they had every Thing convenient, that of his Majesty particularly, being of a Grandeur and Magnificence worthy a King.

N U M B E R IV.

The History of Charles XII. King of Sweden from the Time of his Retreat to Bender in Turkey, to his Death; being killed at Frederickshall in Norway, December. 1718.

FROM the first Moment of King Charles's repairing to the *Turkish* Territories, he had laid the Design of turning the *Ottoman* Arms upon his Enemies: he already fancied he saw himself at the Head of the *Turkish* Forces, reducing *Poland* again under the Yoke, and subduing *Muscovy*. *M. de Neugbaver* set out from *Ozakou* for *Constantinople*, with the Character of the King's Envoy extraordinary. Count *Poniatofsky*, a Person equally capable and resolute, of an engaging and agreeable Temper, born with the Talent of persuading and pleasing all Nations, attended the *Swedish* Embassy, but in a private Capacity, in order to sound the Dispositions of the *Constantinopolitan* Ministry, without being tied up to the usual Forms, and giving too much Ground for Suspicion: he knew how to gain in a short Time the Favour of the Grand Visir, who loaded him with Presents; and had the Art to convey a Letter of the King of *Sweden*'s to the Sultana *Valide*, Mother to the Emperor then upon the Throne, and who had formerly been ill used by her Son; but now began to recover her Interest in the *Seraglio*. He entered into a close Friendship with one *Bru* a *Frenchman*, who had been Chancellor to the *French* Embassy. This Man was perpetually talking of the King of *Sweden*'s Exploits to the chief

of the Sultana's Eunuchs, who charmed his Mistress with repeating them. The Sultana, by a secret Inclination with which most Women find themselves inspired in Favour of extraordinary Men, even without having ever seen them, took the King's Part openly in the *Seraglio*, we called him by no other Name than that of her Lion: And when will you, said she sometimes to the Sultan her Son, help my Lion to devour this Czar? She even dispensed with the strict Rules of the *Seraglio*, so far as to write several Letters with her own Hand to Count *Poniatofsky*. One of those who entered into *Poniatofsky*'s Designs with the greatest Abilities, was *Fonsaca* a *Porteguese* Physician, fixed at *Constantinople*, a learned and ingenious Person, who joined the Knowledge of Men to that of his own Art, and whose Profession procured him Access to the *Ottoman Porte*, and often an Intimacy with the Visits.

At length the King of *Sweden*'s Party was become so powerful at *Constantinople*, by *Poniatofsky*'s Management, that the Faction of the *Moscovy* Envoy thought their only Refuge was to poison him. Accordingly they prevailed upon one of his Domesticks to give him Poison in a Dish of Coffee; but the Crime was discovered before it was put in Execution. The Poison

was found in the Servant's Hands, in a little Vial, which they carried to the Grand Seigneur. The Poisoner was tried in full Divan, and condemned to the Gallies, for the *Turkish* Law never punishes such Crimes capitally, as were intended only, but not executed.

The Grand Visir appeared as eager as the Sultana *Valide* to serve the King of *Sweden*: He told *Poniatofsky*, giving him at the same Time a Purse of 1000 Ducats, *I will take your King in one Hand, and a Sword in the other, and carry him to Moscow, at the Head of 200000 Men.* This Visir by Name *Cbouloulou Ali-Basha*, was a very able Minister in the Art of War, and a better Politician than such Persons usually are. He had settled the imperial Revenues under excellent Regulations. He gave away small Sums of Money willingly, which gained him Creatures; but much more willingly received great Sums of them, when he was upon any important Negotiations, which made it seem very strange, that he should appear so favourable to an unfortunate King, who at that time had little to give him. He was the Son of a Peasant at the Village of *Cboulou*. Among the *Turks* it is no Reproach to a great Man to have been of such an Extraction. Birth in that Country is not at all regarded; Merit is looked upon as every Thing. It is common there to see the Son of a Labourer made a chief Minister, and the Son of a Visir follow the Plough.

At *Bender* the King found Plenty of every Thing; a Happiness very rarely attained to by a vanquished and fugitive Prince: for besides Provision more than sufficient, and the five hun-

dred Crowns a Day which he received from the *Ottoman* Munificence, he drew Money also from *France*, and borrowed of the Merchants at *Constantinople*. Part of this Money was employed in carrying on Intrigues in the *Seraglio*, in purchasing the Favour of the Visirs, or procuring their Ruin. The rest he distributed profusely among his Officers, and the Janisaries of *Bender*, *Grothusen* his Favourite and Treasurer was the Dispenser of his Liberalities; a Man, who, contrary to the Custom of Persons in that Station, was as much pleased with giving as his Master. He brought him one Day an Account of sixty thousand Crowns in two Lines, ten thousand given to the *Swedes* and Janisaries by the generous Orders of his Majesty, and the rest spent by myself. See, says the King, *how I like my Friends should give in their Accounts.* *Mullern* makes me read whole Pages for the Sum of ten thousand Livres. One of his old Officers, thought to be a little covetous, complained to the King that he gave all to *Grothusen*. *I give Money*, replies the King, *to none but those who know how to make use of it.* This Generosity often reduced him to such Straits, that he had not wherewithal to give. A better Economy in his Liberalities had been more to his Advantage and not less honourable, but it was this Prince's failing, to drive all the Virtues to Excess.

Great Numbers of Strangers ran from *Constantinople* to see him. The *Turks* and neighbouring *Tartars* came thither in Crouds; all honoured and admired him. His Rigidness in abstaining from Wine, and his Regularity in attending the publick Devotions

twice a Day, made them say that he was a true Mussulman. They were impatient to march with him to the Conquest of *Muscovy*.

While he continued at *Bender*, which was longer than he thought to do, he insensibly acquired a Taste for Books. Baron *Fabricius*, Son to the Duke of *Holstein's* first Minister, a very agreeable young Man, of such Gaiety of Temper, and an easy Turn of Wit as takes with Princes, was the Person that prevailed upon him to read. He had been sent as Envoy to him at *Bender*, to take care of the Interests of the young Duke of *Holstein*, and carried his Point by the Agreeableness of his Manner and Behaviour. He had read all *French* Writers of Reputation, and persuaded the King to read the Tragedies of the great *Cornelle*, those of *M. Racine*, and the Works of *M. Despreaux*. His Majesty had no Relish for *Despreaux's* Satyrs, which are by no Means his best Performances; but he much admired his other Works. But when he read that Passage in his eighth Satyr, in which the Author makes *Alexander* a Fool and a Madman, he tore out the Leaf.

Of all the *French* Tragedies, *Mithridates* pleased him most, because the Situation of that King, vanquished and breathing Vengeance, resembled his own. He pointed with his Finger before *M. Fabricius* to the Places that struck him, but would read none of them aloud, nor ever venture to speak a Word in *French*. Nay, when he afterwards saw at *Bender* *M. Desaleurs*, the *French* Ambassador at the Porte, a Person of distinguished Merit, but acquainted only with his Mother-

tongue, he answered him in *Latin*; and upon *Desaleurs* protesting that he did not understand four Words in that Language, the King rather than talk *French*, called for an Interpreter.

Thus was *Charles XII.* employed at *Bender*, where he waited till an Army of *Turks* should come to his Assistance. To dispose the *Ottoman* Porte to this War, he detached about 800 *Poles* and *Cossacks* of his Retinue, with Orders to pass the *Neister*, that runs by *Bender*, and to go and observe what passed upon the Frontiers of *Poland*.

The *Muscovite* Troops dispersed in those Quarters fell immediately upon this little Company, and pursued them even to the Territories of the Grand Signor. This was what the King of *Sweden* expected. His Ministers and Emissaries at the Porte made a great Clamour against this Irruption, and excited the *Turks* to Vengeance: but the Czar's Money removed all Difficulties. *Tolstoy* his Envoy at *Constantinople*, gave the Grand Visir and his Creatures Part of the six Millions that had been found at *Pultowa* in the King of *Sweden's* military Chest. After such a Defence the Divan found the Czar not guilty. And so far were they from talking of making War against him, that they granted such Honours and Privileges to his Envoy, as *Muscovite* Ministers had never before enjoyed at *Constantinople*. He was suffered to have a Seraglio, that is, a Palace in the Quarters of the *Franks*, and to converse with the foreign Ministers. Nay the Czar thought he had Power enough to demand that General *Mazeppa* should be delivered up to him, as *Charles XII.* had caused

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ed the unfortunate *Patkul* to be surrendered into his Hands. *Chourlouy Ali Basha* could no longer refuse any thing to a Prince, who back'd his Demand with Millions. Thus the same Grand Visir, who before had made a solemn Promise to carry the King of Sweden into *Muscovy* with two hundred thousand Men, had the Assurance to make a Proposal to him of consenting to the Sacrifice of General *Mazeppa*. King *Charles* was enraged at the Question. However it is not certain, how far the Visir could have carried the Matter, had not *Mazeppa*, who was then seventy Years of Age, died just at this Juncture. The King's Grief and Resentment were very much augmented, when he understood that *Tolstoy*, now become the Czar's Ambassador at the Porte, was served in publick by the Swedes that had been made Slaves at *Pultowa*, and that these brave Soldiers were daily sold in the Market at *Constantinople*. Besides the *Muscovite* Ambassador declared openly, that the Mussulman Troops at *Bender* were placed there rather as a Guard upon the King, than to do him Honour.

King *Charles* abandoned by the Grand Visir, and conquered by the Czar's Money in *Turkey* as he had been by his Arms in *Ukrania*, found himself deluded, scorned by the Porte, and in a Manner a Prisoner among the *Tartars*. His Attendants began to despair. Himself alone remained firm, and did not shew the least Dejection of Spirit, no not for a Moment. He imagined the Sultan was ignorant of the Intrigues of *Chourlouy Ali* his Grand Visir, and resolved to make him acquainted with them, and *Poniatosky* undertook this bold Commis-

sion. The Grand Seignor went every Friday to the Mosque encompassed with his Solacks, a Kind of Guard whose Turbans were set with Feathers so high, that they hid the Sultan from the Eyes of the People. When any one had a Petition to present to the Grand Seignor, the Way was to mix himself among these Guards, and hold the Petition up in the Air. Sometimes the Sultan vouchsafed to take it himself; but more frequently he ordered an Aga to take Care of it, and afterwards upon his Return from the Mosque, caused the Petitions to be laid before him. There is no fear of any one's daring to importune him with a trifling and unnecessary Petition; for at *Constantinople* they write less in a Year, than they do at *Paris* in a Day. Much less does any one venture to present Petitions against the Ministers, to whom for the most Part, the Sultan remits them without reading them. However *Poniatosky* had no other Way to convey the King of Sweden's Complaints to the Grand Seignor. He drew up a Representation against the Grand Visir sufficient to ruin him. *M. de Feriolle*, who was at that Time the French Ambassador, got it translated into *Turkish*. A Greek was hired to present it, who mingling himself among the Grand Seignor's Guards, held up the Paper so high, and for so long a Time, and made such a Noise, that the Sultan perceived it, and took the Memoir himself.

Some Days after, the Sultan in Answer to the King of Sweden's Complaints, sent him twenty five Arabian Horses, one of which that had carried his Highness, was covered with a Saddle and Housing enriched with precious

precious Stones, and the Stirrups were of massy Gold. With this Present he sent an obliging Letter, but conceived in general Terms, and such as gave Reason to suspect, that the Minister had done nothing without the Sultan's Consent. *Cbouloulou* also, who knew how to dissemble, sent five very curious Horses to the King. But his Majesty, with a haughty Air, told the Person who brought them, 'Go back to your Master, and tell him, that I don't receive Presents from mine Enemies.'

M. Poniatosky having already had the Courage to get a Petition presented against the Grand Visir, then formed the bold Design of deposing him. He knew the Visir was no Favourite of the Sultan's Mother, and was the Aversion both of *Kislar Aga*, the chief of the black Eunuchs, and of the *Aga* of the Janisaries: he encouraged all three to speak against him. It was very strange to see a Christian, a *Pole*, an Agent without Character of a *Swedish* King, who had fled for Refuge to the *Turks*, caballing publicly in a manner at the Porte against a Viceroy of the *Ottoman* Empire, and such an one too as was both an useful Minister and a Favourite of his Master. *Poniatosky* had never succeeded, and the bare Attempt had cost him his Life, had not a stronger Power than all those in his Interests given the last Blow to the Grand Visir *Cbouloulou's* Fortune.

The Sultan had a young Favourite, who has since governed the *Ottoman* Empire, and was killed in *Hungary* in 1716, at the Battle of *Peterwardin*, gained over the *Turks* by Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*. His Name was

Coumourgi Ali-Basha. His Birth was much the same with that of *Cbouloulou*. He was the Son of a Coal-heaver, as *Coumourgi* signifies: for *Coumour* is the same as Coal in *Turkish*. The Emperor *Mahomet*, Uncle of *Achmet* III. meeting *Coumourgi* when he was a Child, in a Forest near *Adrianople*, was so struck with his great Beauty, that he sent him to the Seraglio. *Mustapha*, *Mahomet's* eldest Son and Successor, was much taken with him, and *Achmet* III. made him his Favourite. He had then no other Place but that of *Selictar Aga*, Sword-bearer to the Crown. His early Youth would not admit of his pretending to the Office of Grand Visir, but yet he had the Ambition to do it. The *Swedish* Faction could never gain the Inclinations of this Favourite. He was at no time a Friend to King *Charles*, or any other Christian Prince, or any of their Ministers: but on this Occasion, he served King *Charles* without designing it. He joined with the Sultana *Valide*, and the great Officers of the Porte, to contrive *Cbouloulou's* Ruin, whom they all hated. This old Minister, who had long and well served his Master, fell a Sacrifice to the Caprice of a Boy, and the Intrigues of a Stranger. He was deprived of his Dignity and his Wealth, his Wife, who was Daughter to the last Sultan *Mustapha*, was taken from him, and himself banished to *Cassa* formerly called *Theodesia*, in *Crim Tartary*. The Seal of the Empire, was given to *Numan Couprougly*, Grandson to the great *Couprougly*, who took *Candia*. This new Visir, was, what Christians misinformed would hardly believe of a *Turk*, a Man of inflexible Virtue, and a scrupulous

pulous. Observer of the Law; and he often opposed Justice to the Sultan's Will. He would not hear of a War against *Muscovy*, which he looked upon as unjust and unnecessary. But the same Attachment to his Law, which hindered him from waging War against the Czar, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, made him regard the Duty of Hospitality with respect to the King of *Sweden*. 'The Law, said he to his Master, forbids you to invade the Czar, who has done you no Injury; but commands you to succour the King of *Sweden*, who is an unfortunate Prince in your Dominions.' He sent his Majesty 800 Purfes, every one of which amounted to 500 Crowns, and advised him to return peaceably into his own Dominions, through the Emperor of *Germany's* Territories, or else in some *French* Vessels, that were then lying at the Porte of *Constantinople*, and which *M. de Feriolle*, the *French* Ambassador at the Porte, offered King *Charles*, to transport him to *Marseilles*. The King of *Sweden*, who in his Prosperity had provoked the Emperor of *Germany*, and disobliged *Lewis XIV.* thought it too great a Mortification to owe his Return to *France*, and that he should run too great a Risk of his Liberty in passing thro' the imperial Territories. He rejected with an Air of Disdain both these Ways of returning to his Kingdom, and sent the Visir and *M. de Feriolle* Word, that he should depend upon the Grand Seignor's Promise, and hoped to re-enter *Poland* as a Conqueror with an Army of *Turks*. In the mean Time, while he made his Fate depend upon the Caprice of a Visir, and was forced to put up with

the Affronts as well as receive the Favours of the *Ottoman* Court, all his Enemies took fresh Courage, and invaded his Kingdom.

The Battle of *Pultowa* was immediately the Signal of a Revolution in *Poland*. King *Augustus* returned thither protesting against his Abdication, and the Peace of *Alranstad*, and publicly accusing *Charles XII.* whom he now no longer feared, of Robbery and Cruelty. He imprisoned *Finsten* and *Imof* his Plenipotentiaries, who had signed his Abdication, as if in so doing they had exceeded their Orders, and betrayed their Master. His *Saxon* Troops, that had been the Pretence of his Dethronement, brought him back to *Warsaw*, attended with most of the *Polish* Palatines, who having formerly sworn Fidelity to him, had afterwards done the same to *Stanislaus*, and were come to do it again to *Augustus*. *Siniausky* himself came into his Measures, and forgetting his former ambitious Views of making himself King, was content to remain Grand General of the Crown. *Flemming*, his first Minister, who did not dare to continue in *Saxony*, for fear of being delivered up as *Paikul* was, contributed at that Time by his Management, to bring over great part of the *Polish* Nobility to his Master.

The Pope absolved his People from the Oath of Allegiance they had sworn to *Stanislaus*: This Step of the Holy Father, seasonably taken and supported by *Augustus's* Forces, was of no small Weight: It established the Interest of the Court of *Rome* in *Poland*, where they had then no Inclination to dispute with the sovereign Pontiff, the chimerical Right of meddling

ling with the Temporalities of Kings. Every one was ready to submit to *Augustus's* Authority again, and received, without the least Opposition, an useless Absolution, which the Nuncio did not fail to represent as necessary.

Charles's Power, and the Grandeur of *Sweden*, were now drawing to their last Period. Above ten crowned Heads had for some Time beheld with Fear and Envy, the *Swedish* Government extending itself far beyond its natural Bounds. *Charles's* Misfortune, and his Absence, awakened the Interests and Jealousies of all these Princes, which had for a long Season been laid asleep by Treaties, and an Inability to break them.

The Czar, who was more powerful than all of them put together, making immediately the best Use of his Victory, took *Wibourg*, and all *Carolia*, over-run *Finland* with his Troops, sat down before *Riga*, and sent an Army into *Poland* to assist *Augustus* in the Recovery of his Throne. This Emperor was at that Time what *Charles* had been formerly, the Arbiter of *Poland* and the North. But he consulted only his own Interests; whereas *Charles* had never any other Views than those of Revenge and Glory. The *Swedish* Monarch had succoured his Allies, and crushed his Enemies, without insisting upon the least Advantage to himself as the Fruit of his Victories; but the Czar behaved more like a Prince than an Heroe, and would not assist the King of *Poland*, but upon Condition that *Livonia* should be delivered up to him; and that this Province, for the Sake of which

Augustus had kindled the War, should remain to the *Muscovites* for ever.

The King of *Denmark* forgetting the Treaty of *Travandal*, as *Augustus* had that of *Alranstad*, had from that time Thoughts of making himself Master of the Duchies of *Holstein* and *Bremen*, to which he renewed his Pretensions. The King of *Prussia* also had a Mind to revive his Title to the *Swedish Pomerania*. The Duke of *Mecklenburgh* was provoked to see *Sweden* still in Possession of *Wismar*, the finest City in his Duchy. This Prince was to marry the Emperor of *Muscovy's* Niece, and the Czar only wanted a Pretence to establish himself in *Germany*. *George* Elector of *Hanover*, wanted likewise to enrich himself with *Charles's* Spoils. The Bishop of *Munster* also would have been glad to make the best of some Pretensions of his, if he had been in a Capacity to do it.

There were about twelve or thirteen thousand *Swedes* who defended *Pomerania*, and the other Countries which *Charles* possessed in *Germany*. Here was to have been the Seat of War. But this Storm alarmed the Emperor and his Allies. For it is a Law of the Empire, that whoever invades one of the Provinces, should be reputed an Enemy to the whole *Germanick* Body.

But there was a still much greater Difficulty in the Affair. All these Princes, except the Czar, were then in League against *Lewis XIV.* whose Power had for some Time been as formidable to the Empire as that of King *Charles*.

Germany, at the Beginning of the Cen-

Century, found it self hard pressed from the South to the North, between the *French* and *Swedish* Armies. The *French* had passed the *Danube*, and the *Swedes* the *Oder*: If their Forces, victorious as then they were, had joined, the Empire had been lost. But the same Fatality that ruined *Sweden*, had also humbled *France*: However, the Power of *Sweden* was not exhausted, and *Lewis XIV.* carried on the War with Vigour, though without Success. Had *Pomerania*, and the Dutchy of *Bremen*, been made the Seat of the War, it was to be feared the Empire would be the worse for it, and being weakened on that Side, would be less able to hold out against *Lewis XIV.* To remove this Inconvenience, the Emperor, the Princes of *Germany*, *Queen Ann of England*, and the States General of the United Provinces, concluded at the *Hague*, about the End of the Year 1709, one of the most singular Treaties that ever was signed.

It was stipulated by these Powers, that the Seat of the War should not be in *Pomerania*, nor any other Country of *Germany*, but that the Enemies of *Charles XII.* might attack him every where else. The King of *Poland* and the Czar came themselves into this Treaty, and caused an Article to be inserted, which was as extraordinary as the Treaty itself, viz. that the 12000 *Swedes* in *Pomerania* should not depart thence to defend their other Provinces.

To secure the Execution of this Treaty, it was proposed to raise an Army for maintaining this imaginary Neutrality, which was to incamp on the Banks of the *Oder*. A strange

and unheard-of Contrivance, to levy an Army, in order to prevent a War! Nay, those who were to furnish the Army's Pay, were for the most part very much concerned to bring about the War they pretended to avert. It was, by the Treaty, to consist of the Troops of the Emperor, the King of *Prussia*, the Elector of *Hanover*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the Bishop of *Munster*.

The Event of this Project was such as one might naturally expect. It was not executed. The Princes who were to furnish their Quota for raising an Army, contributed nothing; not two Regiments were formed. There was much Talk of a Neutrality, but no Body observed it; and all the northern Princes who had any Controversy with the King of *Sweden*, were left at full Liberty to dispute who should have his Spoils.

During these Conjectures the Czar having quartered his Forces in *Lithuania*, and given Orders for carrying on the Siege of *Riga*, returned to *Moscow*, to shew his People a Sight as new as any thing he had yet done in his Kingdom. It was a Triumph very little inferior to that of the old *Romans*. He made his Entry into *Moscow* on the first of *January* 1710, under seven triumphal Arches erected in the Streets, and adorned with all that the Climate could furnish, and a flourishing Trade, as his Industry had made it, could import. The Procession began with a Regiment of Guards, followed by the Pieces of Artillery taken from the *Swedes* at *Lesnow* and *Pultowa*, each of which was drawn by eight Horses covered with Scarlet housings reaching down to the Ground. Then

came

came the Standards, Kettle-drums and Colours won at these two Battles, carried by the Officers and Soldiers who had taken them: All these Spoils were followed by the finest Troops of the Czar. After they had filed off, appeared in a Chariot made for that Purpose, the Litter of *Charles XII.* found in the Field of Battle at *Pultowa*, all broken to Pieces by two Cannon-shot. Behind this Litter marched all the Prisoners two by two, among whom was Count *Piper* first Minister of *Sweden*, the famous Mareſcal *Rencbild*, Count *Levenhaup*, the Generals *Slipenbac*, *Stackelburg* and *Hamilton*, and all the Officers and Soldiers who were afterwards diſperſed in great *Ruſſia*. They were immediately followed by the Czar, on the ſame Horſe he rid upon at the Battle of *Pultowa*. A little behind him appeared the Generals who had their Share in the Succeſs of this Battle: After them came another Regiment of Guards; and the Waggonſ loaded with *Swediſh* Ammunition brought up the Rear.

This ſolemn Proceſſion was attended with the ringing of Bells in *Moscow*, with the Sound of Drums, Kettle-drums, Trumpets, and an infinite Number of muſical Inſtruments anſwering each other; with Volleys diſcharged from 200 Pieces of Cannon, and the Acclamations of 500000 Men, who at every Stop the Czar made in his triumphal Entry cried, *God preſerve the Emperor our Father.*

This deluding Cavalcade augmented the People's Veneration for his Perſon, and perhaps made him appear greater in their Eyes, than all the real Good he had done them. In the mean Time he continued the Blockade of *Riga*,

and the Generals made themſelves Maſters of the reſt of *Livonia*, and Part of *Finland*. At the ſame Time the King of *Denmark* came with his intire Fleet to make a Deſcent upon *Sweden*, where he landed 17000 Men, whom he left under the Command of Count *Revenſlau*.

Sweden was at that Time governed by a Regency, compoſed of ſome Senators appointed by the King at his Departure from *Stockholm*. The Senatorial Body, which looked upon the Government as of right belonging to them, was jealous of the Regency, and the State ſuffered by theſe Diviſions. But upon the firſt News they received at *Stockholm*, after the Battle of *Pultowa*, viz. That the King was at *Bender*, in the Hands of the *Turks* and *Tartars*, and that the *Danes* had made a Deſcent upon *Schonen*, and taken the Town of *Elſingborg*, all Jealouſies vaniſhed, and they thought of nothing but ſaving *Sweden*. There were now very few regular Forces left. For notwithſtanding *Charles* had always made his great Expeditions at the Head of ſmall Armies; yet the innumerable Battles he had been engaged in for nine Years together, the conſtant Neceſſity he was under of recruiting his Forces, and maintaining his Garrisons, and the ſtanding Army he was obliged to keep always in *Finland*, *Ingria*, *Livonia*, *Pomerania*, *Bremen*, and *Verden*: All this had coſt *Sweden*, during the Courſe of the War, above 250000 Soldiers, and there remained not ſo many as 8000 Men of the old Troops, who with the new Forces, were the only Defence of *Sweden*.

King *Charles XI.* among ſeveral Laws that drew upon him the Charge of

of Tyranny, had made some that deserved the Thanks of his Country; Particularly he formed a Militia that continues to this Day, and is neither a Charge to the publick Treasury, nor too burdensome to private Persons, and always furnishes the State with Soldiers, without taking the Husbandman from the Plough. The richest Towns or Lordships that formerly did or at present do hold of the Crown, maintain a Trooper at their own Expence. The Peasants of each Village provide a Foot Soldier in proportion to their Circumstances; that is, there must be a certain Estate, suppose of 10 or 12000 Livres, before they can be obliged to fit out a Soldier for the Infantry. He that has but 5 or 6000 Livres, joins with another that has as much; and he that has but 3000, contributes his Share with several more, and all together supply the State with a Man.

If the Revenue of the whole Village does not amount to more than 10000 Livres, that Village finds but one Man. Upon the Death of a Soldier they that found him supply his Place with another. And thus the Number of the Militia is always the same, after it has been once settled by the States-general. The Peasants build a House or Cottage for the Soldier they maintain, and assign him and his Family a Piece of Ground, which he is obliged to cultivate. These Soldiers who are thus distributed among the Villages have their Rendezvous, at stated Times, in the chief Market Town of the Canton, under the Command of their Officers, who are paid out of the publick Treasury.

In the more populous Countries,

each Village has his Corporal, who exercises his Regiment once a Week. The Sergeant, who has a larger Jurisdiction, sees his every five Days, and so by Degrees to the Colonel, who takes a Review of his Regiment every three Months.

Thus was Sweden a Seminary of Soldiers during the Wars of Charles XII. The Nation is born with a Military Genius, and the whole People insensibly received the same Cast of Mind as their King. From one End of the Country to the other nothing was talked of but the prodigious Exploits of Charles and his Generals, and of the old Regiments that fought under them at *Narva*, *Duma*, *Grassau*, *Pultusk* and *Hollofin*. From hence the very lowest of the Swedes became animated with a Spirit of Emulation and Glory, and their Tendernefs for their King, their Compassion for his Misfortunes, and their implacable Aversion to the Danes, gave a new Energy to that Impression. In several other Countries the Peasants are Slaves, or treated as such; but here they make a Figure in the State, are looked upon as Citizens, and form to themselves Sentiments of Honour and Grandeur, so that, in short, these Forces became in a little Time the best Troops of the North.

General *Steinbock*, by Order of the Regency, put himself at the Head of 8000 old Troops, and 12000 of the new ones, to go in Pursuit of the Danes, who ravaged all the Country about *Elfsingborg*, and had already put some distant Places under Contribution.

There was not Time to clothe the Militia with military Habits.

Most of these Boors came in their flaxen Frocks, having Pistols tied to their Girdles with Cords. *Steinbock*, at the Head of this extraordinary Army, came up with the *Danes* within three Leagues of *Elfsingborg*, on the 10th of *March*, 1710. He was minded to rest his Troops some Days, to intrench himself, and give these new Soldiers Time to be acquainted with the Enemy: but all the Peasants called out to Fight at the very Moment of their Arrival.

Some Officers who were there, told me, they saw them foam almost to a Man with Rage; so excessive is the national Hatred of the *Swedes* to the *Danes*. *Steinbock* took the Advantage of this Disposition, which, in a Day of Battle, is of as much Service as military Discipline. The *Danes* were attacked, and one might have seen what perhaps is not to be parallel'd by two more Instances of the like Kind, raw Forces equal in the first Onset the Intrepidity of the old Regiments. Two Regiments of these undisciplined Peasants cut the Regiment of the King of *Denmark's* Guards in Pieces, and left but ten Men remaining.

The *Danes* being entirely routed, made their Retreat under the Cannon of *Elfsingborg*. The Passage from *Sweden* to *Zeeland* is so short, that the King of *Denmark* received the same Day the News of his Army's Defeat in *Sweden*, and sent his Fleet to bring off the Remains of his Troops. The *Danes* quitted *Sweden* with Precipitation five Days after the Battle, but being unable to bring away their Horses, and not caring to leave them to the Enemy, they killed them all in the Parts about *Elfsingborg*, and set fire to their Provi-

sions, burning their Corn and Baggage, and leaving 4000 wounded at *Elfsingborg*, the greatest Part of whom died by the Infection they received from so many dead Horses, and for Want of Provision, which their own Countrymen deprived them of, to prevent its falling into the Hands of the *Swedes*.

At the same Time the Peasants of *Dalecarlie*, having in the midst of their Forests heard say, that their King was Prisoner in *Turky*, sent a Deputation to the Regency at *Stockholm*, and offered to go at their own Expence, to the Number 20000 Men, to deliver their Master out of the Hands of his Enemies. This Proposal, which, tho' of no Significancy, shewed the Courage and Loyalty of the Proposers, was heard with Pleasure, notwithstanding it was rejected. Nor did they fail to give the King an Account of it, when they sent him the Particulars of the Battle of *Elfsingborg*.

King *Charles* received this comfortable News in his Camp at *Bender*, in *July* 1710, and in a little Time after another Accident confirmed him in his Hopes.

The Grand Visir *Couprougly*, who opposed his Designs, was turned out after he had been two Months in the Ministry. *Charles* the XIIth's little Court, and those who still adhered to him in *Poland*, gave out that he made and deposed the Visirs, and governed the *Turkish* Empire from his Retreat at *Bender*. But he had no Hand in that Favourite's Ruin. The rigid Probity of the Visir was the only Cause of his Fall. His Predecessor was used to pay the Janisaries not out of the Imperial

perial Treasury, but out of such Money as he got by Extortion. *Couprougly*, on the other Hand, paid them out of the Treasury. Upon this *Achmet* reproached him with preferring the Interest of the Subject to that of the Emperor. Your Predecessor *Chourlouly*, said he, could find other Ways and Means to pay my Troops. The Grand Visir answered, *If he had the Art to enrich your Highness by Rapine, it is such a one as I esteem it an Honour to be ignorant of.*

The great Secrecy that reigns in the Seraglio, rarely suffers such Discourses to creep abroad. But this was known with *Couprougly's* Disgrace. That Visir's Freedom did not cost him his Head, because true Virtue often draws Respect even from those who are displeased with it. He had Leave to retire to the Island of *Négropont*.

After this the Grand Seigneur sent to *Aleppo* for *Baltagi Mahomet*, Balha of Syria, who had been Grand Visir before *Chourlouly*. The *Baltagi's* of the Seraglio, so called from *Balta*, which signifies an Ax, are Slaves employed to cut Wood for the Use of the Princes of the Blood, and the Sultana's. The Visir had been a *Baltagi* in his Youth, and had ever since retained the Name, according to the Custom of the *Turks*, who are not ashamed to take the Name of their first Profession, of their Father, or the Place of their Nativity.

At the Time that *Baltagi Mahomet* was a Servant in the Seraglio, he had the good Fortune to do Prince *Achmet* some small Piece of Service, that Prince being then a Prisoner of State in the Reign of his Brother *Mustapha*. Now it is a Custom in the Seraglio,

that the Princes of the *Ottoman* Blood should have for their Pleasure some Women who are past Child bearing, (which is very early the Case of the *Turkish* Women) and yet agreeable enough to please. One of these Female Slaves, who had been much beloved by *Achmet*, he gave in Marriage upon his being made Sultan, to *Baltagi Mahomet*. This Woman by her Intrigues, made her Husband Grand Visir. Another Intrigue deposed him, and a third made him Visir again.

Baltagi Mahomet had no sooner received the Seals of the Empire, than he found the King of Sweden's Interest prevailing in the Seraglio. The Sultana Valide, *Ali Coumourgi* the Grand Seigneur's Favourite, the *Kislar Aga* chief of the black Eunuchs, and the Aga of the Janisaries, were for War against the Czar. The Sultan was determined upon it, and the very first Order he gave the Grand Visir, was to go and fall upon the *Muscovites* with 200000 Men. *Baltagi Mahomet* had never been in the Field, but then he was by no Means an Idiot, as the *Swedes* out of pure Hatred have represented him. He told the Grand Seigneur, upon receiving from his Hand a Sabre set with precious Stones, Your Highness knows that I've been brought up to use an Axe and fell Wood, and not to weild a Sword and command Armies: I will endeavour to serve you in the best Manner I am able, but if I fail of Success, remember that I have intreated you not to lay it to my Charge. The Sultan assured him of his good Will, and the Visir prepared to obey him.

The first Step of the *Ottoman* Porte upon this Occasion, was to imprison the

the *Muscovite* Ambassador in the Castle of seven Towers. It is the Custom of the *Turks* to begin with seizing the Ministers of those Princes against whom they declare War. Tho' strict Observers of Hospitality in every Thing else; in this they violate the most sacred Law of Nations. And yet it is under a pretence of Equity that they act thus unjustly, imagining or being willing to have it believed, that they never undertake any War but what is just, because consecrated by the Approbation of the *Mufti*: Upon this Principle they look upon themselves as armed, to chastise the Infringers of Treaties, which they often break themselves, and think the Ambassadors of Kings in Enmity with them, are to be punished as Accomplices in the Treachery of their Masters.

To this may be added, the ridiculous Contempt they affect towards Christian Princes and their Ambassadors, whom for the most part, they look upon only as Consuls of Merchants.

The Han of *Crim Tartary*, whom we call the Kam, had Orders to be in Readiness with 40000 *Tartars*. This Prince reigns over *Nogai*, *Bondgiac*, part of *Circassia*, and all the *Crim* Country known to Antiquity by the Name of *Taurica Chersonesus*, whither the *Greeks* carried their Commerce and their Arms, building large Cities there, and whither the *Genoese* have since penetrated, when they were Masters of the Trade of *Europe*. In this Country are to be seen the Ruins of some *Grecian* Cities, and some Monuments of the *Genoese* still subsisting in the midst of Ruin and Desolation.

The Kam is by his own Subjects

called Emperor; but notwithstanding this grand Title, he is a mere Slave of the Porte. The *Ottoman* Blood, of which the Kams are descended, and the Right they have to the *Turkish* Empire upon the Extinction of the Grand Signor's Race, makes their Family be respected, and their Persons formidable, even to the Sultan himself. It is upon this Account that the Grand Signor dares not destroy the Race of the Kams of *Tartary*; But he hardly ever suffers any of them to continue upon the Throne to an advanced Age. Their Steps are always watched by the neighbouring *Basha's*; their Territories incompassed with Janisaries; their Inclinations crossed by the Grand Visir; and their Designs ever suspected. If the *Tartars* complain of the Kam, the Porte deposes him; if he is beloved by them it is a Crime, for which he is sooner punished than the other. Thus all of them, in a manner, pass from the Crown into Banishment, and finish their Days at *Rhodes*, which most commonly is both their Prison and their Grave.

The *Tartars* their Subjects are the greatest Thieves of any People upon the Face of the Earth, and yet, which is hardly to be conceived, they are at the same time the most hospitable. They travel fifty Leagues out of the Country to fall upon a Caravan, and destroy Towns; but if any Stranger happens to pass thro' their Country, he is not only received and lodged every where, and his Expences borne for him; but whatever Place he comes to, the Inhabitants strive who shall have the Honour to make him their Guest. The Master of the House, his Wife

Wife and Daughters, are ready to quarrel who shall attend upon him. The *Scythians*, their Ancestors, transmitted to them this inviolable Regard to Hospitality; and they still retain it, because the small Number of Strangers that travel thro' their Country, and the low Price of all kind of Provisions, makes this Virtue no ways burdensome to them.

When the *Tartars* go to war in conjunction with the *Ottoman* Army, they are maintained by the Grand Signor, but receive no other Pay except their Booty. This makes them better at Pillage, than a regular Engagement.

The Kam, gained by the Presents and Intrigues of the King of *Sweden*, got Leave that the general Rendezvous of the Troops might be at *Bender*, under the Eyes of *Charles XII.* to let him see the better, that it was for his Sake the War was undertaken.

The new Visir, *Baltagi Mahomet*, not being under the same Engagements, would not flatter a foreign Prince so far. He recalled the Order, and this great Army was drawn together partly at *Belgrade*, and partly at *Adrianople*.

The *Turkish* Troops are not at this time so formidable as they have been, when they conquered so many Kingdoms in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*. Then they triumphed over Enemies less robust and worse disciplined than themselves by Strength of Body, and the Valour and the Number of their Men. But now that the Christians understand the Art of War better, they scarce ever fail to beat the *Turks* in a pitch'd Battle, even when their Forces are unequal. If the *Ottoman*

Empire has lately gained some Conquests, it is only upon the Republick of *Venice*, esteemed more wise than warlike, defended by Strangers, and ill supported by the Christian Princes, who are always divided among themselves.

The Janisaries and Spahi's always make their Attack in Disorder, are never under command nor able to rally. Their Cavalry, which should be excellent, considering the Goodness and Agility of their Horses, cannot sustain the Shock of the *German* Cavalry. The Infantry in like manner, cannot use the Bayonet at the End of the Fusée to Advantage. Besides, the *Turks* have had no great General among them since *Coproutly*, who conquered the Isle of *Candia*. A Slave brought up in Idleness and the Silence of a Seraglio, made a Visir by Interest, and a General against his Inclinations, headed a raw Army, without Experience and without Discipline, against *Muscovite* Troops exercised in War for twelve Years together, and proud of having conquered the *Swedes*.

The Czar in all Appearance, must have vanquished *Baltagi Mahomet*, but he committed the same Fault in Regard to the *Turks*, that the King of *Sweden* was guilty of in his Case; that is, he too much despised his Enemy. Upon the News of the *Turkish* Preparations, he left *Moscow*; and having given Orders to turn the Siege of *Riga* into a Blockade, he drew up his Army to the Number of 80000 Men, upon the Frontiers of *Poland*. With this Army he marched to *Moldavia* and *Walachia*; formerly the Country of the *Daci*, but now inhabited

ted by Greek Christians, Tributaries to the Grand Seignor.

A Greek named *Cantemir*, made Prince of *Moldavia* by the *Turks*, joined the Czar, whom he already looked upon as a Conqueror, and made no Scruple to betray the Sultan of whom he held his Principality, for the Sake of a Christian Prince, from whom he expected much greater Advantages. The Czar entered into a secret Alliance with him, received him into his Army, and marching up the Country, arrived in June 1711, at the northern Side of the River *Hierasus*, now *Pruth*, near *Jazy* the Capital of *Moldavia*.

As soon as the Grand Visir received the News that *Peter Alexiowitz* was come thither, he immediately left the Camp at *Belgrade*, and following the Course of the *Danube*, proposed to pass that River on a Bridge of Boats near *Saccia*, in the very same Place where *Darius* formerly built a Bridge that bore his Name. The *Turkish* Army marched with so much Expedition, that they soon came in Sight of the *Muscovites*, the River *Pruth* being between them.

The Czar, sure of the Prince of *Moldavia*, little thought the Subjects would fail him. But the *Moldavians* are often in a different Interest from that of their Master. They liked the *Turkish* Government, which is never fatal to any but the *Grandeess*, and affects a Lenity to People who are its Tributaries. They feared the Christians, especially the *Muscovites*, who had upon all Occasions used them barbarously. They brought all their Provisions to the *Ottoman* Army. The Undertakers who had engaged to fur-

nish the *Muscovites* with Provisions, performed their Promise to the Grand Visir, tho' it was made to the Czar. The *Walachians*, whose Country adjoins to that of *Moldavia*, shewed the same Regard to the *Turks*; to such a Degree had the Remembrance of former Cruelties alienated their Minds from the *Muscovites*.

The Czar, thus frustrated of his Hopes, which perhaps he had inconsiderately entertained, found his Army on a sudden destitute of Provisions, and without Forage. In the mean Time the *Turks* passed the River that separated them from the Enemy. All the *Tartars*, according to Custom, swam over it, holding by the Tail of their Horses. The *Spahi's* which are the *Turkish* Horse, did the same, because the Bridges were not ready Time enough.

At length the whole Army being got over, the Visir pitched a Camp, and fortified it with Trenches. It is strange the Czar should not dispute the Passage of the River, or at least repair this Fault, by engaging the *Turks* immediately, instead of giving them Time to tire out his Army with Fatigue and Famine. But that Prince seems in this Campaign, to have taken all the Steps that could lead to his Ruin. He found himself without Provisions, with the River *Pruth* behind him, and near 150000 *Turks* before him, and about 40000 *Tartars* continually harassing him on the right-hand and the left. Reduced to this Extremity, he said publicly, "I am at least in as bad a Case as my Brother *Charles* was at *Pultowa*."

The indefatigable Count *Poniatofsky*, Agent to the King of *Sweden*, was in the

the Grand Visir's Army with some *Poles* and *Swedes*, who all thought the Czar's Ruin inevitable.

As soon as *Poniatofsky* saw that the Armies must infallibly engage, he sent an Express to the King of *Sweden*, who set out that Moment from *Bender*, followed by forty Officers, and enjoying by Anticipation the Pleasure of fighting the Emperor of *Muscovy*. After many a Loss, and several destructive Marches, the Czar was driven back upon the *Pruth*, and had no Cover left but some *Coevaux de frise*, and some Waggon. A Party of the Janisaries and Spahi's fell immediately upon his Army in that defenceless Condition, but they did it in a tumultuous and disorderly Manner; and were received by the *Muscovites* with a Resolution, which nothing but Despair and the Presence of their Prince could inspire.

The *Turks* were twice repulsed. But the Day following, *M. Poniatofsky* advised the Grand Visir to starve out the *Muscovite* Army, who being destitute of all Provision, would, in a Day's Time, be obliged, together with their Emperor, to surrender at Discretion.

The Czar has since that Time more than once acknowledged, that in all his Life he never felt so much Uneasiness as he did that Night. He revolved in his Mind all that he had been doing, for so many Years, for the Glory and Good of his Nation; that so many great Designs perpetually interrupted by successive Wars, were now in all Probability going to perish with him, before they were brought to Perfection; that he must either die with Hunger, or engage near 200000

Men with feeble Troops, less by half the Number than when they first set out; a Cavalry almost dismounted, and the Foot worn out with Famine and Fatigue.

About the Beginning of the Night he called General *Czeremetof* to him, and gave him a peremptory Order to get every Thing ready by Break of Day, to charge the *Turks* with Bayonets at the Muzzle of their Muskets.

He gave express Orders also to burn all the Baggage, and that no Officer should keep above one Waggon; that in Case of a Defeat, the Enemy however might not get the Booty they expected.

Having settled every Thing with the General in Order to the Battle, he retired into his Tent full of Grief, and seized with Convulsions, a Distemper he was often troubled with, and which came upon him with double the Violence when he was under any great Uneasiness. He forbid all Persons to enter his Tent in the Night, upon any Pretence whatsoever, not caring to have any Remonstrances made to him against a desperate but necessary Resolution, and much less that any one should be a Witness of the melancholy Condition he was in.

In the mean Time the greatest Part of his Baggage was burnt according to his Order, and all the Army followed the Example, tho' with much Regret; but some buried such of their Things as were most valuable. The General Officers had already given Orders for the March, and endeavoured to inspire the Army with a Courage which themselves wanted: but the Soldiers, quite exhausted with Fatigue, and Hunger, marched without Spirit and without

Hope;

Hope; and yet, to enervate their Courage still more, had their Ears filled with the Shrieks and Cries of Women, of whom there was too great a Number in the Army. Every one expected Death or Slavery to be their Portion the next Morning. What is here related is no Exaggeration, but is literally the Account that was given by some Officers who served in the Army.

There was at that Time in the *Muscovite* Camp a Woman as extraordinary perhaps as the Czar himself. She was then known only by the Name of *Catharine*. Her Mother was a poor Country-woman, named *Erb Magden*, of the Village of *Ringen* in *Esthonia*. She never knew her Father, but was baptized by the Name of *Martba*, and registered among the Bastard-Children. The Vicar of the Parish out of pure Charity brought her up till she was fourteen Years of Age, and then she went to Service at *Mariembourg* where she lived with a Lutheran Minister, whose Name was *Gluk*.

At the Age of eighteen she married a *Swedish* Dragoon in 1702. The Day after her Marriage, a Party of the *Swedish* Troops were beat by the *Muscovites*, and the Dragoon who was in the Action never appeared afterwards, nor could she learn whether he was taken Prisoner, nor ever after get any Account of him.

Some Days after she was taken Prisoner herself, and became a Servant to *Czeremetof*, who gave her to *Menzikof*, a Man who has experienced the Vicissitudes of Fortune in both Extremes, being from a Pastry-Cook's boy made a General and a Prince, and after that deprived of all, and banished

to *Siberia*, where he died overwhelmed with Misery and Despair.

The Czar was at Supper with Prince *Menzikof* when he first saw her and fell in Love with her. In 1707, he married her privately, not that she used any Artifice to delude him, but because he found in her an astonishing Capacity of forwarding his Designs, and even of continuing them after him. For her Sake he scorned the common Prejudices, by which none but little Souls are influenced, and caused her to be crowned Empress. The same great Capacity which made her *Peter's* Wife, gave her the Empire after the Death of her Husband.

Upon her Marriage with the Czar, she renounced the *Lutheran* Religion, in which she was born, for that of *Muscovy*, and was baptized according to the Rites of the *Russian* Church, instead of *Martba* assuming the Name of *Catharine*, by which she has been known ever since. This Woman being in the Camp at *Pruth*, held a private Council with the General Officers, and *Shaffirof* the Vice-Chancellor, while the Czar was in his Tent.

They agreed, that it was necessary to sue for Peace to the *Turks*, and that the Czar must be persuaded into the Proposal. The Vice-Chancellor wrote a Letter to the Grand Visir, in the Name of his Master, which the *Czarina*, notwithstanding the Emperor's Prohibition, carried into the Tent to him; and after much Dispute, having prevailed upon him by her Prayers and Tears to sign it; she took all her Money and Jewels, and every Thing of Value that she had about her, together with what she could borrow of the General Officers, which in all amounted

to a considerable Present, and sent it with the Czar's Letter, to *Osman Aga*, Lieutenant to the Grand Visir. *Mahomet Baltagi* answered haughtily with the Air of a Visir and Conqueror, 'Let the Czar send me his first Minister, and I will see what is to be done.' The Vice Chancellor *Shaffirof* came immediately with a Present in his Hand, which he offered publicly to the Grand Visir. It was considerable enough to let him see they stood in Need of him, but too little for a Bribe.

The Grand Visir's first Demand was, That the Czar, with all his Army, should surrender at Discretion. The Vice-Chancellor made answer, that his Master designed to give him Battle within a quarter of an Hour, and that the *Muscovites* would all be cut in Pieces, rather than submit to such dishonourable Conditions. *Osman* seconded *Shaffirof* with fresh Remonstrances.

Mahomet Baltagi was no Soldier. He knew the Janisaries had been repulsed the Day before, and was easily persuaded by *Osman* not to part with certain Advantages for the Hazard of a Battle. He immediately granted a Suspension of Arms for six Hours, and in that Time the Terms of the Treaty were agreed upon and settled.

During the Parley there happened an Accident, which shews the Word of a *Turk* is often more to be depended on than we imagine. Two *Italian* Gentlemen, related to *M. Brillo*, Lieutenant Colonel of a Regiment of Grenadiers in the Czar's Service, going to look for Forage, were taken by the *Tartars*, who carried them to their

Camp, and offered to sell them to an Officer of the Janisaries. The *Turk* enraged at such a Breach of the Truce, seized the *Tartars*, and carried them himself before the Grand Visir, together with the two Prisoners.

The Visir sent the Gentlemen back that Moment to the Czar, and ordered the principal *Tartars* concerned in carrying them off to be beheaded.

In the mean time the Kam of *Tartary* opposed the Conclusion of a Treaty, which took from him all Hopes of Pillage. *Poniatofsky* seconded him with very urgent and pressing Reasons. But *Osman* carried his Point, notwithstanding the Impatience of the *Tartar*, and the Insinuations of *Poniatofsky*.

The Visir thought it enough for his Master the Grand Signor to conclude an advantageous Peace. He insisted, that the *Muscovites* should give up *Asoph*, burn the Gallies that lay in that Port, and demolish the important Citadels upon the *Palus Maotis*; that the Grand Seignor should have all the Cannon and Ammunition of those Fortresses; that the Czar should draw off his Troops from *Poland*, and give no farther Disturbance to the few Cossacks that were under the Protection of the *Poles*, nor to those that were subject to *Turky*; and that for the future he should pay the *Tartars* a Subsidy of 40000 Sequins *per Annum*, an odious Tribute long since imposed, but from which the Czar had delivered his Country.

At length the Treaty was going to be signed, without so much as mentioning the King of *Sweden*: and all that *Poniatofsky* could obtain from the Visir, was to insert an Article, by which

the *Muscovite* should promise not to obstruct or incommode the Return of *Charles XII*. And which is pretty remarkable, it was stipulated in this Article, that a Peace should be concluded between the Czar and the King of *Sweden*, if they were so disposed, and could agree upon the Terms of it.

On these Conditions the Czar had Liberty to retreat with his Army, Cannon, Artillery, Colours and Baggage. The *Turks* furnished him with Provisions, and there was Plenty of every thing in his Camp within two Hours after the signing of the Treaty, which was begun, concluded and signed the 21st of July 1711.

Just as the Czar, rescued from the Difficulty he was under, was drawing off with Drums beating, and Ensigns displayed, came the King of *Sweden*, impatient of fighting, and eager to see his Enemy in his Hands. He had rid Post above fifty Leagues, from *Bender* to *Jazy*, and lighting at Count *Poniatofsky's* Tent, the Count came up to him with a sorrowful Countenance, and acquainted him, by what Means he had lost an Opportunity, which perhaps he would never recover.

The King enraged, went directly to the Grand Visir, and with an Air of Indignation upbraided him with the Treaty he had concluded. I have Authority, says the Grand Visir with a calm Aspect, to wage War and to make Peace. But, replies the King, have not you the whole *Muscovite* Army in your Power? Our Law, says the Visir with great Gravity, commands us to grant our Enemies Peace, when they implore our Mercy. Ah! replies the King in a violent Emotion,

does it order you to clap up a bad Treaty when you are in a Capacity to make what Terms you please? Was it not in your Power, to carry the Czar Prisoner to *Constantinople*?

The *Turk* finding himself so briskly attacked, answered very coldly, and who shall govern his Empire in his Absence? It is not fit that all Kings should be out of their Kingdoms. *Charles* replied with a Smile full of Indignation, and then threw himself down upon a Sopha, and looking upon the Visir with an Air of Resentment and Contempt, he stretched out his Leg towards him, and entangling his Spur in his Robe, which he did by Design, tore it; then rose up immediately, mounted his Horse, and returned to *Bender* full of Despair.

Poniatofsky continued some time longer with the Grand Visir, to try if he could not prevail upon him by softer Methods to make some better Terms with the Czar; but it being then Prayer-time, the *Turk* without giving one Word of Answer, went to wash and attend his Devotions.

The King of *Sweden*, at his Return to *Bender*, found his little Camp and all his Apartment under Water, caused by an Inundation of the *Niester*. He retired to some Miles distance, near a Village called *Varnitza*; and as if he had had some secret Presage of the Event that he was afterwards to experience, he built a large House of Stone there, capable, upon Occasion, of sustaining an Assault for some Hours. He furnished it also in a very magnificent Manner, contrary to his Custom, but in order to keep the *Turks* more in Awe.

Besides this, he built two more, one for

for his Chancery, and the other for his Favourite *Grotbusen*, who kept a Table at his Expence. While the King was thus employed in building at *Bender*, as if he had designed to continue always in *Turky*, *Baltagi Mabomet*, being more apprehensive than ever of the Intrigues and Complaints of this Prince at the Porte, had sent the Emperor of *Germany's* Resident to *Vienna*, to procure a Passage for the King of *Sweden* through the Hereditary Territories of the House of *Austria*. This Envoy came back in three Weeks Time, with a Promise from the Imperial Regency, that they would pay *Charles XII.* all due Honour, and conduct him safely into *Pomerania*. While the *German* Envoy was executing this Commission at *Vienna*, the Grand Visir sent three Bashas to the King of *Sweden*, to acquaint him that he must be gone out of the Territories of the *Turkish* Empire.

The King, who knew what they came about, sent them Word, that if they ventured to make any Proposal contrary to his Honour, or to fail in their Respects towards him, he would hang them all three up the same Hour. The Basha of *Theffalonica*, who delivered the Message, disguised the Roughness of his Commission under the most respectful Terms. *Charles* dismissed the Audience without vouchsafing one Word of Answer; but his Chancellor *Mullern*, who staid with the three Bashas, signified his Master's Refusal to them in a few Words, which was nothing but what they had already perceived by his Silence.

The Grand Visir was not discouraged; he ordered *Ismael Basha*, the new Serasquier of *Bender*, to threaten the

King with the Sultan's Resentment, if he did not immediately come to a Resolution. The Serasquier was a Person of a sweet and winning Temper, which had gained him King *Charles's* good-will, and the Friendship of all the *Swedes*. The King entered into a Conference with him, but it was only to let him know, that he would not depart till *Achmet* had granted him two Things, one of which was to punish the Grand Visir, and the other to furnish him with 100000 Men in order to return into *Poland* at the Head of them.

Baltagi Mabomet was very sensible, that *Charles's* Stay in *Turky* was only to ruin him. For this Reason he placed a Guard upon all the Roads from *Bender* to *Constantinople*, with Orders to intercept the King's Letters. Besides this he retrenched the Provision, which the Porte allows the Princes to whom she grants an Asylum in her Dominions. That of the King of *Sweden's* was prodigious, amounting to five hundred Crowns a Day in Money, besides a vast Excess of every thing that could contribute to maintain a Court in Plenty and Splendor.

As soon as the King heard that the Visir had ventured to retrench his Allowance, he turned to the Steward of his Household, and said, *You have had but two Tables hitherto, I command you to prepare four to morrow.*

Charles the XIIth's Officers had been used to find nothing impossible which their Master ordered: but having neither Money, nor Provision, they were forced to borrow at twenty, thirty, and forty *per Cent.* of the Officers, Domesticks and Janisaries, who were grown rich by the King's liberality. M. *Fabricius*,

Fabricius, the Envoy of *Holstein*, gave all that he had; but these Supplies would not have sufficed for the Space of a Month, if one *Motraye* a *Frenchman*, who had been upon a long Voyage in the *Levant*, and was come to *Bender* out of Curiosity to see the King, had not offered to go through all the *Turkish* Guards, to borrow Money in the King's Name at *Constantinople*.

What Letters he had to carry, he put into the Cover of a Book, having first torn out the Past-board, and passed through the midst of the *Turks* by the Name of an *English* Merchant, with his Book in his Hand, saying it was his Prayer-book. The *Turks* are not very suspicious, because not much acquainted with the World. The supposed Merchant arrived at *Constantinople* with the King's Letters. But the foreign Merchants did not care to venture their Money. One *Cooke*, an *Englishman*, was the only Person who could be prevailed upon; and he readily offered the Loan of about 100000 *Franks*, content to lose them if any Misfortune happened to the King of *Sweden*, and sure to make his Fortune if that Prince lived.

The *French* Gentleman had the good Fortune to carry the Money safe to the Camp at *Varnitza*, and it came just as they were beginning to despair of it.

In the mean time *M. de Poniatofsky* wrote, and that from the Camp of the Grand Visir, an Account of the Campaign of *Pruth*, wherein he accused *Baltagi Mahomet* of Cowardice and Treachery. This Account he entrusted to an old Janissary enraged at the Visir's Weakness, and moreover gain-

ed by *Poniatofsky's* Presents, and having obtained Permission to leave the Camp, he went and presented the Letter with his own Hands to the Sultan.

Poniatofsky set out from the Camp some Days after, and went to the *Ottoman* Porte to cabal against the Grand Visir as usual.

All Circumstances seemed to favour the Design. The Czar, now at Liberty, was in no Haste to perform his Promises. It is customary for Princes to send golden Keys to the Sultan, when they deliver up any Towns to the *Turks*. The Keys of *Asoph* were not come, and the Grand Visir, who was responsible for them, being apprehensive of his Master's Resentment, durst not appear in his Presence.

The old Visir *Chourlouly*, then in Banishment at *Mitylene*, thought this a proper Opportunity to deprive *Achmet* of the Throne, and set up *Ibrahim* the Son of *Soliman*, a young Prince who was at that time a Prisoner of State in the *Seraglio*, together with his Cousin *Mahmoud*.

To bring about this Design, it was necessary that *Mahomet Baltagi* should be prevailed upon to endeavour to make the Sultan satisfied with the Treaty stipulated with the Czar, and that *Baltagi* should march by directly up to *Constantinople* with the Janissaries.

Mahomet had no Inclination to any rash and hazardous Enterprizes; so the old Visir applied himself to *Osman Aga* his Lieutenant, who entirely governed him. But the Letters being intercepted *Chourlouly* and *Osman* were beheaded, which is reckoned an infamous Punishment in *Turky*, and their Heads were

were thrown into the Hall of the Divan. Among *Osman's* Treasures were found the *Czarina's* Ring, and 20000 Pieces of Gold in *Saxon*, *Polish* and *Muscovite* Coin.

As to *Baltagi Mahomet*, he was banished, for having been chosen to be the Instrument of *Chourlouly* and *Osman's* Plot, tho' he never had any such Intention. *Lemnos* was appointed for the Place of his Exile, and there he died three Years after. The Grand Signor did not seize upon his Estate at his Death, because he did not die rich; which may serve for a Proof, that the Czar had not bought his Peace at an immense Price, as it was reported in *Europe*.

To this Grand Visir succeeded *Jussuf*, that is *Josepb*, whose Fortune was no less singular than that of his Predecessor's. He was by Birth a *Muscovite*, and being taken Prisoner by the *Turks* at six Years of Age, together with his Family, had been sold to a Janisary. He was long a Servant in the Seraglio, but in Time became the second Person in the Empire where he had been a Slave. But he was only the Shadow of a Minister. The young *Selictar Ali Coumourgi* raised him to this slippery Post, in Hopes of filling it himself; and *Jussuf* his Creature had nothing else to do, but to set the Seal of the Empire to what the Favourite desired. The Politicks of the *Ottoman* Court, seemed to take a new turn in the beginning of this Visir's Ministry. The Czar's Plenipotentiaries, who resided at *Constantinople* both in the Quality of Ministers, and also as Hostages, were better treated than ever. The Grand Visir confirmed the Peace of *Pruth* with them. But that which mortified

the King of *Sweden* more than any other Circumstance, was the Account which he received, that the secret Alliance made at *Constantinople* with the Czar, was effected by the Mediation of the *English* and *Dutch* Embassadors.

Constantinople, after *Charles's* Retreat to *Bender*, was become what *Rome* has often been, the Center of the Negotiations of Christendom. Count *Desalleurs*, the *French* Ambassador at the Porte, was employed in supporting the Interests of *Charles* and *Stanislaus*: the Emperor of *Germany's* Minister in opposing them. The *Swedish* and *Moscovite* Factions clashed, as those of *France* and *Spain* have long done at the Court of *Rome*.

England and *Holland* appeared as Neuters, but were not so. The new Trade which the Czar had opened at *Petersburgh*, had an Influence on the Views of those two trading Nations.

The *English* and *Dutch* are always for the Prince that favours their Traffick most, and the Czar's was then a very advantageous Branch of Trade; so that it is no wonder the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers should operate privately for him at the Porte. One of the Conditions of this new Alliance was, that *Charles* should be sent immediately out of the *Turkish* Dominions. Perhaps the Czar was in Hopes of seizing his Person upon the Road, or else he thought *Charles* less formidable at Home than in *Turky*, where he was always ready to raise the *Ottoman* Arms against the *Russian* Empire.

The King of *Sweden* was perpetually soliciting the Porte to send him back thro' *Poland* with a numerous Army.

Army. The Divan indeed were determined to send him back, but it was only with a Guard of seven or eight thousand Men, not as a King they were disposed to succour, but as a Guest they were desirous to be rid of. With this View Sultan Achmet wrote him the following Letter.

Most powerful among the Kings that worship Jesus, Redressor of Wrongs and Injuries, and Protector of Right in the Ports and Republicks of South and North, shining in Majesty, Lover of Honour and Glory, and of our sublime Porte, Charles King of Sweden, whose Enterprizes may God crown with Success.

AS soon as the most illustrious Achmet, formerly Chiaoux Pashi, shall have the Honour to deliver you this Letter, adorned with our Imperial Seal, be perswaded and convinced of the Truth of our Intentions therein, viz. That tho' we had designed to send our ever-victorious Army against the Czar a second Time, yet that Prince, to avoid our just Resentment at his delaying the Execution of the Treaty concluded on the Banks of Pruth, and renewed again at our sublime Porte, having surrender'd into our Hands the Castle and City of Asoph, and having endeavoured by the Mediation of the English and Dutch Ambassadors, our ancient Allies, to cultivate a lasting Peace with us, we have granted his Request, and delivered his Plenipotentiaries, who remain with us as Hostages, our Imperial Ratification, having first received his from their Hands.

We have given our inviolable and salutary Orders to the most honourable and valiant Delvet Gherai, Han of Boudgiak in Crim Tartary, Noghai and Circassia, and to Ismael our sage Counsellor and noble Serafquier of Bender, (whom God preserve and augment their Magnificence and Wisdom) for your Return thro' Poland, according to your first Design, which has again been laid before us in your Name. You must prepare therefore to set forward the next Winter, under the Guidance of Providence, and with an honourable Guard, to return to your own Territories, taking care to pass thro' Poland in a peaceable and friendly Manner.

You shall be provided with every Thing necessary for your Journey by my sublime Porte, as well Money as Men, Horses and Waggon. But we advise and exhort you above all things, to give the fullest and most express Orders to all the Swedes and other Persons in your Retinue, not to make any Havock, or to be guilty of any Action that may either directly or indirectly tend to break this Peace and Alliance.

Hereby you will preserve our good Will, of which we shall endeavour to give you as great and frequent Proofs as we shall have Opportunities. The Troops designed to attend you, shall receive Orders agreeable to our Imperial Intentions in this Particular.

Given at our sublime Porte of Constantinople, the 14th of the Month Rebyul Eureb, 1124, which answers to the 19th of April, 1712.

This Letter did not put the King of Sweden intirely out of Hopes. He wrote

wrote the Sultan Word, that he should always acknowledge the Favours his Highness had heaped upon him; but he added, that he thought the Sultan too just to send him away with no other Guard than that of a flying Camp, into a Country already over-run with the Czar's Troops. Indeed the Emperor of *Muscovy*, notwithstanding he was obliged by the first Article of the Treaty of *Pruth* to draw all his Forces out of *Poland*, had sent fresh ones thither; and it seems strange the Grand Seigneur should know nothing of it.

But the bad Policy and Vanity of the Porte, in suffering the Christian Princes to have their Embassadors at *Constantinople*, and never keeping so much as a single Agent in any Christian Court gives the latter an Opportunity of penetrating into, and sometimes of directing the most secret Resolutions of the Sultan, and occasions the Divan to be always ignorant of the most publick Transactions in the Christian World.

The Sultan shut up in the Seraglio among his Women and his eunuchs, sees only with the Eyes of the Grand Visir. That Minister, as inaccessible as his Master, taken up with the Intrigues of the Seraglio, and having no Correspondence abroad, is for the most part imposed upon himself, or deceives the Sultan, who deposes or orders him to be strangled for the first Offence, in order to chuse another as ignorant or as treacherous as the former, who behaves like his Predecessors, and falls as soon as they.

Such, for the most part, is the Negligence and Inactivity of this Court, that if the Christian Princes were to

join in a League against the Porte, their Fleets would be at the *Dardanelles*, and their Army at the Gates of *Adrianople*, before the *Turks* could think of putting themselves in a Posture of Defence. But the different Interests that divide Christendom, will preserve that People from a Fate, for which they seem at present to be ripe by their Want of Policy, and their Ignorance in War and maritime Affairs.

Achmet was so little acquainted with what passed in *Poland*, that he sent an Aga to see whether the Czar's Forces were still there or not. Two Secretaries of the King of *Sweden*, who understood the *Turkish* Language, accompanied the Aga, in order to confront him in Case of a false Report.

This Aga saw the Forces with his own Eyes, and gave the Sultan a true Account of the Matter. *Achmet* in his Rage was going to strangle the Grand Visir; but the Favourite who protected him, obtained his Pardon, and kept him some time longer in the Ministry.

The *Muscovites* were openly protected by the Visir, and underhand by *Ali Coumourgi*, who had changed Sides. But the Sultan was so provoked; the Infraction of the Treaty was so manifest, and the Janisaries, who often make the Ministers, Favourites and Sultans themselves tremble, called out so loudly for War, that no body in the Seraglio durst offer at a more moderate Opinion.

The Grand Seigneur immediately committed the *Muscovite* Embassadors, already as much used to go to Prison, as an Audience to the seven Towers.

War was declared afresh against the Czar, the Horse-tails displayed, and Orders given to all the Bashas to raise an Army of 200000 fighting Men. The Sultan himself quitted *Constantinople*, and fixed his Court at *Adrianople*, in order to be nearer the Seat of the War.

In the mean time a solemn Embassy from *Augustus* and the Republick of *Poland* to the Grand Seignor was upon the Road at *Adrianople*. At the Head of this Embassy was the Palatine of *Massovia* with a Retinue of above 300 Persons.

These were all seized and imprisoned in the Suburbs of the City. Never was the *Swedish* Party fuller of Hopes than upon this Occasion: but these great Preparations came to nothing, and all their Expectations were disappointed.

If a publick Minister of great Wisdom and Fore-sight, then residing at *Constantinople*, is to be credited, young *Coumourgi* had other Things in his Head besides hazarding a War with the Czar to gain a desert Country. He had Thoughts of taking *Peloponnesus*, now called the *Moraa*, from the *Venetians*, and making himself Master of *Hungary*.

To put his great Designs in Execution, he wanted nothing but the Office of Prime Visir, for which he was, yet thought too young. In this View it was of more Importance to him to be the Czar's Ally than his Enemy. It was neither his Interest nor his Inclination to keep the King of *Sweden* any longer, much less to raise an Army of *Turks* for him. He was not only for sending that Prince away, but also declared openly, that no Christian Mini-

ster ought hereafter to be permitted to reside at *Constantinople*: that the common Embassadors were only honourable Spies, who corrupted or betrayed the Visirs, and had too long influenced the Intrigues of the Seraglio; that the *Franks* settled at *Pera*, and in the Towns upon the *Levant*, were Merchants, who had Occasion for a Consul only, and not an Ambassador. The Grand Visir, who owed both his Dignity and his Life to the Favourite, and was besides afraid of him, complied with his Intentions, and the more readily, because he had sold himself to the *Muscovites*, and hoped to be revenged of the King of *Sweden*, who would have ruined him. The Musti, *Ali-Coumourgi's* Creature, was also a Slave to his Humour. He had given his Vote for a War against the Czar, when the Favourite was on that Side of the Question; but as soon as this young Man changed his Opinion, he declared against it as an unjust Motion. Thus the Army was scarce raised, when they hearkened to Proposals for an Accommodation. The Vice-Chancellor *Shaffirof* and young *Czeremetoff*, the Czar's Plenipotentiaries and Hostages at the Porte, promised after several Negotiations, that their Master should draw his Troops out of *Poland*. The Grand Visir, who was sensible the Czar would not execute this Treaty, was resolved however to sign it, and the Sultan, content with giving Laws to the *Muscovites*, tho' only in Appearance, continued still at *Adrianople*. Thus, in the Space of less than six Months, Peace was ratified with the Czar, then War declared, and afterwards Peace renewed again.

The main Article in all these Treaties related to the Removal of the King of Sweden. The Sultan would not injure his own Honour and that of the Ottoman Empire, so far as to expose the King to the Danger of being taken upon the Road by his Enemies. It was stipulated, that he should be sent away, but on Condition that the Embassadors of Poland and Muscovy should be responsible for the Security of his Person; and those Embassadors swore in the Name of their Masters, that neither the Czar, nor King Augustus, should molest him in his Passage. And Charles on the other hand was not to endeavour to raise any Commotions in Poland. The Divan having thus determined Charles's Fate, Ismael Serafquier of Bender repaired to Wernissa, where the King was encamped, and acquainted him with the Resolutions of the Porte, giving him to understand in a civil Manner, that there was no Time to delay, but that he must be gone.

Charles made no other Answer than this, that the Grand Seignor had promised him an Army, and not a Guard; and that Kings ought to keep their Word.

In the mean time General Fleming, King Augustus's Minister and Favourite, maintained a private Correspondence with the Kam of Tartary and the Serafquier of Bender. A German Colonel, whose Name was la Mare, had more than one Journey from Bender to Dresden, to carry Messages backward and forward between the Kam and Fleming; and King Augustus had several Times been heard to say, in speaking of Charles, *I keep my Bear tied at Bender.*

At this very Time the King of Sweden caused a Courier sent from Fleming to the Tartarian Prince, to be seized upon the Frontiers of Walachia. The Letters were carried to him and decyphered. There appeared plain Marks of a Correspondence between the Tartar and the Court of Dresden; but the Terms were so general and ambiguous, that it was difficult to say, whether King Augustus's Design was to draw off the Turks from the Swedish Party, or to persuade the Kam to deliver up Charles to his Saxons, as he attended him on the Road to Poland. 'Tis hard to conceive, that so generous a Prince as Augustus, for the Sake of seizing the King of Sweden's Person, would venture the Lives of his Embassadors, and 300 Polish Gentlemen detained at Adrianople, as Hostages for the Security of Charles.

On the other Hand, Fleming, absolute over his Master, was known for a Man of but loose Principles, and one that scrupled nothing. The King of Sweden's Treatment of Augustus had been such, as might be thought an Excuse for any Method of Revenge. And if the Court of Dresden could buy Charles of the Kam of Tartary, they might believe it no hard Matter to purchase the Liberty of the Polish Hostages at the Ottoman Porte. These Reasons were bandied between the King, Mullern his Chancellor, and Grothusen his Favourite. They read the Letters again and again, and the unhappy Situation they were in, increasing their Suspicions, they resolved to believe the worst.

Some Days after the King was confirmed in his Suspicions by the precipitate Departure of Count Sapieha,

who had fled to him for Refuge, and now left him abruptly in order to go for Poland, and there throw himself into the Arms of *Augustus*. Upon any other Occasion he would have looked upon *Sapieha* only as a Malecontent, but at this nice Juncture, he made no Scruple to believe him a Traytor. The repeated Instances that had been made to him to be gone, raised his Suspicions to Certainty. The Positiveness of his Temper, joined to all these Probabilities, made him continue firm in the Opinion, that there was a Design to betray him, and deliver him up to his Enemies, notwithstanding the Plot has never yet been proved.

He might be mistaken in thinking King *Augustus* had made a Bargain with the *Tartars* for his Person; but he was much more so in depending upon the Assistance of the *Ottoman* Court. But be that as it will, he resolved to gain Time.

He told the *Basha* of *Bender*, that he could not go till he was in a Condition to pay his Debts. For tho' his Pension had for a long Time been regularly paid, his Generosity had always forced him to borrow. The *Basha* asked him, how much he wanted? The King answered at a venture, a thousand Purfes; which amounts to 1500000 Livres of *French* Money full Weight. The *Basha* wrote to the *Porte* about it; and the *Sultan* instead of 1000 Purfes, granted him 1200, which he sent to the *Basha* with the following Letter.

The Grand Signor's Letter to the *Basha* of *Bender*.

THE Design of this Imperial Letter is to let you know, that upon your Representation and Request, and upon that of the right noble *Delvet Gherai Han*, to our sublime *Porte*, our Imperial Munificence has granted the King of Sweden a thousand Purfes, which shall be sent to *Bender* under the Care and Custody of the most illustrious *Mahomet Basha*, formerly *Chiaoux Pachi*, to remain in your Hands till such Time as the King of Sweden sets out, whose Steps God direct, and then to be given him with two hundred Purfes more, as an Overplus of our Imperial Liberality beyond what he desires.

As to the Rout of Poland, which he is resolved to take, you and the *Han*, who are to attend him, shall be careful to take such prudent and wise Measures, as may, during the whole Passage, prevent the Troops under your Command, and those of the King of Sweden, from committing any Havock, or doing any Thing that may be thought a Violation of the Peace subsisting between our sublime *Porte*, and the Kingdom and Republick of Poland, so that the King of Sweden may go as a Friend under our Protection.

By doing this, (which you are to desire of him in positive Terms) he will receive all the Honour and Respect that is due to his Majesty from the Poles, as we have been assured by the Embassadors of King *Augustus* and the Republick, who also on this Condition have offered themselves and several others of the Polish Nobility, if required, as Hostages for the Security of his Passage.

At the Time that you and the right noble *Delvet Gherai* shall agree upon for the March, you shall put yourself at the Head of your brave Soldiers, among whom

whom shall be the Tartars, with the Han at the Head of them, and shall conduct the King of Sweden and his Men.

And may it please the only God, the Almighty, to direct your Steps and theirs. The Bascha of Aulis shall continue at Bender, with a Regiment of Spahi's and another of Janisaries, to defend it in your Absence. Now by following our Imperial Orders and Intentions in all these Points and Articles, you will deserve the Continuance of our Imperial Favour, as well as the Praise and Recompence due to all such as observe them.

Given at our Imperial Residence at Constantinople the 2d Day of the Month Cheval, 1124 of the Hegira.

Before the Grand Seignor's Answer arrived, the King had written to the Porte, to complain of the supposed Treachery of the Kam. But the Passages were well guarded, and the Ministry was against him, so that his Letters never came to the Sultan. Nay, the Visir would not suffer M. Desaleurs to come to *Adrianople*, where the Porte then was, lest that Minister, who was the King of Sweden's Agent, should endeavour to disconcert their Design of sending him away.

Charles enraged to see himself in a manner hunted out of the Grand Seignor's Territories, resolved not to stir a Step.

He might have desired to return thro' the German Territories, or take Ship at the *Black Sea* in Order to go to *Marseilles* through the *Mediterranean*. But he chose rather to ask nothing, and wait the Event.

When the 1200 Purfes were arri-

ved, his Treasurer *Grotbusen*, who by residing so long in *Turky* had learnt to speak the Language, went to wait upon the Bascha without an Interpreter, in Hopes to get the 1200 Purfes from him; and afterwards to form some new Intrigue at the Porte; falsely imagining, as they always did, that the *Swedish* Party would at length arm the *Ottoman* Empire against the Czar.

Grotbusen told the Bascha, that the King's Equipages could not be got ready without Money. But we, says the Bascha, shall defray all your Expences. Your Master will be at no Charge, while he continues under my Protection.

Grotbusen replied, that the Difference between the *Turkish* Equipages, and those of the *Franks* was so great, that they were under a Necessity of applying to the *Swedish* and *Polish* Artificers at *Varnitza*.

He assured him that his Master was willing to go, and that this Money would facilitate and hasten his Departure. The too credulous Bascha gave him the 1200 Purfes, and within a few Days came and desired the King in a very respectful Manner to give Orders for their departing.

But he was extremely surprized, when the King told him he was not ready to go, and that he wanted a thousand Purfes more. The Bascha, confounded with this Answer, was speechless for some Time, and then went to a Window, where he was seen to shed some Tears. Afterwards, turning to the King, I shall lose my Head, says he, for having obliged your Majesty. I have given you the 1200 Purfes against the express Order of my Sovereign. With these Words he

he took his Leave, and was going away full of Grief.

The King stopped him, and told him he would make an Excuse for him to the Sultan. Ah! replies the *Turk*, as he was going out, My Master can punish Faults, but not excuse them.

Ismael Basha went to acquaint the Kam of *Tartary* with the News. The Kam having received the same Order with the Basha, not to suffer the 1200 Purfes to be delivered before the King's Departure, and having consented to the Delivery of them, was as apprehensive of the Grand Seignor's Resentment as the Basha himself. They wrote both of them to the Porte to clear themselves, and protested that they had not parted with the 1200 Purfes, but upon a solemn Promise made to them by the King's Minister, to be gone immediately. And they intreated his Highness not to impute the King's Refusal to their Disobedience.

Charles persisting in the Notion that the Kam and the Basha designed to deliver him up into the Hands of his Enemies, ordered M. *Funk*, his Envoy at the *Ottoman* Court, to lay his Complaints against them before the Grand Seignor, and to ask for 1000 Purfes more. His extreme Generosity, and the little Account he made of Money, hindred him from seeing that there was something base and mean in this Proposal. But he did it with a View to be refused, and that he might have a fresh Pretence for not departing. But a Man must be reduced to strange Extremities, before he can stand in need of such Artifices. *Savari*, his Interpreter, a crafty enterprising Man, carried his Letter to

Adrianople, in spite of the Grand Visir's Care to keep the Passages strictly guarded.

Funk was forced to deliver this dangerous Message; and all the Answer he received was to be clapt up in Prison. The Sultan, in a Passion, called an extraordinary Divan, and, which is very rarely done, spoke himself upon the Occasion. His Speech, according to the Translation then made of it, was as follows:

' I scarce ever knew the King of Sweden but by his Defeat at *Pultawa*, and the Request he made to me to grant him a Sanctuary in my Empire. I have not, I believe, any need of him; nor any reason to love or fear him; yet, without consulting any other Motives than the Hospitality of a *Mussulman*, and my own Generosity, which sheds the Dew of its Favours upon the great as well as the little, upon Strangers as well as my own Subjects, I have received and assisted him, his Ministers, Officers and Soldiers in every Respect, and for three Years and a half have never held my Hand from loading him with Presents.

' I have granted him a very considerable Guard to conduct him into his own Country. He has asked for 1000 Purfes to defray some Expences, though I pay them all. Instead of 1000 I have granted him 1200. After getting these out of the Hands of the *Serasquier* of *Bender*, he desires 1000 more, and refuses to go, under a Pretence that the Guard is too little, whereas it is but too large to pass through the Country of a Friend and Ally.

' I ask you then, whether it be a Breach

‘Breach of the Laws of Hospitality to send this Prince away, and whether foreign Princes ought to accuse me of Cruelty or Injustice, in case I should be obliged to make him go by Force?’ All the Divan answered, that the Grand Seignor might lawfully do what he had said.

The Musti declared, that the Musulmans are not bound to Hospitality towards Infidels, much less towards the ungrateful, and he granted his *Fetfa*, a kind of Mandate, which for the most part accompanies the important Orders of the Grand Seignor. These *Fetfa*’s are revered as Oracles, tho’ the Persons from whom they come, are as much the Sultan’s Slaves as any others.

The Order and the *Fetfa* were carried to *Bender* by the *Bouiouk Imraour*, Grand Master of the Horse, and a *Chiaous Basba*, first Usher. The Basba of *Bender* received the Order at the Kam’s, from whence he went immediately to *Varnitsa*, to know whether the King would go away in a friendly Manner, or force him to execute the Sultan’s Orders.

Charles XII. not used to this threatening Language, could not command his Temper. Obey your Master, says he to the Basba, if you dare, and be gone out of my Presence. The Basba went off in a Rage, with a full Gallop, contrary to the manner of the *Turks*; and meeting *Fabricius* by the Way, he called out to him without stopping, the King won’t hearken to Reason; you’ll see strange Things presently. The same Day he discontinued the Supply of the King’s Provisions, and removed the Guard of Janisaries. He sent also to the

Poles and *Cossacks* at *Varnitsa*, to let them know, that if they had a Mind to have any Provisions, they must leave the King of Sweden’s Camp, and come and put themselves under the Protection of the Porte at *Bender*. They all obeyed, and left the King, with only the Officers of his Household, and 300 *Swedes*, to cope with 26000 *Tartars* and *Turks*, and now there was no more Provision in the Camp either for Man or Horse.

Immediately the King gave Orders to shoot twenty of the fine *Arabian* Horses the Grand Seignor had sent him, saying, I will neither have their Provisions nor their Horses. This made a noble Feast for the *Tartars*, who, as all the World know, think Horse-flesh delicious Feeding. In the mean time the *Turks* and *Tartars* invested the little Camp on all Sides.

The King, with all the Calmness in the World, appointed his 300 *Swedes* to make regular Fortifications, and worked at them himself. His Chancellor, Treasurer, Secretaries, *Valet de Chambre*’s, and all his Domesticks, put their Hands to the Work. Some barricadoed the Window, others fasten’d Beams behind the Doors in the Form of Buttresses.

When the House was well barricadoed, and the King had taken a View of his supposed Fortifications, he sat calmly down to Chefs with his Favourite *Grotbussen*, as if every thing had been perfectly safe and secure. It happened very luckily, that *Fabricius*, the Envoy of *Holstein*, did not lodge at *Varnitsa*, but at a Village between *Varnitsa* and *Bender*, where Mr. *Jeffreys*, the English Envoy to the King of Sweden, resided also. The two Mini-

Ministers seeing the Storm ready to break out, took upon them to be Mediators between the *Turks* and the King. The Kam, and especially the Basha of *Bender*, who had no Inclination to offer any Violence to the Monarch, were glad to receive the Offers the two Ministers made them. They had two Conferences together at *Bender*, at which the Usher of the Seraglio, and the Grand Master of the Horse, who brought the Sultan's Order and the Mufti's *Fetfa*, assisted.

Monsieur *Fabricius* declared to them, that his *Swedish* Majesty had great Reason to believe they designed to deliver him to his Enemies in *Poland*.

The Kam, and Basha, and the rest, laying their Hands upon their Heads, called God to witness, that they detested such a horrible Piece of Treachery, and would lose the last Drop of their Blood, rather than suffer the least Failure of Respect to the King in *Poland*. They added, that they had the *Muscovite* and *Polish* Embassadors in their Hands, whose Lives should answer for the least Affront that should be offered the King of *Sweden*. In a word, they complained bitterly that the King should entertain such injurious Suspicions of Persons, who had so generously received, and so handsomely treated him.

And though Oaths are often the Language of Treachery, M. *Fabricius* suffered himself to be persuaded by these Barbarians. He thought he perceived such an Air of Truth in their Protestations, as Falshood never imitates but imperfectly. He was sensible there was a Correspondence between the Kam of *Tartary* and

King *Augustus*; but yet he remained convinced, that the Design of that Negotiation was only to force *Charles* to retire out of the Territories of the Grand Seignor. But whether *Fabricius* was mistaken or not, he assured them; he would represent to the King the Injustice of these Jealousies; but do you intend to force him to be gone, adds he? Yes, says the Basha, such is our Master's Order. Then he desired them to consider once again, whether that Order was to spill the Blood of a crowned Head? Yes, replies the Kam with some Warmth, if that crowned Head disobey the Grand Seignor in his own Dominions.

In the mean time every thing being ready for the Assault, *Charles's* Death seemed inevitable: but the Sultan's Command being not positively to kill him in case of Resistance, the Basha prevailed with the Kam to let him send an Express that Moment to *Adrianople*, where the Grand Seignor then was, to receive his Highness's last Orders.

M. *Jefferys* and M. *Fabricius* having procured this little Respite, ran to acquaint the King with it. They came with that Expedition which People usually make who bring good News, but were received very coldly: He called them voluntary, and unauthorized Mediators, and still insisted that the Sultan's Order and the Mufti's *Fetfa* were forged, because they had sent for fresh Orders to the Porte.

The *English* Minister withdrew, resolving to concern himself no more with the Affairs of so inflexible a Prince. M. *Fabricius*, beloved by the King, and more used to his Humour than the
English

English Minister, staid with him, in Order to conjure him not to hazard a Life so precious upon so unnecessary an Occasion.

The King, instead of an Answer, shewed him his Fortifications, and desired him to be a Mediator only so far as to procure him Provisions. Leave was easily obtained from the *Turks* to let Provisions pass to the King's Camp, till such Time as the Courier should arrive from *Adrianople*.

The Kam himself had forbid his *Tartars*, tho' always impatient of Pillage, to make any Attempt upon the *Swedes* till a new Order came, so that *Charles* went sometimes out of his Camp with forty Horse, and rode thro' the Midst of the *Tartarian* Troops, who very respectfully left him a free Passage: nay he marched directly up their Lines, and instead of resisting, they opened to him.

At length the Grand Seignor's Order being come, to put to the Sword all the *Swedes* that should make the least Resistance, and not to spare the Life of the King; the *Basha* had the Civility to shew *Fabricius* the Order, to the Intent that he might try his utmost to prevail upon *Charles*. *Fabricius* went immediately to acquaint him with this bad News. Have you seen the Order you speak of? *says the King*. I have, *replies Fabricius*. Tell them then, *says the King*, that this Order is a second Forgery of theirs, and that I will not go. *Fabricius* fell at his Feet, put himself in a Passion, and reproached him with his Obstinacy; but all was to no Purpose. Go back to your *Turks*, *says the King to him smiling*, if they attack me, I know how to defend my self.

The King's Chaplains also fell upon their Knees before him, conjuring him not to expose the wretched Remains of *Pultowa*, and, above all, his own sacred Person to certain Death; adding besides, that Resistance in this Case was a most unwarrantable Action, and that it was a Violation of the Laws of Hospitality, to resolve to continue with Strangers against their Will, who had so long and generously supported him. The King, who had shewed no Resentment against *Fabricius*, grew warm upon this Occasion, and told his Priests, that he took them to pray for him, and not to give him Advice.

General *Hord* and General *Dardorff*, whose Opinion it had always been not to venture a Battle, which in the Consequence must prove fatal, shewed the King their Breasts, covered with Wounds they received in his Service; and assuring him, that they were ready to die for him, begged that it might at least be upon a more necessary Occasion. I know, *says the King*, by your Wounds and my own, that we have fought valiantly together. You have hitherto done your Duty; do it again now. There was nothing more to be said; they must obey. Every one was ashamed not to court Death with the King. His Majesty being prepared for the Assault; entertained himself in secret with the Pleasure and Honour of sustaining the Shock of a whole Army with 300 *Swedes*. He appointed every Man to his Post. His Chancellor *Mullern*, the Secretary *Empreus*, and his Clerks, were to defend the Chancery house. Baron *Fief*, at the Head of the Officers of the Kitchen, was at ano-

ther Post. The Grooms of the Stables and the Cooks had another Place to guard. For with him every Man was a Soldier. He rode from his Fortifications to his House, promising Rewards to every body, creating Officers, and declaring, that he would make the lowest of his Servants Captains, if they behaved with Courage in the Engagement.

It was not long before they saw the *Turks* and *Tartars* advancing in Order of Battle to attack the little Fortrefs, with ten Pieces of Ordnance and two Mortar pieces. The Horse-tails waved in the Air, the Clarions sounded, the Cries of *Alla, Alla*, were heard on all Sides. Baron *Grotbusen* took Notice, that the *Turks* did not mix any abusive Language against the King in their Cries, but only called him *Demir-Bash*, which signifies *Head of Iron*, and resolved that Moment to go alone and unarmed out of the Fortifications. He advanced up to the Line of the Janisaries, who had almost all of them received Money from him. 'Ah, what my Friends! says he to them in their own Language, are you come to massacre 300 defenceless *Swedes*? You brave Janisaries, who have pardoned 100000 *Muscovites* upon their crying *Amman*, (i. e. Pardon) to you: Have you forgot the Kindness you have received from us? And would you assassinate that great King of *Sweden*, whom you loved so much, and who has been so generous to you? My Friends, he asks but three Days, and the Sultan's Orders are not so strict as you are made to believe.'

These Words produced an Effect which *Grotbusen* himself did not expect. The Janisaries swore upon their

Beards, they would not attack the King, and that they would give him the three Days he demanded. In vain was the Signal given for the Assault. The Janisaries far from obeying, threaten to fall upon their Leaders, if three Days were not granted to the King of *Sweden*. They came to the *Basha* of *Bender's* Tent in a Body, crying out that the Sultan's Orders were forged. To this unexpected Insurrection the *Basha* had nothing to oppose but Patience.

He made as if he was pleased with the generous Resolution of the Janisaries, and ordered them to retreat to *Bender*. The *Kam* of *Tartary*, who was a hot forward Man, would have given the Assault immediately with his Troops; but the *Basha*, who did not design the *Tartars* alone should have the Honour of taking the King, when he perhaps might be punished for the Disobedience of his Janisaries, persuaded the *Kam* to wait till the next Day.

The *Basha* returning to *Bender*, assembled all the Officers of the Janisaries and the oldest Soldiers, and both read to them, and shewed them the positive Order of the Sultan, and the *Musti's Fetfa*.

Sixty of the oldest of them, with venerable grey Beards, who had received a thousand Presents from the King's Hand, offered to go in Person to him, and intreat him to put himself into their Hands, and permit them to serve him as Guards.

The *Basha* consented to it; for there was no Expedient he would not try, rather than be forced to kill the King. Accordingly these sixty old Soldiers went the next Morning to *Varnitsa*, having

having nothing in their Hands but long white Staffs, the only Arms of the Janisaries, when they are not going to fight: for the *Turks* look upon it as a barbarous Custom among the Christians to wear Swords in Time of Peace, and enter armed into their Churches and the Houses of their Friends.

They addressed themselves to Baron *Grotbussen* and Chancellor *Mullern*: They told them, they were come with a Design to serve as faithful Guards to the King; and that if he pleased, they would conduct him to *Adrianople*, where he might speak to the Grand Signor in Person. While they were making this Proposal, the King read the Letters that were brought from *Constantinople*, and which *Fabricius*, who could not see him any more, had conveyed privately to him by a Janisary. These Letters were written by Count *Poniatofsky*, who could neither serve him at *Bender* nor *Adrianople*, having been detained at *Constantinople*, by Order of the Porte, from the Time of the imprudent Demand of 1000 Purfes. He told the King, that the Sultan's Orders to seize or massacre his Royal Person, in case of Resistance, were but too true; that the Sultan indeed was imposed upon by his Ministers; but the more he was imposed upon in this Affair, the more he would be obeyed; that he must submit to the Times, and yield to Necessity: that he took the Liberty to advise him to try if it were possible to prevail upon the Ministers by way of Negotiation; and not to be inflexible in a Case where the softest Methods were required; and to expect from Time and good Management the Cure of an Evil,

which by rough and violent handling wou'd be increased beyond the Hopes of a Recovery.

But neither the Proposal of the old Janisaries, nor *Poniatofsky's* Letters, could in the least convince the King that it was possible for him to give Way, without injuring his Honour. He chose rather to die by the Hand of the *Turks*, than be in any Manner their Prisoner. He dismissed the Janisaries without seeing them, and sent them Word, that if they did not go about their Business, he'd shave their Beards for them; which, in the East, is reckoned the most provoking Affront that can be offered.

These old Soldiers, fired with Resentment, returned Home crying, as they went: *Ab this Head of Iron! Since he's resolved to perish, let him perish.* They gave the Bascha an Account of their Commission, and acquainted their Comrades at *Bender*, with the strange Reception they had met with. Upon this every one swore to obey the Bascha's Orders without delay; and they were now as impatient of going to the Assault as they had been averse to it the Day before.

The Word was given that Moment. They march'd up to the Intrenchments. The *Tartars* were already waiting for them, and the Cannon began to play.

The Janisaries on one Side, and the *Tartars* on the other, forced this little Camp in an Instant. Twenty *Swedes* had scarce Time to draw their Swords, before the whole 300 were surrounded and taken Prisoners without Resistance. The King was then on Horseback between his House and his Camp, with the Generals *Hord*,

Dardoff and *Sparre*; and seeing that all his Soldiers had suffered themselves to be taken before his Eyes, he said in cool Blood to those three Officers, Let us go and defend the House. *We'll fight*, adds he with a Smile, *pro aris & focis*.

Immediately he gallops up to the House with them, where he had placed about forty Domesticks as Centinels, and which they had fortified in the best Manner they could.

These Generals, however accustomed to the obstinate Intrepidity of their Master, could not help being surprized, that in cool Blood and with a jesting Air, he should resolve to stand out against ten Pieces of Cannon and a whole Army. They followed him with some Guards and Domesticks, to the Number of twenty Persons.

But when they came to the Door, they found it beset with Janisaries. Besides, near 200 *Turks* or *Tartars* had already got in at a Window, and made themselves Masters of all the Apartments, except a great Hall, whither the King's Domesticks had retired. It happened luckily that this Hall was near the Door, at which the King purposed to enter with his little Troop of twenty Persons. He threw himself off his Horse with Pistol and Sword in Hand, and his Followers did the same.

The Janisaries fell upon him on all Sides, being encouraged by the *Basha's* Promise of eight Ducats of Gold to each Man that could but touch his Cloaths, in case they could take him. He wounded and killed all who came near him. A Janisary, whom he had wounded, clapp'd his Blunderbuss to his Face, and if the Arm of a *Turk* had

not jostled him, occasioned by the Croud, that moved backwards and forwards like Waves, the King had been killed. The Ball grazed upon his Nose, and took off a Piece of his Ear, and then broke General *Hord's* Arm, whose Fate it was to be always wounded by his Master's Side.

The King stuck his Sword into the Janisary's Breast, and at the same Time his Domesticks, who were shut up in the great Hall, opened the Door to him. He enters as swift as an Arrow with his little Troop, and in an Instant they shut the Door again, and barricade it with all they can find.

Thus was *Charles XII.* shut up in this Hall with all his Attendants, amounting to about threescore Men, Officers, Guards, Secretaries, *Valet de Chambre's*, and Domesticks of all Kinds.

The Janisaries and *Tartars* pillaged the rest of the House, and filled the Apartments. Come, says the King, let us go and drive out these Barbarians! And putting himself at the Head of his Men, he, with his own Hands, opened the Door of the Hall which faced his Bed-chamber, goes into it and fires upon the Plunderers.

The *Turks* loaden with Booty, being terrified at the sudden Appearance of the King, whom they had been used to reverence, threw down their Arms, and leapt out of the Window, or fled into the Cellars. The King taking Advantage of the Confusion they were in, and his own Men being animated with this Piece of Success, they pursued the *Turks* from Chamber to Chamber, killed or wounded those who had not made their Escape, and

in a quarter of an Hour cleared the House of the Enemy.

The King in the Heat of the Fight perceived two Janisaries who hid themselves under his Bed. He thrust his Sword through one of them and killed him; but the other asking Pardon, crying, *Amman. I grant you your Life, says the King, upon Condition that you go and give the Basba a faithful Account of what you have seen.* *Grotius* explained the Words in *Turkish* to him. The *Turk* easily promised to do as he was bid. Upon which he was allowed to leap out of the Window, as the rest had done.

The *Swedes* at length become Masters of the House, shut the Windows again, and barricaded them. In this Situation they had no Want of Arms, a Ground-chamber full of Muskets and Powder, having escaped the tumultuous Search of the Janisaries. These they made a very seasonable Use of, firing close upon the *Turks* thro' the Windows, and killing 200 of them in less than half a quarter of an Hour.

The Cannon played against the House, but the Stones being very soft, it only made Holes in the Wall, but demolished nothing.

The Kam of *Tartary* and the Basba, who were desirous of taking the King alive, being ashamed to lose Time and Men, and employ an entire Army against sixty Persons, thought it proper to set Fire to the House, in order to oblige the King to surrender. For this Purpose they ordered some Arrows, twisted about with lighted Matches, to be shot upon the Roof, and against the Doors and Windows; by which Means the House was imme-

diately in a Flame. The Roof all on Fire was ready to tumble upon the *Swedes*. The King, with a very sedate Air, gave Orders to extinguish the Fire; and finding a little Barrel full of Liquor, he laid hold of it himself, and, with the Assistance of two *Swedes*, threw it upon the Place where the Fire was most violent: Then he discovered that it was full of Brandy. But the Hurry which is inseparable from such a State of Confusion, hindered him from thinking of it before. Upon this it burnt more furiously than ever: The King's Apartment was consumed, and the great Hall, where the *Swedes* then were, was filled with a terrible Smoke, mixed with Gusts of Fire, that came in through the Doors of the neighbouring Apartments. One half of the Roof fell in, and the other tumbled down without the House, cracking among the Flames.

A Centinel named *Walberg*, ventured in this Extremity to cry, that there was a Necessity for surrendering. What a strange Man, says the King, is this, to imagine that it is not more glorious to be burnt than taken Prisoner! Another Centinel named *Rosen*, had the Thought to say, that the Chancery-house, which was but fifty Paces off, had a stone Roof, and was Proof against Fire; that it would do well to sally out and gain that House, and there stand upon their Defence. A true Swede, cries the King: Then he embraced him, and made him a Colonel upon the Spot. Come on, my Friends, says he, take all the Powder and Ball you can carry, and let us gain the Chancery Sword in Hand.

The *Turks* who all this while encompassed the House, were struck with Fear and Admiration, to see that the *Swedes* continued in it notwithstanding it was all in Flames. But they were much more surprized, when they saw them open the Doors, and the King and his Men fall upon them in a desperate Manner. *Charles*, and his principal Officers were armed with Sword and Pistol. Every one fired two Pistols at a Time in the Instant that the Door opened; and in the Twinkling of an Eye throwing away their Pistols, and drawing their Swords, they drove the *Turks* back the Distance of fifty Paces; but the Moment after this little Troop was surrounded. The King, being booted according to Custom, threw himself down with his Spurs. Immediately one and twenty Janisaries fall upon him, disarm him, and bear him away to the *Basha's* Quarters, some taking hold of his Arms, and others of his Legs, as the Manner is to carry a sick Person for Fear of incommoding him.

As soon as the King saw himself in their Hands, the Violence of his Temper, and the Fury which so long and desperate a Fight would naturally inspire, gave place to a gentle and calm Behaviour. Not one impatient Word fell from him; not a Frown was to be seen. On the contrary he looked upon the Janisaries with a smiling Countenance, and they carried him, crying *Alla*, with a Mixture of Anger and Respect in their Faces. His Officers were taken at the same Time, and stripped by the *Turks* and *Tartars*. It was on the 12th of *February*, 1713. that this strange Adventure happen'd,

and it drew after it some very extraordinary Consequences.

The *Basha* of *Bender* gravely waited in his Tent, expecting the King; and had by him one *Marco* for an Interpreter. He received the King with great Respect, and prayed him to repose upon a *Sopha*, but the King took no Notice of his Civilities, and continued standing.

Blessed be the Almighty, says the *Basha*, *that your Majesty is safe*. It grieves me that you have forced me to execute the Sultan's Orders. The King, for his part, was only vexed that his 300 Men should suffer themselves to be taken in their Intrenchments, and said, *Alas*, says the *Basha*, *what Pity it is, that so much Valour should be misemployed*! Then the King was conducted on a fine Horse with rich Furniture to *Bender*. All the *Swedes* were either killed or taken. The King's Equipage, Goods and Papers, and the best of his Baggage, was plundered or burnt. In the Roads, the *Swedish* Officers naked, and chained two and two, followed the Horses of the *Tartars* and Janisaries. The Chancellor and the General Officers were in the same Condition of being Slaves to some of the Soldiers, to whose share they fell.

The *Basha Ismael* having brought the King to his Seraglio at *Bender*, gave him his own Apartment, where he was served like a King, but not without a Guard of Janisaries at the Chamber door. A Bed was prepared for him; but he threw himself down upon a *Sopha* in his Boots, and fell fast asleep. An Officer, that stood near

in waiting, put him on a Cap, which the King threw off at his first waking; and the *Turk* was surpris'd to see a sovereign Prince sleeping on the Ground in his Boots, and bare-headed. In the Morning *Ismael* brought *Fabricius* to the King; who when he saw his Prince's Cloaths all torn, his Boots, his Hands, and his whole Person covered with Dust and Blood; his Eye-brows burnt, but yet even in that Condition smiling; he threw himself on his Knees, unable to speak: but soon recovering by the King's free Behaviour, he renewed his usual Way of Conversation with him, and they began to be a little merry upon the Subject of the Battle. *I am told,* says *Fabricius*, *your Majesty has killed no less than twenty Janisaries.* No, no, says the King, *you know a Story never loses in the telling.* While they were talking, the *Basha* brought to the King his Favourite *Grothusen* and Colonel *Ribbins*, whom he was so generous to redeem at his own Expence. *Fabricius* undertook to ransom all the other Prisoners.

Jeffreys, the *English* Envoy, assisted him with Money: and *La Motraie*, a *French* Gentleman who came out of Curiosity to *Bender*, and who has writ some Account of these Affairs, gave all he had. These Strangers, assisted by the *Basha's* Advice and Money, redeemed all the Officers, and their Cloaths, out of the Hands of the *Turks* and *Tartars*.

The next Morning they conveyed the King in a Chariot covered with Scarlet towards *Adrianople*. His Treasurer *Grothusen* was with him. The Chancellor *Mullern*, and some Officers followed in another Carriage. Many others were on Horse-back, who could

not refrain Tears at the Sight of the King's Chariot. The *Basha* himself commanded the Convoy. *Fabricius* said it was a Shame the King should be without a Sword, and begged of the *Basha* that he might be allowed to wear one. *God forbid!* says the *Basha*, *he would soon cut our Beards for us, if he had a Sword.* However, he did give him one some Hours after.

While they were carrying this King, disarmed and a Prisoner, who not long before had given Law to so many Countries, had been Arbitrator of the North, and the Terror of all *Europe*; there happened to appear in the very same Place another Instance of the Frailty of human Greatness.

King *Stanislaus* was seized in the *Turks* Dominions, and carried Prisoner to *Bender* at the same Time that they were conveying away *Charles*.

Stanislaus, unsupported by the Hand that made him King, having no Money, and consequently no Friends in *Poland*, retired to *Pomerania*, and as he was not able to preserve his own Kingdom, had done his best to defend his Benefactor's.

He went himself to *Sweden* to hasten the Recruits that were wanted in *Livonia* and *Pomerania*. At last, when he had done all that could be expected from him as the King of *Sweden's* Friend, and struggled with his ill Fortune, he thought it best to give up a Crown which he was no longer able to keep. He advised about it with *Fleming* first Minister to King *Augustus*, who was under great Obligations to him, and made him large Promises, if not out of Gratitude, at least for his Honour's Sake, or which is the more probable, with Intention only

only to deceive him.

But *Stanislaus* could not well abdicate his Crown without the Consent of *Charles*, to whom he owed it. So he wrote to him, to desire he would allow of an Abdication, which many Circumstances made necessary, and his good Meaning in it honourable. He begged he would no longer sacrifice his Interest for the Sake of an unhappy Friend, who would rather chuse to be himself a Sacrifice for the publick Peace.

Charles received the Letter at *Varnitsa*; and in a Passion said to the Courier before a good many People: *Well, if he will not be a King, I shall think of somebody else.* *Stanislaus* thought if he should go himself it might do better. So he took with him *Baron Sparre*, who was afterwards the *Swede's* Embassador in *France*. He changed his Clothes, for Fear of being known, and passed the Borders of *Hungary* and *Transylvania*, still in fear of being stopped; nor could he think himself safe, till he came to *Tassi* in *Moldavia*, near the Place where the *Czar* had such a narrow Escape from the *Turks*. At *Tassi* he was stopped, and questioned. He said he was a *Swede*, and going to the King at *Bender*; for he supposed that Name was enough to gain his Pass, little thinking what had happened.

Saying he was a *Swede*, they immediately seized him, and carried him Prisoner to *Bender*. He was quickly known; and Word was brought of it to the *Basha* as he was going along with the King of *Sweden*. The *Basha* told *Fabricius*, who coming up to the Chariot, acquainted *Charles*, that he was not the only King a Prisoner to

the *Turks*; and that *Stanislaus* was in hold a few Miles from him. The King not at all discomposed, said to him, *Dear Fabricius, run and tell him, never to make Peace with King Augustus, for we shall quickly have a Change of Affairs.* Such was his Firmness of Mind, that though deserted in *Poland*, attacked in his own Dominions, and led Prisoner here in *Turkey*, he boldly reckoned upon Fortune, not doubting but the *Ottoman Porte* would assist him with 100000 Men.

Fabricius had Leave to go with the Message, attended by a Janisary. After some Miles riding, he met a Body of Soldiers that guarded *Stanislaus*, and spoke to one that rode in the middle of them, in a *Frank's* Dress, and indifferently mounted. He asked him in the *German* Tongue, where the King of *Poland* was? It proved to be *Stanislaus*, whom he did not know in that Disguise. *What, says the King, have you forgot me?* *Fabricius* then told him of the King of *Sweden's* sad Condition, and of his unshaken but unsuccessful Resolution.

When *Stanislaus* came near *Bender*, the *Basha* who was returning back from *Charles*, sent the King of *Poland* an *Arabian* Horse with fine Furniture.

Stanislaus was received at *Bender* with a Discharge of the Artillery; and, bating that he was a Prisoner, had no great Cause to complain of his Usage there. As for *Charles*, he was going to *Adrianople*, and the Town was full of Discourse beforehand about the Battle. The *Turks* both admired and blamed him; but the *Divan* was so exasperated, that they threatned to confine him in one of

of the Islands of the *Archipelago*.

M. *Desalleurs*, that could have taken his Part and prevented such an Affront to all the Kings of *Chriftendom*, was at *Constantinople*; and so was M. *de Poniatofky*, who was never known to want Contrivance upon any preffing Occasion. Moft of the *Swedes* at *Adrianople* were in Prifon, and the Sultan's Throne feemed inaccessible to any Complaints from the King of *Sweden*.

The Marquis *de Fierville*, a private Agent from *France* to King *Charles* at *Bender*, was then at *Adrianople*, and undertook to do that Prince a Piece of Service when he was either deserted or ill ufed by all the World; he was luckily affifted in this Design by a *French* Gentleman, of a good Family, one *Villelongue*, a Man of great Courage and but little Fortune, who charmed with the Fame of the King of *Sweden*, was come thither on purpofe to engage in his Service.

With this young Man's Help M. *de Fierville* wrote a Memorial as from the King of *Sweden*, demanding Juftice of the Sultan for the wrong offered in his Perfon to all crowned Heads, and againft the real, or fufpected Treachery of the Kam and the *Bafha* of *Bender*.

It contained an Accufation of the *Vifir* and other Minifters, that they were corrupted by the *Mufcovites*, had deceived the Grand Seignor, had intercepted his Letters, and had cunningly drawn from the Sultan an Order fo contrary to the Hofpitality of the *Mufulmans*, in Violation of the Law of Nations, and in a manner fo unworthy of a great Emperor, to attack with twenty thoufand Men a King

who had none but his Retinue to defend him, and who had depended upon the facred Word of the Sultan.

When they had drawn up this Memorial, it was to be tranflated, and written upon a Sort of Paper that they never ufe but for what is prefented to the Sultan.

They went to feveral *French* Interpreters to get it done. But the King's Affairs were fo desperate, and the *Vifir* fo openly declared his Enemy, that none of them all would undertake it. They found out a Stranger at laft whose Hand was not known; who, for a good Gratuity, and upon full Affurance of Secrecy, tranflated the Memorial, and wrote it over upon the right Sort of Paper. The Baron *d' Arvidfon*, a *Swedifh* Officer, counterfeited the King's Hand, and *Fierville* fealed it with the Arms of *Sweden*. *Villelongue* undertook to deliver it to the Grand Seignor as he paffed to the *Mofque*. This was no more than had been done before, by People who had Complaints to make againft the Minifter of State: but that made it now the more difficult and dangerous.

The *Vifir*, who could not but think the *Swedes* would fue for Juftice to the Sultan, and knew withal what was like to follow, by the Fate of his Predeceffors, forbade any Perfon to come near the Grand Seignor, and ordered, that whoever was feen about the *Mofque* with Petitions, fhould be feized.

Villelongue knew the Order, and that it was as much as his Life was worth to do it. However, he put on a *Grecian* Habit, and hiding the Letter in his Bosom, went pretty early to the Place. He pretended Madnefs,

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and danced between two Files of Janisaries where the Sultan was to pass; and dropped some Money now and then to amuse the Guards.

When the Sultan was coming they would have had *Villelongue* get out of the Way; but he fell on his Knees, and struggled with his Janisaries. At last his Cap fell off, and he was discovered by his Hair to be a *Frank*. He had several Blows, and was very ill used. The Grand Seignor heard the Scuffle, and asked what the Matter was? *Villelongue* cried as loud as he could, *Amman! Amman! Mercy!* and pulled out the Letter. The Sultan ordered him to be brought before him. *Villelongue* ran immediately, and embracing his Stirrup, presented the Paper, saying, *Sued Krall Dan, The King of Sweden gives it thee.* The Sultan putting up the Letter in his Bosom, went on to the Mosque, and *Villelongue* was secured in one of the Out-houses of the Seraglio.

The Sultan coming from the Mosque, when he had read the Letter, resolved to examine the Prisoner himself. He put off his Imperial Habit and Turban, and went in the Disguise of an Officer of the Janisaries, which he often does, taking with him an old *Maltese* for an Interpreter. By the Favour of this Disguise, *Villelongue* had a private Conference of a quarter of an Hour with the *Turkish* Emperor, an Honour that was never done to any Christian Ambassador. He took Care to relate all the King of *Sweden's* Hardships, accusing the Ministers, and demanding Satisfaction: This he did with the greater Freedom, because all the while he talked to the Sultan, he was thought to believe him-

self speaking to his Equal. Not but he knew him well, though the Prison was pretty dark; and this made him only the more bold in his Discourse. The pretended Officer of the Janisaries said to *Villelongue*; Christian, be satisfied, the Sultan my Master has the Soul of an Emperor, and if it be as you say, he will do your King Justice. *Villelongue* was soon released, and some Weeks after there was a sudden Change in the Seraglio, which the *Swedes* affirm was owing to this Conference. The Mufti was deposed. The Kam of the *Tartars* banished to *Rhodes*, and the Serafquier Basha of *Bender* sent to an Island in the *Archipelago*.

The *Ottoman* Porte is so very subject to such Storms, that it is hard to say, whether this was intended for Satisfaction to the King of *Sweden* or not; his Treatment shewed but little Inclination in the Porte to pleasure him.

Ali Coumourg, the Favourite, was thought to be at the Bottom of all for some private Ends of his own. The Pretence for banishing the Kam and the Serafquier of *Bender*, was their giving the King twelve hundred Purfes against the exprefs Order of the Grand Seignor. He raised the Son of the deposed Kam to the *Tartarian* Throne, a young Man, who cared little for his Father; and upon whose Assistance *Ali Coumourg* greatly depended in the Wars he had already premeditated. It was some Weeks after this, that the Grand Visir *Jussuf* was deposed, and that *Soliman Basha* was declared Prime Visir.

I must say, that M. *de Villelongue* and many *Swedes*, have declared, that the Letter he presented was the Occasion

sion of these Changes; but *M. de Fierville* says quite otherwise: and this is not the only Case in which I have met with differing Accounts. Now I take it, an Historian is to tell plain Matter of Fact, without entring into the Motives: he is to relate exactly what he knows, and not to guess at what it is impossible he should know.

In the mean time *Charles* was carried to a little Castle called *Demirtash*, near *Adrianople*, where Multitudes of *Turks* were waiting to see him alight. He was conveyed out of the Chariot to the Castle upon a Sopha; but that he might not be seen, he put a Cushion over his Head.

It was several Days before the *Porte* would consent to his residing at *Demotica*, a little Town six Leagues from *Adrianople*, near the famous River *Hebrus*, now called *Marizza*. At last *Coumourgi* said to *Soliman* the Grand Visir, Go, tell the King of Sweden he may stay at *Demotica* as long as he lives. I warrant he will be for removing before the Year comes about; but be sure you do not let him have any Money.

So the King was removed to *Demotica*, where the *Porte* allowed a sufficient Quantity of Provisions for him and his Retinue, and only five and twenty Crowns a Day in Money, to buy Pork and Wine, a Sort of Provision which the *Turks* never furnish to others. But as to the Allowance of five hundred Crowns a Day, which he had at *Bender*, it was quite withdrawn.

Before the King and his little Court were well settled at *Demotica*, *Soliman* the Grand Visir was deposed, and succeeded by *Ibrahim Mola*, a Man exceed-

ing rough, and bold, and blunt. It may not be amiss to give some Account of him, that all the Viceroy's of that Empire may be known, on whom King *Charles's* Fortune was so long depending.

He had been a common Sailor till the Accession of Sultan *Achmet* the third; which Emperor would often go disguised like a common Man, or as a Priest, or Dervise; and would slip in an Evening into the Coffee-houses and other publick Places of *Constantinople*, to hear what was said of him, and how People stood affected. He over-heard this Sailor once finding Fault with the *Turkish* Ships, that they never brought Home any Prizes, and swore, if he were a Captain, he would never come Home without some Ship or other of the Infidels. The very next Morning the Grand Signor gave him a Ship, and sent him a cruising. In a few Days after, the Captain brought in a Bark of *Malta* and a *Genoesse* Gally, and in two Years Time he came to be Captain-General of the Sea, and at last Grand Visir. He was no sooner in his Post, but he began to think he might do without the Favourite; and to make himself necessary, he promoted a War with the *Muscovites*. In order to this, he set up a Tent near the Castle where the King of Sweden lived.

There he invited the King to meet him with the new Kam of *Thury* and the *French* Ambassador. The King's Misfortunes made him the more sensible of the Indignity, to be sent for by a Subject; so he ordered his Chancellor *Muttern* to go in his Room; and because he did not know but the *Turks* might offer some Atrons to him, and

force him to something below his Dignity, this Prince, who carried every Part of his Conduct into Extremes, resolved to keep his Bed during his Stay at *Demotica*. This he did for ten Months as if he had been sick. None but the Chancellor, *Grotbuse*, and Colonel *Dubens* ever eat with him. They had no Conveniences about them since the Business of *Bender*, so that their Meals were served with little Elegance. They were forced to wait upon themselves, and the Chancellor *Mullern* was Cook in ordinary the whole Time.

While *Charles* kept his Bed in this Manner, he received News of the Desolation of all his foreign Dominions.

General *Steinbock*, famous for driving the *Danes* from *Scania*, and with a Parcel of Peasants, beating all their best Troops, did still maintain the Glory of the *Swedish* Arms. He defended *Pomerania*, *Bremen*, and the King's Possessions in *Germany*, as long as he was able, but could not hinder the *Saxons* and *Danes* united from passing the *Elbe* and besieging *Stade*, a strong Town near that River in the Duchy of *Bremen*. It was bombarded and burnt to Ashes, and the Garrison obliged to surrender at Discretion, before *Steinbock* could come in to their Assistance.

He had about twelve thousand Men, and half of them were Cavalry, with which he pursued the Enemy, though they were twice his Number, and forced them to repass the *Elbe*; and came up with them at a Place called *Gadebusch*, near a River of that Name, in the Duchy of *Mecklenbourg*, on the 20th of December 1712. The *Saxons* and

Danes were posted with a Marsh before them, and a Wood behind; and had all Advantages both of Number and Situation; for there was no coming at them but over the Marsh, through the Fire of their Artillery.

Steinbock led on his Troops, and advancing in Order of Battle, began one of the most bloody Engagements that had ever happened between those rival Nations. After a sharp Encounter of three Hours, the *Danes* and *Saxons* were defeated and left the Field.

It was here that a Son of King *Augustus* by the Countess *de Konismarck*, known by the Name of the Count of *Saxony*, received his first Rudiments of the Art of War; I mean him that had the Honour to be chosen Duke of *Courland*, though without Success, who wanted nothing but Force to make good the most indisputable Right that any Man can have to Dominion, which is the unanimous Consent of a People. He commanded a Regiment at *Gadebusch*, and had a Horse killed under him. I have heard him say, that all the *Swedes* maintained their Ranks, and even when the Day was decided, and their Enemies dead at their Feet, not one of those brave Soldiers durst stoop to strip them, till Prayers were over in the Field of Battle: they were so very exact in observing that strict Discipline their King had always used them to.

After this Victory, *Steinbock* could not but remember how the *Danes* had reduced *Stade* to Ashes; and resolved to be revenged upon *Altena*, a Town belonging to the King of *Denmark*. *Altena* is below *Hamburg* upon the River *Elbe*, which brings up large Vessels thither. The King of *Denmark*

mark had granted to it great Privileges, with an Intention to make it a Place of considerable Trade. With this Encouragement, the People had so much improved their Trade, and encreased their Riches, as to make the *Hamburgers* jealous of their growing Wealth and begin to wish their Destruction. When *Steinbock* came in Sight of the Place, he sent a Trumpet to bid them evacuate it with their Effects, for he was resolved to destroy their Town immediately.

The Magistrates came and threw themselves at his Feet, and offered him a Ransom of a hundred thousand Crowns. *Steinbock* demanded twice the Sum. They begged they might have Time to send to their Correspondents at *Hamburg*, and promised he should have it by the next Day. The General told them if they did not pay it presently, he would burn the Town about their Ears.

The Soldiers were in the Suburbs ready with their Torches; and the Town had no Defence but a poor wooden Gate and a dry Ditch; so that they were forced to fly at Midnight. It was on the 9th of *January*, 1713. The Season was exceeding Cold, and a violent north Wind helped to spread the Flames, and to encrease the Sufferings of the People exposed in the open Fields. Men and Women loaded with their Goods, went weeping and lamenting thro' the Snow. Bedrid old People, were carried by the young upon their Shoulders. Women newly brought to Bed, escaped with their Infants to die of Cold upon the Road, in Sight of their Country that was all in Flames. The *Swedes* set Fire to the Town, before the People

were well got out of it. It burnt from Midnight till about ten in the Morning. The Houses being most of Timber were easily consumed, so that by Morning there was scarce any Sign remaining of a Town.

The Aged, the Sick, and Women of tender Constitutions, who had lodged upon the Ice while their Houses were burning, came to *Hamburg*, and begged they might be let in to save their Lives: but were refused, because *Altena* had been visited with some infectious Distempers, and the Inhabitants of *Altena* were not in such Esteem with the *Hamburgers*, as to induce them to expose themselves to the Infection of that unfortunate People, by admitting them into the City. Thus most of these poor Wretches died under the Walls, calling Heaven to witness the Barbarity of the *Swedes*, and more inhuman *Hamburgers*.

All *Germany* was scandalized at this Proceeding. The Ministers and Generals of *Poland* and *Denmark* wrote to *Steinbock*, complaining of his Cruelty, which being done without Necessity, could have no Excuse, but must set God and Man against him.

His Answer was, ' That he had never carried Things to these Extremities, if it were not to deter his Master's Enemies from making War for the future like Barbarians, and to teach them some regard to the Law of Nations: adding that they had filled *Pomerania* with their Cruelties, and when they had ruined that beautiful Country, they sold a hundred thousand People to the *Turks*; that his Torches at *Altena* were no more than just Reprisals for the red hot Bullets they had used at *Stade*; that

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War was not the Theatre of moderation and Lenity: that neither *Louis* the XIVth, who allowed the burning of the *Palatinate*, nor *Turenne* who had laid it in Ashes, nor those who had followed and exceeded his Example since, were ever thought to be more barbarous than other Men; and if there was any Blame in such Things, it must lie upon the *Muscovites*, the *Danes* and *Saxons*, who had set him the Example.

On these Terms of Violence the *Swedes* and their Enemies acted against each other; and if *Charles* could but have appeared then in *Pomerania*, he might possibly have retrieved his former Fortune. His Armies though they wanted his Presence among them, were yet acted by his Spirit; but the Absence of the Chief has a fatal Influence on military Affairs, and prevents the right Improvement of Conquest. So that *Steinbock* lost by Peace-meal all he had gained in those great Actions, which at a better Season might have been decisive.

With all his Successes, it was not in his Power to prevent the *Muscovites*, the *Saxons* and *Danes* from joining: they seized his Quarters; and he lost several of his Men in little Skirmishes: two thousand of them were drowned in the *Eider*, as they were going to their Winter quarters in *Holstein*: and these were Losses not to be recovered in a Country where he was surrounded on all Sides by potent Enemies.

Frederick Duke of *Holstein*, was then but twelve Years old; he was Nephew to the King of *Sweden*, and Son of that Duke who was killed at the Battle of *Clisau*. His Uncle the Bishop of *Lubeck*,

under the Name of Administrator governed this unhappy Country which its Sovereigns have very seldom possessed in Peace. The Bishop who was anxious to avert War from the Dominions of his Pupil, was willing to preserve the Appearance of a Neutrality, but it was impossible to remain Neuter between an Army of the King of *Sweden*, whom the Duke of *Holstein* might hope to succeed, and that of the Allies, which was just upon the Point to invade them.

Count *Steinbock* being hardly pressed, and in no Condition to keep the Field, demanded of the Bishop to admit him into the Castle of *Tonningen*, who was now reduced either to venture the Loss of all the *Swedish* Forces, or the Consequences of the *Danes* Resentment, in case he should assist them.

So he had Recourse to Art, the mean and dangerous Refuge of weak Minds, and ordered *Wolf* the Governor to receive the *Swedish* Troops, but never to say any thing of such an Order from him. *Steinbock* was also sworn to keep it secret.

Wolf was to take the Blame of all upon himself, as having disobeyed his Master's Orders. But *Steinbock*, the Duke, and all his Country, paid dear for this Contrivance. The Czar, with the Kings of *Denmark* and *Prussia*, blocked up *Tonningen*: and this little Army was disappointed of Provisions by a Fatality which attended the Affairs of *Sweden* through the Course of this whole War.

Steinbock was forced at last to surrender himself a Prisoner to the King of *Denmark* on the 17th of *March* 1713, and thus was the Army scattered that had

had won the famous Battles of *Helsingborg* and *Gadebusch*, under a General of mighty Hopes; and the King of *Denmark* had this Satisfaction, that he had now in his Hands the very Man who had stopped the Progress of his Arms, and reduced his Town of *Altena* to Ashes. *Steinbock*, when he evacuated *Tonningen*, told the King that he got in thither by Stratagem, and that he had deceived the Governor. This Officer swore to the same Effect; chusing rather the Shame of having been surprized, than to betray his Master's Secret.

The Duke of *Holstein*, and the Bishop who was the Administrator, protested they had faithfully preserved a Neutrality; and begged the Mediation of the King of *Prussia* and Elector of *Hanover*. But all their Artifices were in vain without a better Force; for the King of *Denmark* with his own Army and the *Czar's*, sometime after besieged *Wolf* in *Tonningen*, who surrendered, and at last confessed the Secret, which the *Danes* had more than suspected all along.

This furnished a Pretence for the *Dane* to seize the Duke of *Holstein's* Country, and he has taken Care to keep the greatest Part of it ever since. But though he was so severe to the Duke, his Treatment of *Steinbock* was much otherwise, and shewed, that Kings sometimes consider their Interests rather than Revenge. The Incendiary of *Altena* was suffered to go free in *Copenhagen* on Parole; and the King affected a more than ordinary Civility to him, till endeavouring to escape, he was seized, and proved guilty of the Breach of his Parole. Then he was confined close, and forced to ask

the King's Pardon, which he soon obtained.

Pomerania, all but *Straelsund*, the Isle of *Rugen*, and some neighbouring Places, being defenceless, became a Prey to the Allies, and was sequester'd in the Hands of the King of *Prussia*. *Bremen* was filled with *Danish* Garrisons. At the same Time the *Muscovites* over-ran all *Finland*, and beat the *Swedes*, who were quite out of Heart; and being much inferior to their Foes in Number, had no longer the Superiority over them in Valour.

To compleat the Misfortunes of *Sweden*, the King was still resolved to stay at *Demotica*, and fed himself with the vain Expectation of Assistance from the *Turks*.

The Visir, *Ibrahim Molla*, who had been so obstinately bent upon a War with the *Muscovites*, in Opposition to the Favourite, was strangled between two Doors.

And now the Place of Visir was become so dangerous, that none dared to take it: However, when it had been vacant for about six Months, *Ali Coumourgi* the Favourite was preferred to it. Then the King of *Sweden* lost all Hopes, for he knew *Coumourgi* would never befriend him farther than for his own Ends.

He had been buried here in Oblivion and Inactivity for about eleven Months; which following close upon the most violent Exercise, made that Illness real, which before was but feigned. In *Europe* they verily thought him dead; and the Regency which he settled when he left *Stockholm* hearing nothing from him, the Senate waited on the Princess *Ulric Eleonora* to desire she would take the Regency.

in her Brother's Absence. She accordingly accepted of it; but finding the Senate had a Mind to force her to a Peace with the Czar and Denmark, that on every Side were falling upon Sweden, which she knew the King would never ratify, she resigned the Regency, and wrote him a full Account of the Matter to Turkey.

The King received her Letters at Demotica; and those despotick Notions which he had early imbibed, made him quite forget that ever Sweden had been a free State, or that the Senate used to share in the Government of it with their former Kings.

He looked upon them all as Servants that took upon them to govern the Family in their Master's Absence; and wrote them Word, if that were what they wanted, he would send them one of his Boots, to which they might apply for Orders.

Wherefore to prevent any Attempts in Sweden against his Authority, and that he might defend his Country; hoping nothing more now from the Ottomans, but depending only on himself: He signified to the Grand Visir his Desire to be gone, by the Way of Germany.

Desalleurs, the French Ambassador, who transacted all the Affairs of Sweden, made the Proposal. Well, says the Visir, did not I tell you, that the King of Sweden would be glad to go before the Year was at an End? Tell him, he may use his Pleasure; but let him resolve, and fix his Day, that we may have no more Trouble with him, as we had at Bender.

Count Desalleurs took Care to soften these Expressions when he told the King. So the Day was set; and

Charles before he went was willing to make a Figure as a King, notwithstanding the wretched Condition he was in. He made Grotbusen his Ambassador extraordinary, and sent him in Form to take his Leave at Constantinople, with a Train of fourscore Persons richly dressed.

But the Embassy was not half so splendid, as the Shifts were mortifying, to which he was put to furnish the Expence of it.

Monsieur Desalleurs lent the King 40,000 Crowns. Grotbusen, by his Agents at Constantinople, borrowed at the Rate of 50 per Cent. 1000 Crowns of a Jew; of an English Merchant 200 Pistoles; and 1000 Livres of a Turk.

Thus they got sufficient to enable them to act the splendid Farce of the Swedish Embassy. At the Porte, Grotbusen had all the Honours that were ever paid to Ambassadors extraordinary upon their Day of Audience. All this was done with a View to get Money out of the Grand Visir; but that Minister was inexorable.

Grotbusen made a Proposal to borrow a Million of the Porte. But the Visir replied coldly, That his Master knew how to give when he had a Mind, but it was below him ever to lend; that the King should have all Things proper for his Journey, and in a Manner becoming him who gave it; and that perhaps the Porte might make him some Present in Gold, but he would not have him expect it.

On the 1st of October, 1714, the King began his Journey. A Capigi Basba, with six Chiaoux, went to attend him from the Castle of Demirtash, whither he had removed a few Days before.

before. The Presents they brought from the Grand Signor were a large Tent of Scarlet embroidered with Gold, a Sabre, the Handle of which was set with Jewels, eight beautiful Arabian Horses with fine Saddles and Stirrups of massive Silver. It is not below an Historian to tell, that the Arabian Groom, who took Care of the Horses, gave the King an Account of their Genealogy; it being the Custom there to take more Notice of the Pedigree of Horses than of Men: which is not so unreasonable, because if we are careful of the Breed, those Animals are never known to degenerate.

The Convoy consisted of threescore Carriages, loaden with all Sorts of Provision, and three hundred Horse.

The *Capigi Basha*, knowing that several Turks had advanced Money to the King's Attendants at excessive interest, said, *That as Usury was forbidden by the Law of Mahomet, he desired his Majesty to settle the Debts in such a Manner, that his Resident at Constantinople should only pay the Principal.* No, says the King, if any of my People have given Notes for an hundred Crowns, I will pay them though they had but ten from the Lender.

He made a Proposal to the Creditors to follow him, promising Payment of all their Debts and Charges. A great many of them went to Sweden; and *Grotius* was intrusted to see them paid.

The Turks, to shew the more Respect to their Guest, made but short Days Journeys. But this he could not bear.

He got up as usual, about three in the Morning; and as soon as he was drest, he went and called up the *Capigi* and *Chiaour*, and ordered them to march

in the Dark. This Way of Travel-ling suited but ill with the Turkish Gravity, and the King was pleased to find it so, and said he should be a little even with them for their Treatment of him at *Bender*.

When he came to the Turkish Frontiers, *Stanislaus* went thence another Way into Germany, intending to retire into the Duchy of *Deux-Ponts*, a Country that borders on the Palatinate of the Rhine, and *Alsace*; which from the Time it was united to that Crown by *Christian's* Successor *Charles X.* had belonged to the Kings of Sweden. *Charles* assigned to *Stanislaus* the Revenue of this Duchy, which was then reckoned to be about seventy thousand Crowns. And this was the End of so many Projects, and Wars, and Expectations. *Stanislaus* could and would have made a good Agreement with *Augustus*, if *Charles* had not been so untractable and positive; to make him lose a vast Estate in Poland, only that he might preserve the Name of King.

This Prince resided at *Deux-Ponts* till *Charles's* Death; which Duchy falling then to the Palatine Family, he retired to *Wisssembourg*, a place belonging to the French in *Alsace*. Upon which *M. Sum*, Envoy from King *Augustus*, making complaint to the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, received this remarkable Answer.

Sir, let the King your Master know that France has ever been a Refuge for Kings in Misfortune.

When the King of Sweden came to the German Frontiers, he found the Emperor had given Orders for his Reception every where with proper State, Wherever Harbingers had fixed his

route, great Preparations were making to entertain him; and a World of People came to behold the Man, whose Conquests and Misfortunes, whose least Actions, and even his Repose had made so much Noise both in Europe and in Asia. But Charles had no Inclination to so much Pomp, or to make a Shew of the Prisoner at Bender, and had even form'd a Resolution never to enter his City of Stockholm, till he had retrieved his Misfortunes by a more auspicious Turn of Affairs.

So dismissing his Turkish Attendants at Targowitz, on the Borders of Transylvania; he called his People together in a Yard and bid them take no thought for him, but make the best of their Way to Stralsund in Pomerania, about three hundred Leagues from thence, up the Baltick Sea.

He took no Body with him, but one During a young Man, whom he made a Colonel afterwards. He parted cheerfully with his Officers, leaving them in great Confusion and Concern for him. For a Disguise he wore a black Peruke, under which he tucked his own Hair, a gold laced Hat, gray Clothes, and a blue Cloke, passing for a German Officer, and rid Post with only Colonel During.

In all the Way, he kept clear as much as he possibly could, of any Place that belonged to his open or concealed Enemies; and so by the Way of Hungary, Moravia, Austria, Bavaria, Wertemberg, the Palatinate, Westphalia and Mecklenburg, he made almost the Tour of Germany, which was further by half than he need have gone.

Having rid all the first Day without

stopping, During not being used to such Fatigues, fainted away when he came to alight. The King would not stay a Moment, but asked During, *What Money he had?* he said, *About a thousand Crowns.* Give me half, says the King, *I see you cannot go on: I'll go without you.* During begged he would but stay three Hours, and he was sure by that Time he should be able to go on, and desired him to consider the Danger of going alone. The King would not be persuaded, but made him give him the five hundred Crowns, and called for Horses, During, afraid of what might happen, be-thought himself of this Contrivance. He takes the Postmaster aside: *Friend,* says he, *this is my Cousin, we are going upon Business together, and you see he won't stay for me but three Hours; prithee give him the worst Horse you have; and let me have a Post Chaise, or some such thing.*

He put a Couple of Ducats in the Man's Hand, and was obeyed punctually: so the King had a Horse that was both lame and resty. Away he went about ten at Night, through the Snow, and Wind, and Rain. His Fellow-traveller, after a few Hours Rest, set out again in a Chaise with very good Horses. About Break of day he overtook the King, with his Horse tired, and walking towards the next Stage.

Then he was forced to get in with During, and slept upon the Straw; and afterwards they never stopped, but went on, on Horseback all Day, and sleeping in a Chaise all Night.

Thus, in sixteen Days riding, and often in Danger of being taken, he came at last upon the 21st of November

1714. to the Gates of *Straelsund*, about one in the Morning.

The King said, he was a Courier from the King in *Turky*, and must speak immediately with General *Duker* the Governor. The Centinel told him it was too late, the Governor was a-bed, and he must stay till Day Light.

The King said it was an Affair of Consequence; and declared if he did not go directly and awake the Governor, they should all be hanged in the Morning. At last a Serjeant went and called the Governor; and *Duker* thinking it might be some General Officer, ordered the Gates to be opened, and the Courier was brought up to his Chamber.

Duker, rubbing his Eyes, asked, "What News of his Majesty?" The King took him by the Shoulder, What, says he, *Duker*, have my best Subjects forgot me? The General could scarce believe his Eyes, and jumping out of Bed, embraced his Master's Knees with Tears of Joy. The News was all over the Town in an Instant. Every Body got up; the Soldiers came about the Governor's House. The Streets were full of People, asking if the News were true? The Windows were illuminated, the Conduits ran with Wine, and the Artillery fired.

However, the King was put to Bed, which was more than he had been for sixteen Days; they were forced to cut off his Boots, his Legs were so swollen with the Fatigue. He had neither Linen nor Clothes; and they provided in Haste whatever they could find to fit him. When he had slept some Hours, the first Thing he did was to review his Troops and examine the Fortifications. And that very

Day he sent out Orders into all Parts for renewing the War with more Vigour than ever against all his Enemies.

Europe was now in a Condition very different from what it was when King *Charles* left it in 1709. The War was over in the South, between *Germany*, *England*, *Holland*, *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal* and *Italy*. This general Peace was owing to some private Quarrels that happened in the Court of *England*. The Earl of *Oxford*, an able Minister, and the Lord *Bolimbroke*, a Man of the finest Wit and Parts of the Age, had got the better of the famous Duke of *Marlborough*, and persuaded Queen *Anne* to make a Peace with *Louis XIV.* *France*, being well with *England*, brought the other Powers quickly to an Accommodation.

Philip the Vth, Grandson to *Louis XIV.* began to reign in Peace over the Ruins of the *Spanish* Monarchy. *Louis XIV.* wanted nothing more than that he might finish his long Course in Peace.

Queen *Anne* of *England* died in Aug. 1714. and was succeeded by *George the First*, Elector of *Hanover*.

These were the chief Princes; and this the Situation of the South of *Europe*.

The Alterations in the North were of another Nature; the Kings there were at War, united all against the King of *Sweden*.

Augustus had been long restored to the Crown of *Poland* by the Assistance of the Czar, and with Consent of the Emperor: Queen *Anne*, and the States General, who tho' Guarantees for the Treaty of *Altranstadt* in *Charles's* better

Days, thought no more of their Obligations that Way, when they found there was nothing more to fear.

But *Augustus* was not quite so easy in his Throne. His People's Fears of arbitrary Power, returned with their King, and they were all in Arms to make him submit to the *Pacta conventa*, which is a solemn Contract between the King and them; seeming to have called him Home for nothing else but to make War upon him. In the Beginning of these Troubles not a Syllable was said of *Stanislaus*, his Party in all Appearance being come to nothing, and they remembred no more of the King of Sweden than as of a Torrent, which for a while had born down all before it.

Pultowa, and the Absence of *Charles*, by which *Stanislaus* fell, did also occasion the Duke of *Holstein's* Fall; who being *Charles's* Nephew, was dispossessed of his Dominions by the King of *Denmark*. The King of Sweden had a Love for the Father, and was greatly concerned at the Son's Losses: besides, as he never did any thing but for Glory, the Fall of Princes which himself had set up, was full as grievous to him as all his own Losses.

Of that he lost, every one was catching what he could. *Frederick William*, the new King of *Prussia*, who seemed as much inclined to War as ever his Father was to Peace, took *Stettin* and a Part of *Pomerania* for four hundred thousand Crowns, which he advanced to the King of *Denmark* and the Czar.

George, the Elector of *Hanover*, who was just come to be King of *England*, had likewise sequestred into his Hands the Dutchy of *Breme* and *Verden*, which the King of *Den-*

mark had assigned to him as a Deposit for threescore thousand *Pistoles* which he lent that Prince. Thus they disposed of *Charles's* Spoils; and whoever was possessed of them as Pledges, became by the Course of their own Interests, as dangerous Enemies to him as any of those who took them from him.

The Czar indeed was most of all to be feared. His former Defeats, his Victories, nay, his very Faults, with his Diligence to learn, and Care to teach his Subjects what he learnt, and his incessant Labours, contributed to make him a very great Man. *Riga*, *Livonia*, *Ingria*, *Carelia*, Part of *Finland*, and all the Countries that had been won by *Charles's* Ancestors, were now subject to the *Moscovites*.

Peter Alexiowitz, who but twenty Years before had not so much as a single Vessel on the *Baltick*, had made himself Master of those Seas, with a Fleet of no less than thirty Ships of the Line.

He built one of these Ships with his own Hands, and was the best Carpenter, the best Admiral, and the best Pilot in all the North. He himself had sounded every difficult Passage from the Gulph of *Botnia*, quite to the Ocean. And having joined the Labours of a common Sailor to the Experiments of a Philosopher, and the noble Designs of a great Emperor, by his many Victories, he had passed thro' all the Degrees that could make him at Sea a skilful Admiral, as he had done before to make himself a good General at Land.

While Prince *Gallissin*, a General bred up under him, and the best assisting his Designs, completed the Conquest of *Finland*, took *Vasa*, and beat

beat the *Swedes*: this Emperor put to Sea to make a Descent on *Aland*, an Island in the *Baltick*, about twelve Leagues from *Stockholm*.

He went upon this Expedition in the Beginning of *July*, 1714, while his Rival *Charles* was in Bed at *Demotica*. He embarked at *Cronstot*, a Harbour which he had built a few Years before about four Miles from *Petersbourg*. The Harbour, the Fleet, the Officers and Sailors, were all the Work of his own Hands; and he could look on nothing but what he had in a manner himself created.

The *Russian* Fleet came to the Heights of *Alan* on the 15th of *July*, consisting of thirty Ships of the Line, 80 Galleys, and 100 half Galleys, with 20000 Soldiers. Admiral *Apraxin* was the Commander, and the Emperor was Rear-Admiral. The *Swedish* Fleet came up with them on the 16th, commanded by Vice-Admiral *Erinchild*, not so strong by two thirds. They fought however for three Hours. The Czar attacked the Admiral, and took her after a sharp Engagement.

The same Day he landed sixteen thousand Men at *Aland*, and took a great many *Swedish* Soldiers, who could not get aboard the Fleet, and carried them off Prisoners in his own Ships. Then he returned to *Cronstot*, with *Erinchild's* Ship, and three lesser ones, a Frigate and six Galleys that he had taken.

From *Cronstot* he went on to *Petersbourg*, followed by his victorious Fleet, and the Ships he had taken. He was received with a tripple Discharge of 150 Cannon. Then he made his triumphant Entry, which pleased him more than that at *Muscovy*, as being

in his favourite City; where but ten Years before, there was not so much as a Shed, and that had in it now no less than four and thirty thousand Houses: Being himself at the Head of a victorious Navy, of the first *Russian* Fleet that ever was seen in the *Baltick*, and among a People who before his Time had never known what a Fleet was.

At *Petersbourg* the Ceremonies were much the same as those which before had graced the Triumph at *Moscov*; the *Swedish* Vice-Admiral was the best of the Shew. *Peter Alexiowitch* appeared as Rear-Admiral, and a *Russian* Nobleman, one *Romanodowsky*, that represented the Czar upon such solemn Occasions, was seated upon a Throne with twelve Senators about him. The Rear-Admiral presented him a Relation of his Victories, and was thereupon made Vice-Admiral in Consideration of his Services. An odd Ceremony, but which is not amiss, in a Country where military Subordinations were Part of the Novelties which the Czar had introduced among them.

The Emperor of *Muscovy* being thus victorious over the *Swedes* by Sea and Land, and having helped to chase them out of *Poland*, was Master there in his Turn. He made himself Mediator between the King and the Republick, an Honour perhaps equal to that of setting up a King. The Fortune and Figure which *Charles* used to make were now the Czar's, who really made a better Use of those Advantages, for his Successes were always for the Benefit of his Country. If he took a Town, the Industry of the Artisans was all transferred to *Petersbourg*. The Manufactures,

factures, Arts and Sciences of any Place he took, were carried Home to enrich and polish his own Country: so that he had certainly the best Excuse that can be made for any Conqueror.

But *Sweden* had lost all her foreign Provinces, and had neither Trade nor Money, nor Credit; her veteran Troops who were once so formidable, were either killed or died for Want. Above one hundred thousand *Swedes* were Slaves in the vast Dominions of *Muscovy*; and almost as many more were sold to the *Turks* and *Tartars*. The very Species of Men was visibly decayed in the Country; but notwithstanding all this, their Hopes revived as soon as ever they heard their King was come to *Straelsund*.

Such strong Impressions of Admiration and Respect reigned in the Hearts of all his Subjects, that Multitudes of young People came out of all Parts of the Country, and offered themselves to be listed, tho' there were not Hands enough at Home to cultivate the Land.

The King during these Preparations, gave his only surviving Sister *Ulrica Eleonora* in Marriage to *Frederick* Prince of *Hesse Cassel*.

The Queen Dowager, Grandmother of *Charles* the XIIth and the Princess, and fourscore Years of Age, assisted at the Ceremony, on the 4th of *April*, 1715. in the Palace of *Stockholm*, and died soon after.

This Marriage was not honoured with the King's Presence, who was now busy in finishing the Fortifications of *Straelsund*, a Place of great Importance, which was in Danger from the

Kings of *Denmark* and *Prussia*. However he made his Brother-in-law Generalissimo of all his Forces in *Sweden*. This Prince had served the States-General in the *French* War: and was esteemed a good General, which contributed not a little to facilitate his Marriage with *Charles's* Sister.

Misfortunes now came on as fast as once his Victories had done. In *June* 1715. the King of *England's* German Forces with those of *Denmark*, invested the strong Town of *Wismar*. The *Danes*, the *Prussians* and the *Saxons*, to the Number of six and thirty thousand, marched in a Body to *Straelsund*, in order to form the Siege. Not far from *Straelsund* five *Swedish* Ships were sunk by the *Danes* and *Prussians*. The Czar kept the *Baltick* with twenty large Men of War and one hundred and fifty Transports, that had thirty thousand Men aboard. He threatened a Descent on *Sweden*, appearing on the Coast of *Helsingbourg* and *Stockholm* by turns. All *Sweden* was in Arms upon the Coasts expecting an Invasion. His Land Forces were chasing the *Swedes* from all the Places they possessed in *Finland* towards the Gulph of *Bothnia*. But he attempted nothing farther.

At the Month of the *Oder*, a River that divides *Pomerania*, and passing by *Stetin* falls into the *Baltick*, there is a little Island called *Usedom*.

Its Situation makes it a Place of vast Importance; for it commands the *Oder* both on the right and left, and whosoever has it, is Master of the Navigation of that River. The King of *Prussia* had dislodged the *Swedes* from thence, keeping that as well as *Stetin* in his Hands, and said, he did it purely for the Sake of Peace.

The

The *Swedes* had taken *Usedom*, in May 1715. and held two Forts there, one called *Suine*, upon a Branch of the *Oder* of that Name, the other *Penamondre*, of greater Consequence, upon another Part of the River. The Forts, and indeed all the Island were manned with but 250 *Pomeranians*, commanded by an old *Swedish* Officer named *Duslep* or *Duslerp*, a Man who well deserves to be remembered.

On the 4th of *August*, the King of *Prussia* sent 1500 Foot and 800 Dragoons into the Island. They landed without Opposition on the Side of *Suine*, which Fort the *Swedish* Officer had left, being a Place of least Importance, and unwilling to divide his little Company, he retired with them into the Castle of *Penamondre*, resolving to hold out to the last Extremity.

So they were forced to make a Siege in all the Forms. They shipped Artillery at *Stetin*, and sent in a Reinforcement of 1000 *Prussian* Foot and 400 Horse. On the 18th they opened the Trenches in two Places, and played a brisk Battery of Cannon and Mortars. In the Time of the Siege, a *Swedish* Soldier sent privately with a Letter from *Charles*, found Means to land on the Island, and slip into *Penamondre*. He gave the Letter to the Commander, which was in these Words.

DO not fire till the Enemy comes to the Brink of the Fosse: stand on your Defence till the last Drop of Blood. I commend you to your good Fortune.

CHARLES.

Duslerp having read the Note, resolv-

ed to obey, and die, as he was ordered, to serve his Master. The 22d, by Break of Day, the Assault was given. They besieged made their Fire as directed, and killed Abundance; but the *Fosse* was full, the Breach large, and the Besiegers too numerous. They entered in two different Places at once. The Commander now thought he had nothing more to do then to obey his Orders, and sell his Life dear: he abandoned the Breaches, intrenched his little Company, who had all Honour and Courage enough to go with him, and placed them so that they should not be surrounded. The Enemy came on, wondering he would not ask for Quarter. But he fought a whole Hour, and when he had lost half his Soldiers, was killed at last with his Lieutenant and his Major. There were then a hundred Men left, and one Officer, who asked their Lives, and were taken Prisoners. In the Commander's Pocket they found his Master's Letter, which was carried to the King of *Prussia*.

At the Time when *Charles* sustained the Loss of *Usedom*, and the neighbouring Islands, which were quickly taken, while *Wismar* was ready to surrender, and *Sweden* had no longer any Fleet but was reduced to the utmost Danger, he himself was in *Straelsund*, besieged by six and thirty thousand Men.

Straelsund, a Town famous over Europe for the Siege the King of *Sweden* sustained there, is one of the strongest Places in *Pomerania*. It is built between the *Baltick* and the Lake of *Franken*, near the Streights of *Gella*. There is no Way to it at Land but by a narrow Causeway, defended by a Citadel,

del, and Fortifications that were once thought inaccessible. There was in it a Garrison of 9000 Men, and more than all, the King of *Sweden* himself. The Kings of *Denmark* and *Prussia* besieged it with an Army of 36000 Men, consisting of *Prussians*, *Danes* and *Saxons*.

The Honour of besieging *Charles* was so engaging a Motive to them, that they surmounted all Obstacles, and the Trenches were opened in the Night between the 19th and 20th of *Octob.* 1715.

The King of *Sweden* said at first, he wondered how any Place well manned and fortified could possibly be taken. Not but that he had taken many Towns himself in the Course of his Victories, but never any one by regular Attack. It was the Terror of his Arms that gained them. Besides, he never judged of others by himself, nor made a proper Account of his Enemies. The Besiegers carried on their Works with great Vigour, in which they were strangely assisted by an uncommon Accident.

It is well known that the *Baltick* has no Flux and Reflux. And the Retrenchment that covered the Town was thought impracticable, having an unpassable Marsh upon the West, and the Sea to the East. Never any one had observed before, that in a strong westerly Wind the Waves of the *Baltick* do roll back in such a Manner as to leave but three Feet Water under the Retrenchment, and they always took it to be here considerable deep.

A Soldier happening to fall from the Top of the Retrenchment, was surprized to find a Bottom, and ima-

gined that Discovery, would make his Fortune. He deserted, and went to Count *Wakerhals's* Quarters, who was General of the *Saxon* Forces, telling him that the Sea was fordable, and that it would be easy to carry the *Swedes* Retrenchments. The King of *Prussia* was not wanting to improve the Hint.

The next Night the Wind being still at West, Lieutenant Colonel *Koppen* went into the Water with 1800 Men, 2000 advanced at the same Time upon the Causeway that led to the Intrenchments: all the *Prussian* Artillery fired, and the *Prussians* and *Danes* gave an Alarm on the other Side.

The *Swedes* were confident they could deal with those who according to all Appearance came on so rashly by the Causeway; but *Koppen* with his 1800 Men entered the Fortification from the Sea, and so that they could make no Head; and the Post was carried after a prodigious Slaughter. Some of the *Swedes* retired into the Town, but the Besiegers followed them, and some got in with those that fled. Two Officers, and four of the *Saxon* Soldiers, were got upon the Drawbridge; but the *Swedes* had just Time enough to raise it, and took the Men, and so for that Time the Town was saved.

They found four and twenty pieces of Cannon upon the Retrenchments, which they turned against the Town. The Siege after this success was carried on with all possible Eagerness, and the Town was cannonaded and bombarded without Remission.

Over-against *Straelsund*, upon the *Baltick*, is the Island of *Rugen*, which serves

serves for a Defence to this Place, whither the Garrison and People could retire upon Occasion, if they had but Boats. This Island was of great Consequence to *Charles*; for he knew if once the Enemy were Masters of it, he should soon be invested both by Sea and Land, and probably buried in the Ruins of *Straelsund*, or else be a Prisoner to those whom he had before so much despised, and treated with such Severity. However, the ill State of his Affairs had not allowed him to send a sufficient Garrison to *Rugen*, there being no more than two thousand regular Troops in all upon the Island.

The Enemy had been for three Months making all proper Dispositions for a Descent thither, which was very difficult: but having built Boats for the Purpose, the Prince of *Anhalt*, by the Favour of good Weather, landed at last 12000 Men upon that Place on the 15th of Nov.

That very Day the King had been defending an Outwork for three Hours, and coming back very much fatigued, he was told that the *Danes* and *Prussians* were in *Rugen*. It was eight o'Clock at Night, and he went directly in a Fisher-boat with *Poniatofsky*, *Grothusen*, *During* and *Dardorf*, and by nine they got to the Island. He joined his two thousand Men, who were entrenched near a little Haven about three Leagues from where the Enemy had landed. He marched with them at Midnight in great Silence. The Prince of *Anhalt* had already entrenched his Troops, with a Caution that seemed unnecessary. His Officers expected nothing in the Night, and thought *Charles* was at *Straelsund*. But the Prince, who knew what *Charles*

was capable of attempting, ordered a deep *Fosse* to be sunk with *Chevaux de frise* upon the Edge of it, and took as much Precaution as if he had to do with an Army of superior Force.

At two in the Morning *Charles* came to the Enemies Camp, without making the least Noise. His Soldiers said to one another, *let us pull up the Chevaux de frise*; which Words were overheard by the Centinels; and the Alarm being quickly given, the Enemies stood to their Arms. The King taking up the *Chevaux de frise*, sees a great *Fosse*. *Ay*, says he, is it possible! *this is more than I expected!* Not at all discouraged, and knowing nothing of their Numbers, nor they of his, for the Night favoured him in that, he resolved in an Instant, jumped into the Ditch, and some of the boldest with him, and all the rest were quickly after him. The *Chevaux de frise* that were removed; the level'd Earth, Trunks and Branches of Trees as they could be found, and the Bodies of the Dead who fell by Random shot served for Fascines. The King, the Generals, and the boldest of the Officers and Soldiers mounted upon the Shoulders of others as in Assaults. The Fight began in the Enemies Camp; and the Vigour of the *Swedes* put the *Danes* and *Prussians* into great Disorder; but their Numbers being too unequal, the *Swedes* were repulsed in about a quarter of an Hour, and repassed the *Fosse*. The Prince of *Anhalt* pursued them to the Plain, little thinking it was *Charles* who fled before him. The unfortunate King had rallied his Troops in the Field, and the Fight was renewed with equal Warmth on both Sides. He saw his Favourite

Großbusen and General *Dardorf* fall, and passed over the last in fighting before he was quite dead. During, his Companion from *Turky* to *Straelsund*, was killed before his Face.

In the Heat of the Battle a *Danish* Lieutenant whose Name I never could be informed of, knew the King of *Sweden*, and clapping one Hand on his Sword, and with the other seizing him by the Hair; yield your self a Prisoner, 'Sir, said he, or I will kill you upon the Spot. *Charles* drew a Pistol from his Belt, and, with his Left Hand, fired it at the Officer, who died of the Shot the next Morning. The Name of King *Charles*, which the *Dane* had pronounced, drew a Croud of Enemies together in a Moment, the King was immediately surrounded, and received a Musket Shot below his Breast. The Wound, which he only called a Contusion, was two Fingers deep: The King was then on Foot, and in the utmost Danger of being either made a Prisoner, or slain. Count *Poniatofsky*, at this critical Instant, fought near his Majesty's Person. He had already saved the King's Life at *Pultowa*, and had the good Fortune to preserve him once more in the Battle of *Rugen*, and to remount him very seasonably.

The *Swedes* retired to a Part of the Island named *Alteferra*, where there was a Fort they were yet Masters of. From thence the King returned to *Straelsund*, obliged to leave those brave Troops who had served him so well in that Expedition: and they were all made Prisoners of War two Days after.

Among the Prisoners was that unfortunate *French* Regiment, the Re-

mains of the Battle of *Hochstet*, which had been in the Service of King *Augustus*, and afterwards with the King of *Sweden*. Most of the Soldiers were incorporated into a new Regiment belonging to the Prince of *Anhalt's* Son, who was their fourth Master. In *Rugen* the Commander of this wandering Regiment was then the famous Count *de Villelongue*, who had so generously ventured his Life at *Adrianople* to serve King *Charles*. He was taken with his Men, and but ill rewarded afterwards for all his Services, Fatigues and Sufferings.

The King after all these Prodigies of Valour having only weakened himself, and continuing to be shut up in *Straelsund*, and ready to be taken, was yet the same as he had been before at *Bender*; he was surprized at nothing. All the Day he was making Ditches and Intrenchments behind the Walls; and at Night he sallied out upon the Enemy. The Town however was shattered miserably, the Bombs fell thick upon the Houses, and half the Town reduced to Ashes. The Inhabitants far from repining, were charmed to Admiration at their Master, whose Temperance, Fatigues and Courage astonished them beyond Expression; they acted as Soldiers under him; following him to the Sallies, and were now become as good as another Garrison.

One Day as the King was dictating to a Secretary some Dispatches for *Sweden*, a Bomb falling on the House, came through the Roof, and burst very near his Room. Part of the Floor fell down; but the Closet where the King was being worked into a thick Wall, was not shatter'd; and by a wonderful

wonderful good Fortune none of the Splinters came in at the door, tho' it was open. In this Noise and Confusion the Secretary dropped his Pen, and thought the House was coming down. *What ails you,* says the King very calmly, *why don't you write?* The Man could only bring out, *The Bomb, Sir! Well,* says the King, *and what has that to do with our Business? go on.*

An Embassador of *France* was then shut up in *Straelsund* with the King of *Sweden*, M. Colbert Count de Croissy, one of the King's Lieutenant Generals, and Brother to the Marquis de Torcy, a famous Statesman, related to the great Colbert, whose Name in *France* will be immortal. To send a Man on an Embassy to *Charles*, or into Trenches was much the same. The King would talk with Croissy for Hours together, in Places of the greatest Danger; while People fell on all Sides killed by the Bombs and Cannon, the King having no Sense of it; and the Embassador not caring to say any Thing, to make him chuse a fitter Place to talk of Business. Before the Siege, this Minister took a deal of Pains to make an Accommodation between the King of *Sweden* and *Prussia*: But the latter was too high in his Demands; and the other would not make any Concessions. So that the Count de Croissy had only this Satisfaction in his Embassy. to be acquainted intimately with a Man of his singular Character. He has often slept by him upon the same Cloke; so that by sharing with him in all his Dangers and Fatigues, he became very free with him, and *Charles* was not displeased with that in any one he liked. He would sometimes say to Croissy,

Veni, maledicamus de Rege. Come, now for a little Scandal on the King of Sweden.

Croissy stayed in the Town till the thirteenth of November. And then with the Enemy's Permission for him and his Baggage, he took his Leave of *Charles*, whom he left among the Ruins of *Straelsund*, with but one third remaining of his Garrison, and in full Resolution to stand an Assault.

In four Days the Enemy made an Assault upon the Hornwork, which they took twice, and were as often beaten off. The King was always fighting among the Granadiers: but at last their Number prevailing, they became Masters of it. *Charles* continued in the Place two Days after that. The one and twentieth, he staid till Midnight upon a little Ravelin that was quite destroyed by the Bombs and Cannon. The next Day the chief Officers entreated him to stay no longer in a Place which could not be defended. But to retreat was now as dangerous as to stay. The *Baltick* was covered with *Muscovite* and *Danish* Ships. In the Port of *Straelsund* there was a small Bark with Sails and Oars. The extreme Danger which made such a Retreat glorious, induced *Charles* to consent to it, and he embarked the 20th of *December* 1715, at Night, with only ten Persons. They were obliged to break the Ice to get out, which took them up several Hours before the Vessel could make her way. The Enemy's Admiral had strict Orders not to let *Charles* escape from *Straelsund*, but to be sure to take him dead or alive. It happened well for him, that they were under the Wind, and so could not come near him. But

his greatest Danger was in passing by a Place called *la Barbette* in *Rugen*, where the *Danes* had fixed a Battery of twelve Cannon. They fired upon the King, but the Sailors made all the Sail they could to get clear of them. Two Men were killed close by him, and by another Shot the Mast was shattered. Thro' all these Dangers the King came up with two of his Ships that were cruising in the *Baltick*, and the next Day *Straelfund* was surrendered, the Garrison were made Prisoners of War, and the King landed at *Yhed* in *Scania*, and came to *Carelscoon* in a very different Condition from what he had gone in from thence Fifteen years before in a Ship of 120 Guns to give Law to all the North.

Being so near his Capital, it was expected he would have gone thither after so long Absence. But he could not bear to think of that till he had got some signal Victories. Besides, he could not prevail upon himself to revisit a People who loved him, and whom he was compelled to oppress, in order to defend them against their Enemies. He was only desirous to see his Sister, and sent for her to meet him near the Lake *Weter* in *Ostrogothia*. He went Post with but one to attend him, stayed a Day with her, and came back.

At *Carelscoon*, where he staid the Winter, he ordered new Levies every where. He thought his Subjects were only born to follow him to War, and he had used them all to think so too.

He lifted many who were but fifteen Years old. In several Villages there were none left but old Men, Children and Women; and in some

Places, the Women plowed the Ground alone.

It was yet harder for him to have a Fleet. But to bring that about, Commissions were given to Privateers, who having great Privileges, to the Ruin of the Country, provided him some Ships. This was the last Shift could be made in *Sweden*: to support the Expence of which, it was necessary to break in upon the People's Property, and there was no Sort of Extortion, but it was practised under the Name of Taxes. All the Houses were searched, and the half of their Provisions carried into the King's Warehouses. The Iron of the Country was all bought up for his Use, and paid for in Paper, which he sold out for ready Money. Whoever had any Silk in their Clothes, or wore Perukes, or gilded Swords, were taxed; and there was a great Rate for Hearth-money. A People loaded thus with Taxes would have rebelled against any other King; but here the most miserable Peasant knew his Master fared much harder than himself: So they submitted quietly to what their King was always the first to suffer.

In the publick Dangers, private Misfortunes were not thought of. They expected every Moment to have the *Muscovites*, the *Danes*, the *Prussians*, the *Saxons*, and the *English* making a Descent into *Sweden*. And the Fear of this was so strong upon them, and not without Reason, that those who had Money or valuable Goods took care to bury them.

Already there was an *English* Fleet in the *Baltick*, and their Orders were entirely unknown to the *Swedes*; and the King of *Denmark* had the Czar's Word

Word for it, that the next Spring he would assist in making a Descent into *Sweden*.

It was an extreme Surprize to all *Europe*, who were attentive to the Fortune of *Charles*, when instead of his Country which was threatened with Invasions by so many Princes, he marched into *Norway* in the Month of *March* with 20000 Men.

Since *Hannibal*, the World has not seen any General, who, when he could not make Head against his Enemies at Home, had ever gone to attack them in their own Dominions. His Brother-in-law the Prince of *Hesse* attended him in this Expedition.

There is no going from *Sweden* to *Norway*, but thro' By-ways that are very dangerous; and after that one meets at every Turn with Flashes of Water from the Sea among the Rocks, that Bridges must be made once a Day at least. A very few *Danes* might have stopped the *Swedish* Army; but such a quick Invasion they could not foresee. *Europe* was yet more at a Loss to find the Czar so quiet, and not making a Descent into *Sweden* as he had before agreed with his Allies.

This Inaction was the Consequence of one of the greatest Designs, and at the same time the most difficult to be executed of any that were ever formed by the Imagination of Man.

Henry Baron de Goerts, born in *Holstein*, and Minister of a Prince who had nothing left but the Title of a Duke, had done great Services to the King of *Sweden* during his Stay at *Bender*, and was now become his Favourite and first Minister.

No Man ever was at once so bold and so insinuating: so full of Shifts at

an ill Turn: or had such vast Designs, or was so active in what he went about: no Project was too much for him; and for Means he was never at a Loss: he would pursue his Designs at any Rate, with a Profusion of Presents, Promises, Oaths, Truth or Falshood.

From *Sweden* he went to *France*, *England* and *Holland*, to lay the Foundation of those Designs, which he intended afterwards to put in Execution. He was capable of inflaming all *Europe*, and had it in his Head. He was in the Cabinet, what his Master was at the Head of an Army; and this gave him over *Charles* a greater Ascendant than any Minister ever had before him.

This King, who at twenty Years of Age had given Orders to Count *Piper*, was willing to receive them now from Baron *Goerts*, and was the more submissive, because his Misfortunes had put him under a Necessity of taking Advice: Besides that, *Goerts* gave him only such as was suitable to his high Courage. He found that of all the Princes who were in League against him, *Charles's* Resentment was chiefly against *George* Elector of *Hanover*, and King of *England*: because he was the only one to whom *Charles* had never given any Cause of Complaint, and who engaged in the Quarrel under the Pretext of Mediation, and with the sole View of holding *Bremen* and *Verden*, which he bought for a Trifle of the King of *Denmark*, to whom they did not belong.

It was early that he discovered the Czar's secret Discontent against the Allies, who had all prevented his having any Footing in *Germany*. *Wismar*, the only Town remaining to the *Swedes* on this Side of *Germany*, was just sur-

rendered

rendered to the *Danes* and *Prussians* on the 14th of *February* 1716, who would not so much as suffer the *Muscovites* who were in *Mecklenbourg* to appear at the Siege. Such repeated Signs of Diffidence for two Years together had provoked the Czar, and did perhaps prevent the utter Ruin of *Sweden*. There are many Instances of a Number of States in Alliance conquered by a single Power, but seldom any of a great Empire that has been conquered by several Allies. For what their Strength subdues, their Divisions seldom fail to restore.

So long as from the Year 1714, the Czar had had it in his Power to make a Descent on *Sweden*; but whether he could not agree with the Kings of *Poland*, *England*, *Denmark* and *Prussia*, Allies who had but too much Cause to be jealous of his Proceedings, or whether it was that he thought his Troops not enough seasoned to attack that People at Home, whose very Peasants had beat the best of the *Danish* Forces: he still took care to put it off.

The Want of Money was what had likewise hitherto delayed him. For the Czar was one of the greatest Monarchs in the World, but none of the richest, his Revenue at that Time not amounting to above 18 Millions of *French Livres*. He had discovered Mines of Gold, Silver, Iron and Copper, but the Gain to be made of them was very uncertain, and the working them expensive. He had established a large Commerce; but the Beginnings of it only furnished him with Hopes. His new Conquest, encreased his Power and his Fame, but brought him very little Treasure. It was a

Work of Time to bind up the Wounds of *Livonia*, a fertile Country, which had suffered very much by a fifteen Years War by Fire, Sword and Plague, almost unpeopled, and become chargeable to the Conqueror. The Fleets he now maintained, and every Day some new Enterprize, was what exhausted all his Treasures. He had been reduced to the wretched Expedient of raising the Coin, a Remedy that never cures the Mischief, and is particularly prejudicial to any Country whose imported Commodities are larger then their Exports.

It was upon these Grounds that *Goerts* had laid the Design of a Revolution; he was bold enough to propose to the King of *Sweden* to make his Peace at any Rate with the Emperor of *Muscovy*, insinuating that the Czar was very angry with the Kings of *Poland* and *England*, and giving him withal to understand, that *Peter Alexiowitz* and *Charles* together, might make the rest of *Europe* tremble.

There was no making Peace with the Czar, without yielding up to him a good many Provinces that lie to the East and North of the *Baltick*: but *Goerts* made his Master sensible, that in yielding such Places as the Czar was Master of already, and himself in no Condition to retrieve, he might have the Honour of replacing *Stanislaus* on the Throne of *Poland*, and setting the Person who was called *James* the second's Son upon that of *England*, besides restoring the Duke of *Holstein*, to his Dominions.

Charles was pleased with these grand Ideas, tho' without building much upon them, and gave his Minister Leave to act at large. *Goerts* left *Sweden* with

with full Powers, which made him a Plenipotentiary to any Princes he had a Mind to treat with. His first Business was to try how the Court of *Moscow* stood affected, which he did by the Means of one *Areskine*, a *Scotsman*, the Czar's chief Physician, a Man devoted to the Pretender's Interest, as most of the *Seats* were, who did not subsist on Favours from the Court at *London*.

This Physician set forth to Prince *Menzikoff* the Grandeur and Importance of such a Project, with all the Vivacity of a Man who was so much interested in the Event. Prince *Menzikoff* was pleased with the Proposal, and the Czar came into it. Instead of a Descent in *Sweden*, as had been agreed between him and his Allies, he sent his Troops to winter in *Meklembourg*, and came there himself on Pretence to settle some Disputes between the Duke and his Nobles: but in Reality to pursue his Favourite Purpose to gain a Principality in *Germany*, for which he hoped to make a Bargain with the Duke.

The Allies were greatly irritated at this Proceeding, not caring to have so terrible a Neighbour near them, who, if once he should have any Footing in *Germany*, might get to be Emperor, to the Oppression of all the Sovereigns there. The greater their Resentment was *Goert's* Project went on the better. However, he negotiated with all the Confederates, in order to conceal his private Intrigues. The Czar amused them all with Hopes, and *Charles* was all this while with his Brother-in-law the Prince of *Hesse* in *Norway*, at the Head of 20000 Men; the Country was defended by 11000 *Danes* divided into several Parties;

which were all put to the Sword by the King and Prince of *Hesse*.

Charles advanced towards *Christiania* the Capital of the Kingdom: and Fortune began again to smile on him in this Part of the World: but he never took a proper Care to subsist his Troops, while an Army and Fleet of *Danes* were coming to defend *Norway*. *Charles* for Want of Provisions, was forced to retire to *Sweden*, there to wait the Issue of his Minister's Designs.

The Affair required the utmost Secrecy and vast Preparations, two Things almost incompatible. But *Goerts* contrived to fetch them from the *Asiatick* Seas. And however odious in Appearance the Means might be, they were proper enough for the Purpose of a Descent in *Scotland*, and at least would procure Men and Money, and Ships for *Sweden*.

There had been Pirates of all Nations, especially *English*, who were in Association infesting the Seas of *Europe* and *America*. No Quarter was given them, and they had retired to *Madagascar*, a large Island on the East of *Africk*: being quite desperate and famous for Actions, which wanted nothing but Justice to make them heroic. They looked for a Prince who would receive them under his Protection; but the Law of Nations had shut them out from every Harbour in the World.

When they knew that *Charles* was come back to *Sweden*, they had great Hopes, that he being a Prince who was fond of War, and forced to be so engaged, and wanting a Fleet and Soldiers, would be glad of a Composition with them upon easy Terms; so they sent a Person in a *Dutch* Ship to propose

propose to Baron Goerts that they might be received at *Gottenburg*, where they promised to be ready with three-score Ships loaded with Treasures.

The Baron brought the King into the Business, and *Kromstrom* and *Mendal*, two *Swedish* Gentlemen, were sent soon after to transact it with them.

But a more honourable and likely Help was afterwards found in Cardinal *Alberoni* an extraordinary Genius, who managed the Affairs of *Spain* long enough for his own Reputation, though not for the Good and Glory of that Kingdom.

He came with great Willingness into the Proposal of setting *James* the Second's pretended Son upon the Throne of *England*. However, as he was but just come into the Ministry, and *Spain* was to be settled before he could pretend to overturn other Kingdoms, there was no great Likelihood of his being able to put a Hand to the Work for a long Time, yet in less than two Years, he had done so much for *Spain*, that she made quite another Figure in *Europe*; and they say, the *Turks* were engaged to fall upon the Emperor; and Measures taken to depose the Duke of *Orleans* from the Regency of *France*, and King *George* from the Throne of *Great-Britain*: such Danger there is in a single Man, who has an absolute Power in any Country, and has likewise the Sense and Spirit to make Use of it.

Goerts having thus scatter'd in the Courts of *Muscovy* and *Spain*, the first Sparks of the Flame he intended to kindle, went privately to *France*, and from thence to *Holland*, where he saw the Adherents to the Pretender's Party.

He was well informed of the Strength, the Number, and Disposition of the disaffected in *England*, what Money they could raise, and what Men they could bring into the Field. They asked no more than ten thousand Men, and were pretty sure of Success, if they had but that Assistance.

Count *Gillenbourg*, the *Swedish* Ambassador in *England*, instructed by *Goerts*, had several Meetings at *London*; he gave them great Encouragement, and promised all they could wish. They Pretender's Friends with the chief of the disaffected Party went so far as to advance considerable Sums, which *Goerts* received in *Holland*. He negotiated the Purchase of several Ships, and bought six in *Great-Britain* with all Sorts of Ammunition.

Then he sent privately some Officers to *France*, particularly the Chevalier *de Folard*, who having made thirty Campaigns in the *French* Service, without improving his Fortune, had been to offer his Service to the King of *Sweden*, not with any considerable Views of Interest, but rather to serve under a King of that surprizing Reputation. This Gentleman performed in *France* all the secret Orders of *Goerts*. A great many *French*, but more *Irish* Officers, came into this new Design, which was working at the same Time in *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Muscovy*; and the Branches of it privately spread through all *Europe*.

But all these Preparations were nothing to Baron *de Goerts*, though pretty well for a Beginning. The main Point without which there could be no Success was, to settle a Peace between the Czar and *Charles*; and many Difficulties there were in the Way. The

Baron

Baron *Osterman*, Minister of State in *Muscovy*, was not so ready to agree with *Goerts*. He was as cautious as the other was warm. One was for letting Things ripen by Degrees; the other would reap as well as sow at once. *Osterman* was afraid his Master, being pleased with the Design, would grant Terms too advantageous to *Sweden*; and so delayed the Conclusion of the Affair.

Very luckily for *Goerts* the Czar himself came to *Holland* in the Beginning of the Year 1717, his design was to visit *France*, and he had a desire to see that famous Nation which for above a Century past has been censured, envied, and imitated by all its Neighbours: he there intended to satisfy his Curiosity of seeing and learning; and to exercise his Politicks.

Goerts had two Conferences with the Emperor at the *Hague*, and by that made a better Progress than he could have done in six Months with Plenipotentiaries. Every Thing went well. His great Designs appeared impentrateble; and he hoped they would only be discovered in the Execution. All his Discourse at the *Hague* turned upon Peace, and he openly declared that he regarded the King of *Great-Britain* as the Dispenser of Pacification in the North; and he pressed exceedingly to have a Congress at *Brunswick*, where the Interests of *Sweden* and its Enemies might be settled amicably.

The first who discovered these Intrigues was the Duke of *Orleans*, Regent of *France*: for he had Spies in all the Courts of *Europe*. These Sort of Men, whose Trade it is to sell the Secrets of their Friends, and who get

their Living by being Informers, and frequently by publishing Calumnies, were mightily encreased in his Time in *France*; so that one half of the Kingdom were Spies upon the other. The Duke having personal Obligations to the King of *England*, made a Discovery of the whole Design against him.

At the same Time the *Hollanders* taking umbrage at *Goert's* Behaviour, communicated their Suspicions to the *English* Ministry. *Goerts* and *Gillenbourg* were going on briskly, when one was seized at the *Hague*, and the other in *London*.

Gillenbourg as Embassador from *Sweden*, having offended against the Law of Nations by this Conspiracy against a Prince to whom he was sent in a publick Character, they did not scruple in *England* the Violation of his Person. But it was thought exceeding strange in the States-General to imprison the Baron *de Goerts* out of meer Complaisance to the King of *England*. Nay they went so far as to appoint Count *Velderen* to question him. This was carrying it very far; but as they could make nothing of it, it only turned to their own Confusion. *Goerts* asked the Count *de Velderen*, if he knew him? Yes Sir, says the *Dutchman*. Well then, says the Baron *de Goerts*, if you do, you must needs know that I shall say but just what I please. Such a Thing was scarce ever heard of before; all the foreign Ministers, particularly the Marquis *de Monteleone*, the *Spanish* Embassador in *England*, protested against the Wrong done to the Persons of *Goerts* and *Gillenbourg*. Nothing could excuse the *Hollanders* for breaking a Law so sacred, in seiz-

ing the King of Sweden's Prime Minister, who had never done any Thing against them; and to act so directly contrary to that valuable Freedom, which has been the only Cause of all their Greatness.

The King of England had done no more than right in seizing an Enemy: what they found among *Gillenbourg's* Papers of Letters between him and *Goerts*, were printed to justify the King's Proceedings. The King of Sweden was in *Scania*, when the printed Letters came with the News of his Minister's being seized. He only smiled, and asked, *if his Letters were printed too?* and order'd the English Resident, and all his Family at *Stockholm*, to be seized. But he could not take the same Revenge upon the *Dutch*, because they had no Minister then at the Court of Sweden. However, he took no Notice one way or other of the Thing, for he was too haughty to deny what he had once approved; and wiser than to own a Project that had proved abortive; so he kept a disdainful Silence towards England and Holland.

The Czar's Behaviour was quite otherwise. As he was not named, but only hinted at by distant Intimations in the Letters of *Goerts* and *Gillenbourg*, he wrote a long Letter full of Civilities to the King of Great-Britain upon the Discovery, with great Assurances of his sincere Friendship. King George received his Protestations without crediting them, tho' he seemed to suffer himself to be persuaded of their Reality, and pretended to believe them. A Plot laid by and private Men, if once it's blown, is at an End; but where Kings

are concerned, a Discovery does but make it go on the faster. The Czar came to Paris in May 1717, and had something to do besides seeing the Wonders of Art and Nature there; the Academies, the publick Libraries, the Cabinets of the Curious, and the Royal Palaces. He made a Proposal to the Regent, which had it been complied with, might have completed the Greatness of the *Muscovites*. His Design was to make Peace with the King of Sweden, who would yield to him many great Countries: to take from the *Danes* their Power in the *Baltick*; to weaken the English by a civil War; and bring to *Muscovy* all the Commerce of the North. He had Thoughts too of setting up *Stanislaus* against King *Augustus*; so that the Fire being kindled every where, he might be able to blow it up or damp it, as he should see Occasion. With this View he proposed to the Regent to be a Mediator between Sweden and *Muscovy*, and to come an Alliance offensive and defensive with them and Spain. This Treaty, though so very natural, and for the good of those Nations, and tho' it would put the Balance of Europe into their Hands, was yet rejected by the Duke of Orleans: for he did exactly the reverse of all this, making a League with the Emperor and the King of England. Reasons of State had then such Influence over all Princes, that the Czar was going to declare War against his old Ally *Augustus*, and to take Part with *Charles* his mortal Enemy; while France in Favour of the English and Germans, was going to War with a Grandson

Grandson of *Louis* the XIVth, after having so long supported him against those very Enemies at such Expence of Blood and Treasure. All that the Czar could get by this Application, was, that the Regent should interpose for the Enlargement of Baron *Goerts* and *Gillenbourg*. He returned to *Muscovy* about the End of *June*, having shewn *France* a rare Example of an Emperour travelling for Instruction. But most of the People in *France* saw nothing of him but a rough unpolished Outside, the Effects of his Education, while the Legislator, and the great Man who had founded a new Nation, quite escaped their Observation.

What he looked for from the Duke of *Orleans*, he quickly found in Cardinal *Alberoni*, who now governed all in *Spain*. *Alberoni* wished for nothing more than to establish the Pretender; first, as he was a Minister of *Spain* which had been so ill used by the *English*; then as having a personal Pique against the Duke of *Orleans* for his close Alliance with *England* against *Spain*; besides, that he was a Priest of that Church, for which the Pretender's Father has so injudiciously lost his Crown.

The Duke of *Ormond*, as much loved in *England*, as the Duke of *Marlborough* was admired, had left his Country at the Time of King *George's* Accession, and was now in *Spain*. He went with full Commission from the King of *Spain* and the Pretender, to meet the Czar upon his Way to *Mitau* in *Courland*, and had with him one *Fernegan*, an *Englishman* of Sense and Spirit. The Business was to ask the

Princess *Anna Petrona*, the Czar Daughter, in Marriage for King *James's* pretended Son, in hopes that such an Alliance would bring the Czar into the Interest of that Prince. This Proposal had like to have marred, instead of mending Matters; for Baron *Goerts*, among the rest of his Schemes, had long intended this Lady for the Duke of *Holstein*, who married her afterwards. As soon as he heard of the Duke of *Ormond's* Negotiation, he grew jealous, and did all he could to defeat it. He was set at Liberty in *August*, and so was Count *Gillenbourg*, without the King of *Sweden* so much as offering any Excuse to the King of *England*, or expressing the least Dislike of what his Minister had been doing.

At the same Time the *English* Resident, and all his Family at *Stockholm*, were released, where their Treatment had been a great deal worse than *Gillenbourg's* at *London*.

When *Goerts* had obtained his Liberty, he became an implacable Enemy; for besides his other Views, he wanted now to be revenged. He went Post to the Czar, who was better pleased than ever with him; for he undertook in less than three Months, with but one Plenipotentiary from *Muscovy*, to remove all Obstructions to a Peace with *Sweden*. He takes up a Map of the Czar's own drawing, and making a Line from *Wibourg* by the Lake *Ladoga*, quite to the frozen Ocean, promised to bring his Master to part with all that lay to the East of that Line, besides *Carelia*, *Ingria*, and *Livonia*. Then he began upon the Marriage of the Czar's Daughter to

the Duke of *Holstein*, giving great Hopes that the Duke would readily surrender to him his Country for an equivalent: and if once he got to be a Member of the Empire, the Imperial Crown would come of Course to him or some of his Descendants. Thus he pleased the Czar's Ambition, took the Pretender's Mistress from him, but opened a Way for him in *England*, and brought about the whole of all his own Designs at once.

The Czar named the Isle of *Aland* for the Conference between *Osterman* and *Goerts*; and desired the Duke of *Ormond* to return to *Spain*, lest the *English* Court should take the Alarm; for he had no Mind to break with them till the Time of the Invasion. But *Jernegan* the Duke's Confident, who was to manage Matters, stay'd at *Petersburg*, lodging very privately, and going only out o' nights, and whenever he saw any of the Czar's Ministers, it was always in the Disguise of a Peasant or a *Tartar*.

As soon as the Duke of *Ormond* went, the Czar took Care to make a Merit of it to the King of *England*, that he sent away the greatest Man of the Pretender's Party. And the Baron *de Goerts* returned to *Sweden* with great Hopes of Success.

He found his Master at the Head of 30000 regular Troops, and all the Coast guarded by the Militia. The King wanted nothing but Money; but publick Credit was lost at Home and Abroad. *France* had afforded him some Subsidies in the latter Days of *Louis XIV.* but the Duke of *Orleans* having other Views, would give him none. He was promised some from

Spain; but that Country was not yet in a Condition to supply him. Baron *Goerts* upon this set on Foot a Project he had tried before he went to *France* and *Holland*. It was, to make a Peace of Copper, of the same Value as Silver: so that a half-penny, with the Prince's Mark, might pass for thirty or forty Pence: as sometimes the Governors of besieged Towns have paid their Soldiers and the People in leather Money, till they could get better. This Sort of Money, made at an Emergency, which can never have any Credit if it be not punctually made good, is no better than Bills, whose imaginary Value may easily exceed the Fund of Money that any State is worth.

Such Expedients are of excellent Use in a free Country, and have been the saving often of a Republick; but in a Monarchy nothing can be more destructive; for the People quickly growing Suspicious, the Minister is reduced to the Necessity of being unpunctual to his Word, the imaginary Money encreases fast upon them; and those who have any Species by them, secure it under Ground; which makes the whole Machine fall to Confusion, not without great Mischief. This was then the Case of *Sweden*.

Baron *Goerts* had paid out his new Coin with a good deal of Discretion: but was quickly carried beyond his first Design by the Rapidity of a Motion which he knew not how to govern. All Sorts of Goods and Provisions were grown excessive dear, so that he was obliged to multiply his Copper Coin. The more there was of it, the less the Value was; and the Country found

found it such a Grievance, that the general Cry rose against Baron *Goerts*. Such was the Veneration the People had for *Charles*, that they could not hate him; but the Weight of their Displeasure fell upon his Minister, who being a Foreigner, and at the Head of the Treasury, was sure to suffer under the publick Hatred.

A Tax that he intended on the Clergy, compleated all. The Priests are but too apt to make it God's Cause whenever they are touched; and cried him down for an arrant Atheist; - because he attempted to meddle with their Money; and the new Money being stamped with the Figures of heathen Gods, they took Occasion from thence to call those Pieces, the Gods of Baron *Goerts*.

The Ministry, growing jealous of him, fell in with this universal Hatred: and the less their Power was, they were the more implacable. The King's Sister and the Prince her Husband had reason to fear, that his Birth obliging him to befriend the Duke of *Holstein*, he might bring it about at last to make him King of *Sweden*. Never any in the Nation liked him but the King, who was the more confirmed in his good Liking by the publick Hatred. He confided in him with entire Resignation, giving him absolute Power at Home; and trusting to him without Reserve in all Transactions with the Czar, especially as to the Conference at *Aland*, which of all Things he wished him to press with the utmost Expedition.

The Affairs of the Treasury demanding his Attendance and immediate Care, as soon as ever he had put

them on a tolerable Foot, he went away directly to finish with *Osterman* the great Work he had in Hand.

And these were the Preliminaries of that Alliance, which was to have wholly changed the Face of Affairs in *Europe*, as they were found after *Goerts's* Death among his Papers.

The Czar was to keep all *Livonia*, Part of *Ingria* and *Carelia*, leaving all the rest to *Sweden*. He was to join with *Charles* in restoring *Stanislaus* in *Poland*, sending thither 80000 Men, to dethrone that very King on whose Side he had been fighting for ten Years before; he was to furnish Ships to carry 10000 *Swedes* to *Germany*, and thirty thousand into *Germany*. The Forces of both were to fall upon the King of *England's* *German* Dominions, especially those of *Bremen* and *Verden*, the same Troops were to restore the Duke of *Holstein*, and force the King of *Prussia* to an Accommodation, by parting with a good deal of his new Acquisitions. *Charles* began to take upon him as if his own victorious Troops, joined by the Czar's, had done all this: and insisted with the Emperor to execute the Treaty of *Alranstadt*. But the Court of *Vienna* would scarce vouchsafe an Answer to a Proposal from one of whom they had so little to fear.

The King of *Poland* was not altogether so secure, but saw the Storm a coming. The *Polish* Nobility had formed a Confederacy against him, and he had been obliged ever since his Re-establishment on the Throne, to be engaged in Wars or Treaties with his own Subjects. The Czar who was now become a dangerous Mediator,

Mediator, was much to be feared, for he had an hundred Gallies near *Dantzick*, and 40000 Men hovering upon the Frontiers of *Poland*. All the North was full of Jealousy and Apprehensions. *Fleming* the most distrustful Man living, and of all Men living the most to be distrusted, was the first who suspected the Designs of the Czar and King of *Sweden* in Favour of King *Stanislaus*; so he endeavoured to have this Prince seized in the Duchy of *Deux-Ponts*, as *James Sobieski* had been surprized before in *Silesia*.

Saiffau, one of those turbulent and enterprising *French* Men who wander into foreign Countries to try their Fortune, had lately brought several of his Country men like himself into the Service of the King of *Poland*. He imparted to *Fleming*, a Project, by which he undertook to go with thirty *French* Officers, whom he had wrought into such a disposition, that they were determined to seize *Stanislaus* in his Palace, and convey him a Prisoner to *Dresden*. This Project was received with Approbation, Enterprizes of that Nature were very frequent in those Days. Some of those Wretches, who, in *Italy* are called *Bravos*, had acted such a Scene in the *Milanese*, during the last War between *Germany* and *France*: And even since that Transaction several *French* Men, who had fled to *Holland* for Refuge, had the Presumption to penetrate as far as *Versailles*, with an Intention to carry off the *Dauphin*, and they seized the Person of the first Equerry, almost under the Windows of the Castle where *Lewis* the Fourteenth resided.

Saiffau, in Pursuance of his Project,

had disposed his Men and Post Horses in Order to surprize *Stanislaus*; but the Enterprize was discovered the Night before its intended Execution. Several of the Associates knew what had happened, and some were seized. They could not expect to be treated like Prisoners of War, but rather as *Banditti*; but *Stanislaus*, instead of punishing them suitably to their Demerit, contented himself with reproaching them with an amiable Intermixture of Goodness and Humanity. He even distributed Money among them to defray their Expences in their Return to *Poland*, and made it apparent, by this generous Proceeding, that his Rival *Augustus* had reason to fear him.

In the mean Time *Charles* was going to make a second Attempt upon *Norway*, in *October* 1718, and he had laid Matters so, that he did not doubt to be Master of that Kingdom in six Months. He rather chose to go and conquer Rocks, amidst Snow and Ice, in the Severity of the Winter which kills the very Animals even in *Sweden*, where the Air is less rigorous, than regain his beautiful Provinces in *Germany*; but he hoped his new Alliance with the Czar would soon put him in a Condition to retake them. Besides his Ambition was pleased with the Thought of forcing a Kingdom from his conquering Enemy.

At the Mouth of the River *Tisendall*, near the Bay of *Denmark*, between the Towns of *Babus* and *Anslo*, stands *Fredericksball*, a Place of great Strength and Importance, which is reckoned to be the Key of that Kingdom. *Charles* sat down before it in the

the Month of *December*, The Cold was so extreme, that the Soldiers could hardly break the Ground. They might as well have opened Trenches in a Rock; but the *Swedes* never thought much of any Fatigues in which they saw their King take his Share so readily; and *Charles* himself never suffer'd more than now. His Constitution by eighteen Years Labour was hardened to that Degree, that he would sleep in the open Field in *Norway*, in the midst of Winter, upon Boards or Straw, covered only with his Cloke, without prejudicing his Health. Several of the Soldiers in their Posts fell down dead with Cold, and others who were ready to die durst not complain when they saw their King bear what they suffered. A little before this Expedition, hearing of a Woman in *Scania*, named *Joan Dotter*, who had lived several Months upon nothing but Water; he, who had studied all his Life to bear the worst Extremes that human Nature can support, was resolved to try how long he was able to fast. He neither eat nor drank for five Days, and on the sixth, in the Morning, he rid two Leagues, and then alighted at the Tent of his Brother-in-law the Prince of *Hesse*, where he eat very heartily, without feeling the least Disorder, either from his long Fasting, or his full Eating afterward.

With such a Body of Iron, and a Soul of so much Strength and Courage, in every Condition, there was not one of all his Neighbours who did not fear him.

On the 11th of *December*, being *St. Andrew's Day*, he went about nine at Night to see the Trenches; and find-

ing the Parallel not advanced to his Mind, he was a little displeased; but *Mons. Megret*, a *French* Engineer, who conducted the Siege, assured him, the Place would be taken in eight Days Time. *We shall see*, says the King, and going on with the Engineer to examine the Works, he stopped at a Place where the *Boyan* made an Angle with the Parallel, and kneeling upon the inner *Talus*, he leaned with his Elbows on the Parapet, to look upon the Men who were carrying on the Trenches by Starlight.

The least Circumstances that relate to the Death of so great a Man as *Charles* the XIIth are very important. I must therefore take upon me to say, that all the Conversation which has been reported by several Writers, and *M. de la Motraye* among the rest, to have passed between the King and *Megret* the Engineer, is absolutely false. And the following Account is what I know to be the Truth of this Event.

The King stood with half his Body exposed to a Battery of Cannon exactly levelled at the Angle where he was, Two *Frenchmen* were all who were then near his Person, one was *Monsieur Siker* his Aid-de-camp, a Man of great Courage and Conduct, who came into his Service in *Turky*; and was particularly attached to the Prince of *Hesse*; the other was this Engineer.

The Cannon fired upon them with Chain-shot, to which the King stood most exposed. Not far behind was *Count Swerin*, who commanded the Trenches. *Count Possé*, Captain of the Guards, and one *Kulbert* an Aid-de-camp,

de-camp, received his Orders. *Siker* and *Megret* saw the King fall upon the Parapet, fetching a deep Sigh. They ran to him, but he was already dead. A Ball of half a pound had struck him on the right Temple, and made a Hole big enough to turn their Fingers in. His Head lying over the Parapet, the left Eye was beat in, and the right was forced quite out of its Socket. He was dead the Moment he received this; but he had the Force in that Instant to put his Hand by a natural Motion to the Guard of his Sword, and lay in that Posture,

At this, *Megret*, a Man of great Indifference, only said, *Let us be going, the Play is done.* *Siker* ran immediately, and told Count *Swerin*, and they all agreed to keep it private till the Prince of *Hesse* could be informed of it. They covered the Corps with a grey Cloke; *Siker* put him on his Hat and Wig, and he was carried by the Name of Captain *Carlsbern* tho' the Troops, who saw their dead King pass, little thinking who it was.

The Prince gave Orders presently that none should stir out of the Camp, and that all the Passes to *Sweden* should be guarded, till he could take Measures for his Wife to claim the Crown, and to exclude the Duke of *Holstein*, who might possibly pretend to it.

Thus fell *Charles XII.* King of *Sweden*, at the Age of six and thirty Years and a half, having known the Extrems of Prosperity, and of Adversity, without being softened by the one, or in the least disturbed for a Moment at the other. All his Actions, even those of his private Life, are al-

most beyond any measure of Probability. Perhaps he was the only Man, to be sure he was the only King, who ever had lived without Weakness. He carried all the Virtues of a Hero to that Excess, that they became as dangerous as any of the opposite Vices. His Resolution grown to Obstinacy, occasioned his Misfortunes in *Ukrania*, and kept him five Years in *Turky*. His Liberality degenerating into Profusion, ruined *Sweden*. His great Qualities, any one of which had been enough to make another Prince immortal, were a Misfortune to his Country. He never began a Quarrel with any, but he was rather implacable than wise in his Resentment. He was the first who ever had the Ambition to be a Conqueror, without wishing to encrease his Dominions. His Desire to gain Kingdoms, was only that he might give them away. The Passion he had for Glory, for War, and for Revenge, made him too little of a Politician, without which the World never before saw any Prince a Conqueror. Before a Battle, he was full of Confidence; exceeding modest after a Victory, and in a Defeat undaunted. Sparing others no more than himself, he made a small Account of his own or his Subjects Lives or Labours; a Man extraordinary rather than a great Man, and fitter to be admired than imitated. His Life however may be a Lesson to Kings, and teach them, that a peaceful and happy Government is more to be desired than so much Glory.

Charles XII. was tall and nobly shaped, he had a fine Forehead, large blue

blue Eyes full of Sweetness, and a handsome Nose : but the lower Part of his Face was disagreeable, and often disfigured by a frequent Laugh which hardly opened his Lips; he had little Beard or Hair; he spoke little, and it was habitual to him to answer only with that Laugh. At his Table there was always great Silence. With all that inflexible Temper of his, he was timorous and bashful, and would have been at a Loss in Conversation, for having given himself so wholly up to War, he knew but little of Society. Before his long Leisure in *Turky*, he had never read any thing but *Cæsar's* Commentaries and the History of *Alexander*. But he had writ some Observations upon War and his own Campaigns, from 1700 to 1709, which he owned to the Chevalier de *Folard*, and said the Manuscript was lost at the unfortunate Battle of *Pultowa*.

As to Religion, though the Sentiments of a Prince ought not to influence those of other Men; and the Opinion of a King so little informed as *Charles*, can be of no great Weight in such Matters; yet it is proper that Men's Curiosity should be satisfied in this as well as other Particulars concerning him. I have it from the Gentleman who gave me most of the Materials of this History, that *Charles* was a serious *Lutheran* till the Year 1707; he then saw the famous Philosopher *Monf. Leibnitz* at *Leipsick*, who was a Free-thinker, and talked very freely, having instilled his Notions into more Princes than one. *Charles* learned from the Conversation of this Philosopher a good deal of In-

difference for *Lutheranism*; which he carried afterwards much farther, when he had more Time in *Turky*, and had seen so many Sorts of Professions. Of all his old Opinions he retained but one, which was absolute Predestination, a Doctrine that favoured his Courage, and justified his Temerity. The Czar had much the same Opinions as to Religion and Fate: but he was more free to talk of them, as he did indeed of every thing else with his Favourites very familiarly; for he had this Advantage over *Charles*, that he had studied Philosophy, and was a good Speaker.

I cannot help taking Notice here of a slander that is too often spread by credulous or ill meaning People, who will have it, that when Princes die, they were either poisoned or assassinated. And the Story went in *Germany*, that *Monfieur Siker* was the Man who killed the King of *Sweden*. That brave Officer was very uneasy at the Calumny a good while: and one day talking of it to me, he said these very Words, *I might have killed the King of Sweden, but I had such a Veneration for the Hero, that tho' I had intended it, I could not offer to do it.*

As soon as he was dead, the Siege of *Fredericshall* was raised. The *Swedes*, who thought his Glory rather a Burthen than a Happiness, made Peace with all their Neighbours as fast as they could; and soon put an End to that absolute Power, which *Baron Goerts* had made them weary of. The States went to a free Election of King *Charles's* Sister for their Queen; and obliged her solemnly to renounce all hereditary Right to the Crown, that

she might hold it only by the People's Choice. She promised with repeated Oaths never to set up arbitrary Power. And afterwards, her Love of Power giving Way to conjugal Affection, she yielded the Crown to her Husband, and brought the States to chuse him, who ascended the Throne upon the same Conditions.

Baron Goerts was seized immediately upon Charles's Death, and condemned by the Senate of *Stockholm* to be beheaded under the Gallows; an Instance rather of Revenge than Justice; and a cruel Insult on the Memory of a King whom *Sweden* yet admires.

FINIS



As to Religion, though the Senate of a Prince ought not to be in error, those of other Princes should be of Opinion of a King to hinder Charles can be of no great use in such Matters; yet it is in his Majesty's Majesty should be as well as other Princes concerning him: I have it from the German who gave me most of the Materials of this History, that Charles was a serious Lutheran till the Year 1707: he then saw the famous Philosopher *Montaigne*, as *Vossius* tells us, and talked with a Free-thinker, and talked very freely, having instilled his notions into more Princes than one. Charles learnt from the Conversation of this Philosopher a good deal of

with that Light. At the Table of the Senate was always great Silence. With all that inflexible Temper of his, he was timorous and bashful, and would have been at a Loss in Conversation, for having given himself to wholly up to War, he knew but little of Society. Before his long Exile in *Sweden*, he had never read anything but *Cicero's* Commentaries and the History of *Alexander*. But he had with him Observations upon War and his own Campaigns, from 1700 to 1709, which he owned to the Emperor's Majesty, and said the Manuscript was lost at the unfortunate Battle of *Pultowa*. As to Religion, though the Senate of a Prince ought not to be in error, those of other Princes should be of Opinion of a King to hinder Charles can be of no great use in such Matters; yet it is in his Majesty's Majesty should be as well as other Princes concerning him: I have it from the German who gave me most of the Materials of this History, that Charles was a serious Lutheran till the Year 1707: he then saw the famous Philosopher *Montaigne*, as *Vossius* tells us, and talked with a Free-thinker, and talked very freely, having instilled his notions into more Princes than one. Charles learnt from the Conversation of this Philosopher a good deal of

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L E T T E R

To the Right Honourable the

Lord

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GIVING

A Description of the Persons, Behaviour, &c. of the King
of Sweden, King *Augustus*, and King *Stanislaus*.

I Will tell you as a particular Friend (and that even without Leave, which ought to have been) I did venture the other Day to ramble into *Saxony* to satisfy my Curiosity, in seeing those different Kings there, and penetrating as far as I could how Matters stood there, and how our Fate is like to be determined by that *Gorbick* Hero, who with a Handful of Men makes himself dreaded and courted by all the Powers of *Europe*. As for his Person, he did not *dementiri* the Description I had of him; he is a tall handsome Gentleman, but immoderately dirty and slovenly; his Behaviour and Carriage more rustick than you can imagine in so young a Man should be. And that the Outside of his Quarters should not bely

the Inside, he has chosen the dirtiest Place and one of the saddest Houses in all *Saxony*; the cleanest Place is the Court before the House, where every Body is to alight off their Horses, and is up to the Knees in Dirt, where his Horses stand with hardly any Halters, and Sackings instead of Clothes, without either Racks or Mangers. The Horses have rough Coats, thick Bellies, switch Tails; the Grooms that look after them seem not to be better cloathed nor better kept than their Horses; one of which stands always saddled for the mighty Monarch, who runs out commonly alone, and bestrides his Steed, and away he gallops before any one else is able to follow him: Sometimes he will go ten or twelve of those Country

Miles

4 A 2

Miles in a Day, which is about forty
 or fifty of our *English* Miles, now in
 the Winter Time, bespattered all
 over with Dirt like a Postilion. I
 should make my Letter too long, if
 I should tell you his Dress, his Eat-
 ing and Sleeping. But not to let it
 entirely alone, I will tell you his
 Coat is plain Blue, with ordinary
 Brass Buttons, the Skirts pinned up
 behind and before, which shews his
 Majesty's old Leather Waistcoat and
 Breeches, which they tell me are
 sometimes so greasy, that they may
 be fried: but when I saw him they
 were almost new, for he had been a
 Gallant a little before, and had been
 to see King *Augustus's* Queen, upon
 her Return to *Leipsick*; and to be
 fine, he put on those new Leather
 Breeches, spoke not above three
 Words to her, but talked to a foolish
 Dwarf she had about a quarter of an
 Hour, and then left her. He wears
 a black Crape Cravat, but the Cape
 of his Coat is buttoned so close about
 it, that you cannot see whether he
 has any or no: his Shirt and Wrist
 bands are commonly very dirty,
 for he wears no Ruffles nor Gloves,
 but on Horseback: His Hands are
 commonly of the same Colour of his
 Wristbands, so that you can hardly
 distinguish them; his Hair is light
 brown, very greasy and very short,
 never combed but with his Fingers.
 He sits upon any Stool or Chair he
 finds in the House, without Cere-
 mony at Dinner, and begins with a
 great Piece of Bread and Butter,
 having stuck his Napkin under his
 Chin; then drinks with his Mouth
 full out of a great Silver old fashion-

ed Beaker small Beer, which is his
 only Liquor; at every Meal he
 drinks about two *English* Bottles full,
 for he empties his Beaker twice;
 between every Bit of Meat he eats
 a Piece of Bread and Butter, which
 he spreads with his Thumbs. He is
 never above a quarter of an Hour at
 Dinner; eats like a Horse, speaks
 not one Word all the while. As
 soon as he rises his Life-guards sit
 down at the same Table to the same
 Victuals. His Bed-chamber is a ve-
 ry little dirty Room, with bare
 Walls, no Sheets nor Canopy to his
 Bed; but the same Quilt that lies
 under him turns up over him, and
 so covers him. His Writing-table is
 a slit Deal, and only a Stick to sup-
 port it; and instead of a Standish, a
 wooden Thing with a sand-box of
 the same. He has a fine gilt Bible
 by his Bed-side, the only thing that
 looks fine in his Equipage. He is
 a very handsome Man, well shaped,
 and a very good Face, no stern
 Countenance, but he is very whim-
 sical and positive, which makes all
 the Allies afraid of him; for he risks
 himself and his Army, as easily
 as another would fight a Duel. He
 has not shewn much Generosity to
 King *Augustus*, who sent *Chart*
Blanch to make Peace, and to re-
 commend himself to his Friendship;
 but does still every Day very hard
 Things to that poor Prince, whom
 he treats always like one whom he
 has entirely in his Power.

King *Augustus* is as well bred as
 one shall see, obliging in his Person
 and Behaviour, and liked by every
 one.

one. But now he pays for all his false, unfaithful Politicks, and finds, too late, that one Prince should not entirely submit to another. But that my Letter is too long already. I would give you some Account of the *Polish* Court of King *Stanislaus*; for being *incognito*, (only with a Friend and one Servant) impossible to be known, I took a Tour to *Leipsick*, where I not only saw that King, but he very civilly came and spake to me and my Friend, seeing we were Strangers. His Court has a much better Air than that of his Maker; and his Mother and Wife were there, a couple of well bred Women, well dressed, and both spoke very good *French*. He is a

tall handsome young Man, with a great Pair of Whiskers, in the *Polish* Dress, inclinable to be fat, and a little upon the dirty, as all the *Poles* are. He was lodged in a very pretty Castle belonging to King *Augustus*, but against that King's Will, who will never see him, and cannot abide to hear him spoke of; and yet the *Swedes* would oblige him, which they say he ought to do by the Treaty.

You used to tell me, my dear Lord, you loved to hear of my Rambles, and I believe this may please you better than my former, being a very true Description of this mighty and dirty Monarch.



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